The Social Life of Human Remains: Burial rites and the accumulation of capital during the transition from Neolithic to urban societies in the Near East

Volume I

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Declaration

I, Gareth Brereton, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

The accumulation of capital is a widely recognised, but little studied, feature of early urbanisation in Mesopotamia during the fourth-millennium BC. Current research links the concentration and mobilisation of capital in urban centres to the expansion of cross-regional trade routes. However, the social and cultural mechanisms through which primary accumulation took place remain poorly understood. A related aspect of urban growth is the virtual disappearance of human burials from the archaeological record. This contrasts with earlier traditions where burials were routinely incorporated into domestic contexts. Adapting Weber's insights regarding the origins of modern capitalist accumulation in changing modes of religiosity, this research investigates the changing relationship between funerary rituals and wealth consumption. Detailed study of burial practices over the long-term (Late Neolithic through to Late Uruk) will isolate major trends in funerary consumption over time. This will situate the phenomenon of large-scale accumulation within a wider social matrix. The analogous treatment of human remains and artefacts in Late Neolithic funerary contexts highlights complex relationships between persons and objects. Late Neolithic funerary consumption suggests that acquisitive behaviour was morally sanctioned by interaction with the dead. The decreasing importance placed on funerary consumption during the fifth-millennium is reflected in the separation of the adult dead from habitation areas, inhibiting contact with the living. Goods were now channelled through households, and underwent ritually mediated (intramural infant burials) processes of transformation into new commodity forms. Trajectories of accumulation reinforced through provisioning ancestral cults and personal display in death developed during the Early-Middle Uruk period, only to be reversed with the onset of the Urban Revolution. The profound social changes that accompanied the urban expansion transformed conceptions of persons and things. The dead were expelled from the context of the living and the flow of commodities was now regulated by new forms of religious institution.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Reinstating the role of funerary practices in the development of complex societies in Mesopotamia

The analysis of funerary practices has long been central to the study of state formation and urbanization in other regions, such as Egypt, yet they have formed only a marginal aspect of recent research into the emergence of urban societies in Mesopotamia. This can be attributed in part to the fact that very few human burials have been recovered from the archaeological record of the late fourth millennium BC, during the height of urban expansion on the Mesopotamian alluvium (Algaze 2008: 162; Charvát 2002: 151; Hole 1989: 176; Pollock 1992: 298; 1999: 204). The absence of burials in the archaeological record of the Late Uruk period is especially significant considering the extensive intramural burial record of earlier periods, which extends back continuously to the Neolithic period, and still further back into Epipalaeolithic times; when mortuary rites were deeply implicated in the routines of domestic life. This suggests that the paucity of the Late Uruk burial record is itself worthy of serious attention, as a topic of study in its own right. Why is there a seemingly drastic end to the tradition of burying the dead within areas of habitation, and what does this tell us about the role played by burial practices leading up to the development of the state in ancient Mesopotamia?

A central argument of this thesis is that by identifying the processes that led to the removal of the dead from the context of the living, further insight may be gained into the wider social transformations that led to the emergence of urban settlements on the Mesopotamian alluvium. By adopting a long-term approach to the study of funerary practices, it may be possible to evaluate the extent to which we should understand this phenomenon as reflecting a distinct break with earlier social practices, or alternatively, as resulting from long-term trajectories of change rooted in small-scale alterations of economic and ritual practice. In order to address these issues, it would be useful to begin at the end of this process; at the height of urbanization and expansion towards the end of the fourth millennium BC, when burials are largely absent in the archaeological

record. To begin at the end, so to speak, may serve to clarify the wider implications that this absence poses to understanding the development of complex societies in Mesopotamia, especially in relation to current theories that place the accumulation and mobilization of capital as central to understanding urban expansion. It is hoped that the proceeding discussion will clarify the themes and questions integral to the wider aims of this research, and serve to justify how a detailed study of funerary practices over the long-term can advance our understanding of the wider social and economic transformations that occurred throughout the region.

1.2 The Uruk World System

It is during the Uruk period (c. 4000-3100 cal. B.C.) that a series of social transformations occurred throughout the Greater Mesopotamian region, which included the emergence of large urban centres of unprecedented size on the Mesopotamian alluvium. The social transformations that took place during this episode are perhaps best illustrated with the site of Uruk (Warka) itself; an urban centre that expanded in size to 250ha during the Late Uruk Period (Late Chalcolithic 5), four to five times larger than any other settlement in southern Mesopotamian (Algaze 2001a: 32). The excavation of Uruk (see Nissen 2001; 2002 for an overview) adequately demonstrates the considerable social transformations that must have permeated all levels of society by the end of the fourth millennium, the evidence for which will be briefly summarized here:

(1) the convergence of a large proportions of the rural population upon urban centres and the establishment of a regional settlement hierarchy (Adams 1981; Pollock 2001); (2) institutionalised control over labour and resources, as revealed by textual sources, glyptic representations and large quantities of mass-produced bowls which, according to some interpretations, were used to distribute rations (Algaze 2001b; 2005a; 2008; Goulder 2010; Nissen 1988; 2002; Nissen *et al.* 1993); (3) large-scale specialized craft production inferred from metal-working installations, mass produced ceramics, documentary evidence and iconography (Algaze 2001b; 2005a; 2008; Nissen 2002; Nissen *et al.* 1993); (4) new forms of symbolic representation, most significantly a writing system primarily utilised for administrative purposes (Englund 1998; Nissen 2002; Nissen *et al.* 1993); (5) control over the production, collection and distribution of commodities by certain sectors of society, as inferred from textual sources, glyptic

representations and imported exotic goods (Frangipane 2000; 2001; Liverani 2006; Nissen *et al.* 1993; Pollock 1999: 101); (6) possible forms of institutionalised leadership as inferred from iconographic sources (Schmandt-Besserat 1993); and finally (7) the expansion of certain sectors of Uruk society into peripheral regions to divert the flow of goods towards resource-deprived urban centres (Algaze 1989; 2001a; 2005b).

It is generally agreed that such profound transformations could not have occurred solely as a result of internal dynamics, and need to be understood in relation to a larger system of regional interaction. This is apparent, archaeologically, in the evidence for Uruk cultural assemblages in regions to the north and east of the southern Mesopotamian core region - the so-called 'Uruk expansion'. The most comprehensive attempt to explain of the widespread distribution of Uruk cultural assemblages in the regions far beyond the presumed southern Mesopotamian 'heartland' remains Guillermo Algaze's model of an Uruk world system. Algaze's theory was first outlined in an influential journal article (Algaze 1989), which was later developed into a book (Algaze 1993; second edition 2005b), and continues to stimulate current research and debate. The essential premise of Algaze's theory is that the widespread distribution of settlements with Uruk cultural assemblages beyond the southern alluvium can be interpreted as intrusive Uruk colonies established at points with strategic access to long-distance trade routes.

According to Algaze, the principal function of these Uruk enclaves was to divert the flow of valuable commodities (metals, timber, precious stones) towards the resource-deficient cities that were rapidly developing in the south (Algaze 1989: 580). Importantly, Algaze considers the Uruk expansion to have been fuelled by competition between southern polities, founding outposts to satisfy the particular requirements of each. In addition, he suggests that outposts were not necessarily under the control or direction of the public sector or state, and that certain outposts, such as those interpreted as trade diasporas, may have been the work of private merchant groups or institutions (Algaze 2008: 73). Critical to Algaze's argument that trade was the primary factor motivating the Uruk expansion is his suggestion that intrusive Uruk settlement were located at points with strategic access to trade routes, and the commodities that flowed along them (Algaze 1989: 580; 2001a: 48; 2005b: 61-2). By procuring unprocessed resources from peripheral communities in exchange for value-added goods

manufactured in urban centres, outposts were principally established to mediate the flow of goods from the resource-rich hinterlands towards southern urban centres.

The idea that trade was the primary dynamic underlying processes of urban growth on the southern alluvium has since been challenged by recent research demonstrating that comparable processes of urbanization occurred within the so-called peripheral areas of Upper Mesopotamia (Frangipane 1997; Gibson and Maktash 2000; Oates and Oates 1997; Oates *et al.* 2007; Rothman (ed.) 2001; Stein 2001; Ur *et al.* 2008). One of the main concerns with Algaze's original model (1989; 1993) was its characterization of peripheral societies in northern Mesopotamia as passive actors subordinate to the demands of the core, and such critiques aimed to reinstate the active role of the periphery in regional interaction spheres. Frangipane (2001; 2002), Rothman (2001; 2002), Stein (1999a; 2001) and Oates *et al.* (2007), for example, highlight the fact that 'peripheral' settlements reveal increasing evidence for social complexity and urbanism prior to Uruk expansion or influence, and argue that peripheral societies did not simply bow down to the demands of southern polities. The notion that Uruk colonies were established primarily as trading outposts has also been contested by Pollock (2001) and Schwartz (2001), who argue that the sudden appearance of large Uruk settlements in the Euphrates valley were unnecessarily large and complex for mere trading colonies, and are therefore more likely to reflect the large-scale movement of populations into sparsely inhabited areas further north, perhaps as a result of the increasingly oppressive regimes of southern centres (Pollock 2001: 220-221; Schwartz 2001:260).

The majority of criticisms levelled at Algaze's model shift the focus of attention to far in favour of internal developments in the periphery, thereby negating the benefits of analysing social transformations within an interregional framework of interaction. It has recently been stated that while processual and post-processual archaeologies of the last generation provided archaeology with the theoretical and methodological means for understanding social transformations at the level of local and regional interaction, they have failed to account for inter-regional, global or macro-historical changes (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 5). The propensity to focus on internal social transformations in past societies is particularly evident in theories of state development that distinguish between processes of 'primary' state formation from the growth of 'secondary' states. This distinction is essentially based on an assertion that the origins of the state can only

really be understood in a political vacuum devoid of interference from external influences. While the formation of secondary states is generally envisioned as being largely determined by outside forces, the 'pristine' state was thought to offer an unadulterated view of the key factors propelling the development of complex polities (Smith 2003: 82).

> As a social evolutionist fantasy, the concept of primary states presents the possibility of a handful of historical cases where externalities are sufficiently well controlled such that conditions of study mimic the laboratory, hence the hermetic connotations of the adjective 'pristine'. To assume such hermetic conditions falsely demarcates early complex polities as islands, isolated from the less developed world around them.
>
> (Smith 2003: 83).

In reaction to this isolated and internal account of social change, archaeologists adopted a new theoretical and interpretive framework of centre-periphery and world systems that could account for differing scales of social interaction and transformation (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 6). This theoretical framework was adopted from neighbouring disciplines such as history, sociology and social anthropology - most notably the work of by Andre Gunder Frank (1966, 1969), Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979), and Eric Wolf (1982). Within related disciplines, this theoretical framework developed in reaction to dominant narratives in world history that account for the independent and superior development of the West and its self-perceived place in the management of world politics and international development (Kristiansen and Larson 2005: 6; Patterson 2003: 140; Rowlands 1998: 221; Wolf 1982: 5). These scholars argued that the underdevelopment of 'peripheral' areas was a consequence of their historical relations with the 'developed' world, and not a product of their primitive social systems. Both Frank and Wallerstein, for example, argued that the expansion of capitalism had turned certain areas of the world into underdeveloped and dependent peripheries through the extraction of surpluses to meet the requirements of industrial centres. This expansion of a world market created an international division of labour that allowed for the exploitation of peripheries by the core (Rowlands 1998: 221-222).

World systems theory thus offers archaeologists a spatio-temporal framework with which to comprehend the development of complex societies, one that goes beyond simplistic evolutionary models that proposed a historical sequence of development

based upon a typology of political forms such as tribe, chiefdom, and state (Rowlands 1998: 227). By emphasising localised or internal developments in the development of early complex societies in areas of Upper Mesopotamia, researchers are in danger of reverting to unilinear models of social evolution as their primary explanatory framework. Indeed, it will be demonstrated in this thesis how current approaches to the funerary archaeology of the early-mid fourth-millennium BC (prior to the Uruk 'expansion') have for the most part interpreted the burial record according to social evolutionary frameworks that equate the presence of material wealth in burials with the social status of the deceased.

Algaze (2001b; 2008) has responded to his critics by arguing that the development of urban centres in peripheral regions was reversed by the second half of the fourth millennium, as current evidence indicates that 'proto-urban' centres in the north began to contract at this time. By way of contrast, centres on the southern alluvium continued to develop in scale and complexity, culminating in a number of competitive city states 'forged into a politically balkanized but culturally homogenous and expansive civilization that extended at this point into south-western Iran and parts of Upper Mesopotamia' (Algaze 2008: 5). Algaze (2001b; 2005b; 2008) has also stressed the temporal primacy of emergent social complexity in southern Mesopotamia and has developed a framework to explain how this superregional system of interaction first evolved. In an attempt to address this issue, Algaze (2001b; 2005a; 2008) places emphasis on the varying ecological and geographical conditions that existed across the southern alluvium during the late fifth and fourth millennia BC, which – he argues – would have served to reinforce regional imbalances in the availability of various resources. According to Algaze, this inter-regional asymmetry in access to particular raw materials set in motion the emergence of an expansionist export-driven economy, with enduring consequences for the character of south Mesopotamian civilisation (Algaze 2001b: 207; 2005a: 3; 2008: xvii).

It is particularly significant that Algaze identifies the roots of this process in the Late Ubaid and Early Uruk periods. He hypothesises that, during the Middle Uruk period, mutually reinforcing processes of competitive emulation and import-substitution resulted in decreasing regional specialisation and the diffusion of productive technologies across the southern alluvium (Algaze 2001b: 207; 2005a: 12; 2008: 64-5).

By the Middle and Late Uruk periods, the emergence of competitive polities with broadly similar productive capabilities had supplanted local exchange systems and set in motion the intensification of external long-distance trade in order to obtain foreign commodities (Algaze 2001: 207; 2005a: 13; 2008: 65-6). Trade on this extended scale was made possible, he contends, by the unprecedented capacity of urban centres to accumulate and mobilise material and human capital, and by adapting industries originally intended for local consumption for export markets, most notably agricultural products that required labour-intensive farming (Algaze 2001: 207; 2008: 66). Founded upon the capability of southern polities to mobilise a large labour force and develop complex administrative technologies, organic products could be transformed through lengthened chains of manufacture into exportable commodities (value-added goods) such as woven textiles and processed organic consumables (alcoholic drinks, animal fats, oils and unguents; Algaze 2001: 200, 207, 211; 2005a: 14-15; 2008: 66).

In sum, the expansion of urban polities in the southern alluvium is essentially linked by Algaze to the large-scale accumulation and mobilisation of capital. In response to his critics, Algaze (2001; 2008) convincingly argues that it was the unprecedented capacity of urban centres to develop large-scale economies and mobilise material and human capital that principally set southern polities apart from their peripheral neighbours. While I am in general agreement with Algaze's model concerning the growth of early Mesopotamian urban economies, and the developmental advantages favouring southern Mesopotamian societies, I find it remarkable that so little research has addressed the cultural processes which laid the foundations for large-scale capital accumulation and mobilisation on the southern alluvium. In the sections that follow, it will be demonstrated that this criticism of Algaze's model can be extended to the general use of world-systems models in archaeology. While capital accumulation has been a fundamental feature of world-system models that account for the development of states and urbanization, the primary mechanisms underlying these processes remain poorly understood. It will be argued that the majority of world systems models in archaeology are overly economic, in that they tend to consider capital accumulation as a 'self-igniting' and 'self-accumulative' process. As such, little attention has been directed towards the cultural and social characteristics that make the large-scale accumulation of capital possible.

1.2.1 World-systems theory, capital accumulation and its application to early complex societies.

Algaze's hypothesis regarding the initial development of export driven economies in southern Mesopotamia clearly draws upon formal economic models based on modern Western capitalism. This is particularly evident in his suggestion that an expanding commercial economy developed in early Mesopotamian cities, such as the unprecedented capacity of urban centres to accumulate and mobilise material and human capital in order to manufacture exportable commodities (i.e. value-added production; Algaze 2001: 207; 2008: 65-66). This formulation broadly follows a Marxist concept of capital accumulation, whereby an initial investment of human and material capital (means of production and labour power) is directed towards the production of new output containing added value, which is then appropriated for reinvestment (i.e. for export markets). This process of accumulation, as Algaze describes it, is essentially capitalistic in that there is a formal separation between production and consumption: productive output is not directly consumed but is entered into the process of circulation in order to be exchanged i.e. it is reinvested (Morrison 2006: 83).

Despite the wide-spread adoption of economic models based on modern capitalism in the study of early complex societies, these models, including Algaze's (1989; 1993; 2005), are by no means uncontested and require justification. Wallerstein, in fact, argues against the applicability of the world systems approach to pre-modern or pre-capitalist societies, and instead follows the 'substantivist' and 'primitivist' positions in economic anthropology and ancient history (Polanyi 1957; see Kohl 1987: 14). Substantivist approaches (particularly the work Karl Polanyi) have proved useful in so far that they recognise that the economy is embedded in the social totality, and is therefore not distinct from political, cultural and ideological factors. However, substantivist frameworks have severely hindered the study of ancient economies by establishing a rigid dichotomy between modern capitalist economic systems and pre-modern or ancient economies. Substantivists positions, for example, have argued that pre-capitalist societies lacked true market economies and that ancient economic systems were primarily organised around reciprocity, chiefly redistribution, or state administered trade (see critical discussions by Kohl 1987: 14; Smith 2004: 75; Sherratt and Sherratt

1991: 352). Researchers now point increasingly to the extensive evidence for commercial exchange, price-making markets and capital accumulation in ancient economies, and a number have applied world system's approaches to the study of 'pre-modern' societies (e.g. Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993: 857; Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Frank 1993: 385-6; for a review of current approaches to ancient state economies see M. E. Smith 2004).

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993) and Hall (1999) have proposed a number of modifications to Wallerstein's original world systems model to make it cross culturally applicable, and draws upon Wolf (1982) in suggesting that the world system can operate according to different modes of production (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993: 857-8; 1996: 16-17; Hall 1999: 8; Stein 1999: 158, Wolf 1982: 73-100). Following Wolf (1982), Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993) and Hall (1999) have outlined three forms of world-system that existed in the past; (1) a 'kin-ordered, normatively-based, world-system'; (2) a 'tributary, politically coercive, state-based world-system', and (3) a 'capitalist, economically coercive, state based world system' (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993: 857-8; Hall 1999: 8). Although Chase-Dunn and Hall maintain that the appearance of the state and the 'state based world system' facilitated the large-scale accumulation of capital, they argue that capital accumulation was only made possible through the extraction of tribute from direct producers. This approach, therefore, follows the substantivist position by arguing that while trade was increasing, it was essentially embedded in a larger tributary logic (Hall 1999: 8). The concept of a state-based world system, as Chase-Dunn and Hall understand it, marginalises the importance of commercial market exchange and decentralized conditions of accumulation in early complex societies.

Ekholm and Friedman (1979), by way of contrast, dismiss world systems approaches that distinguish between market/non-market or capitalist/pre-capitalist systems, and insist that such dichotomies are based upon 'false abstractions' from the reality of past social dynamics, which in fact had a lot more in common with the modern world economy than previously presumed (Ekholm and Friedman 1979: 41). They argue that there does exist a form of 'capitalism' in the ancient world, and highlight the point that while the development of states may be based upon the extraction of agricultural surplus from intensive irrigation, to focus too heavily on this internal dynamic is to neglect the fact that surplus grain cannot always be locally transformed into prestige items suitable

for elite consumption (Ekholm and Friedman 1979: 41; 43). It therefore follows that in their model of the 'state-based world system', Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993) and Hall (1999) focus too narrowly on internal dynamics by highlighting the importance of tribute mobilization at the expense of external trade in commodities through commercialized market exchange.

The tendency to adopt either a formalist or substantivist position in the study of ancient economies is largely down to the fact that archaeologists have drawn upon two principal sources for analysing past economic activity: ethnographic descriptions that emphasise the social aspects of exchange in small-scale societies, and the study of large-scale production and impersonal market economies typical of modern industrial nations (M.L. Smith 1999: 110-111). As M. L. Smith (1999: 111-112) discusses, the exclusive application of either formal economic models or substantivist positions in the analysis of pre-modern exchange systems is equally problematic, and a more balanced approach combines both perspectives. It is unlikely, for example, that the types of exchange systems documented in ethnographic accounts of small-scale societies can be applied to the study of the economic systems of ancient states and empires. As such, formal economic models may provide a better framework for studying the economic systems of early complex societies, as formal models were developed to account for large-scale economies. Nevertheless, it cannot simply be assumed that all the conditions of modern capitalist economies were met in the economic systems of early states and empires. Moreover, the substantivist critique has also highlighted the myriad social and cultural factors that often underlie large-scale economies (M. L. Smith 1999: 111). Perhaps more importantly, as Rowlands points out, to dichotomise between capitalist and pre-capitalist, rational and non-rational, embedded and disembedded economies essentially temporalises what was originally experienced spatially (Rowlands 1998: 223-4).

1.2.2 Capital accumulation in Uruk Mesopotamia: tracing its socio-cultural origins

It was outlined above how Algaze (2001; 2008) places the large-scale accumulation and mobilisation of capital as central to current interpretations of the urban expansion during the late fourth millennium BC. While I generally concur with Algaze's model concerning the initial development of large-scale, export-driven, economies in the

Southern Alluvium, I would suggest that little attention has as yet been directed towards the cultural and social factors underlying this process. This may be partly attributed to the narrow economic focus of world-systems models, which to some extent overlook the cultural and social factors organising large-scale economic systems (see critical comments by Charvát 2001: 216; Edens 1992: 121; Friedman and Ekholm Friedman 2001: 218; LaLone 1999: 298; 2001: 220). Although this may be an attempt to explicitly follow Wallerstein's original model, which perceived the modern world system as primarily economic as opposed to being embedded in political, cultural and ideological factors (see discussion above), it will be argued here that economic processes should not be isolated from those which are socio-political or cultural in nature, whether analysing 'modern' or 'pre-modern' world systems (Rowlands and Gledhill 1998: 42).

By embracing a form of economic determinism that emphasises the role of technology, labour organisation and the extraction of surplus in world systems models, such approaches will ultimately lead to a focus on inter-regional trading networks and abstract processes of wealth accumulation as determinants of local social forms (Rowlands and Gledhill 1998:46). These issues can be readily directed towards Algaze's model concerning the growth of early Mesopotamian urban economies, and have to some extent been highlighted in a critical response to his work (Algaze 2001b). Friedman and Ekholm Friedman (2001), for example, argue that what is lacking in Algaze's model is an understanding of the socio-cultural forms underlying the large-scale accumulation and mobilisation of capital (Friedman and Ekholm Friedman 2001: 218).

> As we understand the use of this (Algaze's) model, it entails that an elite has a specific strategy of accumulation of wealth, status or something that requires economic growth, a "something" specifically social and cultural that is not specified…a crucial question here would be the actual organization of this dynamic – its sociocultural form.
>
> (Friedman and Ekholm Friedman 2001: 218).

In an earlier attempt to understand the social and political processes behind large-scale accumulation, Ekholm and Friedman (1979) have argued that the expansionary dynamics of modern and ancient world-systems were a direct consequence of imperialism and the use of violence. They oppose the tendency to consider capitalism as

a ‘self-igniting’ and ‘self-accumulative’ process, which consequently negates imperialism in the modern world-system as a secondary phenomena resulting from the requirements of self-expanding industrial capital. By comparing the modern capitalist exploits of mercantile Europe and those of ancient world systems, Ekholm and Friedman suggest that both forms expanded as the result of imperialist processes, such as large-scale military tribute-taking and plunder. They argue that most studies overlook the fact that in many modern world systems the ‘core’ area often expanded and accumulated wealth through sheer force, and that capitalist production only began *within* this larger imperialistic process (Ekholm and Friedman 1979: 44).

Ekholm and Friedman’s approach postulates that it is the state itself that initially engages in this process of accumulation, and it is the opening of wider exchange networks that allows other political factions to emerge and engage in trade and wealth accumulation as a private or extra-state enterprise (Ekholm and Friedman 1979: 45, 50). This fits well within Ekholm and Friedman’s example of the world system in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia. However, the application of this model for the Uruk period is problematic, as current evidence suggests that the Uruk expansion was not initiated by the imperialistic drive of a single uniform southern Mesopotamian state; especially if by this we mean the initial extraction of wealth from peripheral communities by a single core polity through the use of force and violence (Algaze 2001a: 55-6, 70-77). As a result, the mechanisms underlying the primary accumulation of capital leading up to the Uruk expansion remain poorly understood.

Following Rowlands and Gledhill (1998), this thesis argues that long-term socio-economic change in prehistory should involve the analysis of ‘total social systems’, whereby ideological, political and economic processes are conceived as interdependent and mutually constituting: - ‘linked to each other in a dialectical interplay rather than as determinate levels in a social formation’ (Rowlands and Gledhill 1998:42). It is suggested here, following the initial insights of others (Algaze 2001a: 50; Charvát 2001: 216; Lamberg-Karlovsky 2001: 220; Matthews 2003: 121; Rothman 2001: 357-360), that the role of ideology and structures of belief should be reintegrated into the analysis of the Uruk expansion. Adapting Max Weber’s insights regarding the origins of modern capitalist accumulation in changing modes of religiosity, I will now go on to suggest that the cultural processes underlying the large-scale accumulation and mobilization of

capital in urban centres were partly determined by changing systems of belief and ritual practice. I first provide a brief outline of Weber's main argument in '*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism'* and discuss how a similar theoretical framework may be applied to the archaeology of this period.

1.2.3 The influence of ideology and ritual upon economic behaviour: a Weberian approach to long-term social transformations

> One of the constitutive components of the modern capitalist spirit and, moreover, generally of modern civilization, was the rational organization of life on the basis of the idea of the calling. It was born out of the spirit of Christian asceticism.
>
> (Weber 2002[1904-5]: 122).

Before presenting a brief outline of Weber's main argument in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, it is first of all imperative to point out that Weber distinguished between 'capitalism' and 'modern capitalism'. 'Capitalism'- as involving the exchange of commodities and the calculation of profit or loss – is considered by Weber to be a feature of most societies past and present (Aron 1970: 218; Kalberg 2002: xvii, Weber 2002[1904-5]: 16). In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Weber explains how pre-modern forms of capitalism that existed *prior* to modern capitalism were essentially restrained by a traditional economic ethic - a frame of mind whereby work was merely perceived as a constituent of everyday-life that was no more important than any other aspect of social life, such as family or leisure. According to Weber's conception of the traditional economic ethic, work was principally orientated towards the fulfilment of people's basic needs, and when these needs were met, the populace stopped working. Weber asserts that modern capitalism required a particular *ethos* that was fundamentally opposed to economic traditionalism*;* a moral framework that motivated the methodological drive to work, reorganise the means of production, and legitimate the unlimited accumulation of capital. As such, Weber postulated that all aspects of economic activity must have been organised according to a new economic ethic that replaced economic traditionalism, which Weber labelled the 'spirit of capitalism'. In addition, Weber maintained that this capitalist spirit undoubtedly existed *prior* to the emergence of modern capitalism (Kalberg 2002: lxxviii; Weber 2002[1904-5]: 19, 23).

Weber explains how there is little need for the metaphysical and moral motivations that constitute the capitalist spirit once the capitalist order is established, for it becomes a seemingly unalterable reality, imposed upon each person born within its existence. However, in accounting for the emergence of modern capitalism, the capitalist organization and conception of life must have its *origins* among particular *groups* of persons, which Weber equates with emerging religious factions (Aron 1970: 220; Weber 2002[1904-5]: 18-19). Weber's analysis therefore investigates the extent to which there was a corresponding development between religious authority and capitalism, and how such a coalition, as carried by large groups of people, confronted and overcame forms of economic traditionalism (Weber 2002[1904-5]: 33). Weber traces the spirit of capitalism to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which involved the abolishment of the Catholic Church and its replacement by a form of Protestantism that placed considerable importance on the methodological-rational organisation of the believer's social life (Kalberg 2002: xl; Weber 2002[1904-5]: 4, 100-1). However, it is important to note that Weber does not argue that the capitalist spirit could *only* have originated under the influence of the Reformation, or that capitalism as an economic system was the *creation* of the Reformation. Rather, Weber's aim is to understand the extent to which religious practices 'co-participated in the qualitative formation and quantitative expansion of this spirit across the globe' (Weber 2002[1904-5]: 49).

In his socio-historical study of Protestantism, Weber formulates what he believes to be the defining characteristics of the Protestant ethic fundamental to the development of modern capitalism. To Weber, the concept of the religious 'state of grace' was elementary to his investigation. According to the Protestant ethic, attainment of this 'state of grace' could not be achieved through traditional magical-sacramental means or confession, but through a testifying to belief centred on the this-worldly ascetic organisation of life - a system of belief testified through the routine practices of everyday life (Weber 2002[1904-5]: 100-1). This ascetic organisation of life put continuous and systematic work at the forefront of social life by defining it as the highest of ascetic means by which believers could testify to their elect status. Protestant asceticism also condemned the enjoyment of possessions and the pursuit of riches as an end in itself, which restricted the consumption of luxury goods (Weber 2002[1904-5]:

116). However, ascetic Protestantism did not oppose *rational* acquisition, but the *irrational* use of possessions. For puritan believers, the pursuit of wealth through systematic work in a vocational calling was perceived as legitimately following God-given-tasks. It is this combination of wealth acquisition through systematic work and the constraints imposed on consumption that allowed for the formation of capital that could be reinvested (Weber 2002: 116-7). As Raymond Aron put it:

> … there happens to be an amazing coincidence between certain requirements of Calvanist and Capitalist logic. The protestant ethic enjoins the believer to beware the things of this world, the flesh is guilty, and asceticism in the world is essential. But to work rationally with the view for profit and not to spend that profit is par excellence the conduct necessary to the development of capitalism, for capitalism is defined precisely as the pursuit of profit which is not consumed but reinvested. And here what I called the spiritual affinity between the Protestant and capitalist attitudes appear with maximum clarity.
>
> (Aron 1970: 222-3).

In sum, Weber established an approach to sociological analysis that incorporated the realm of values and ideas and placed them centre stage in the investigation of economic behaviour. The assumption that economic change or the development of a particular economic ethic can be explained solely by reference to an economic form is rejected. Instead, Weber argues that the behaviour of any society, capitalist or 'pre-capitalist', is conceivable only in relation to a society's worldview, and that such factors can be a determinant of economic behaviour and a potential cause of economic change (Aron 1970: 217-8; Kalberg 2002: li; Weber 2002[1904-5]).

> Weber maintained and demonstrated one proposition – that the economic behaviour of a social group can sometimes be understood in terms of its vision of the world – and that he opened the debate on a second – under specific economic circumstances, metaphysical or religious motivations may govern what we today call economic development.
>
> (Aron 1970: 225).

The central insight of Weber's argument – that religious ideals, when manifest in everyday practice, can be a determinant of economic behaviour and a potential cause of economic change - have important ramifications for archaeological analyses of economic development and social organization. Archaeological approaches to the social role of religious practices and beliefs have for the most part been subsumed within Marxist conceptions of ideology (Insoll 2004: 52). Within Marxist frameworks,

ideology is incorporated within Marx's notion of the 'superstructure', which in-itself is founded on and arises from an 'infrastructure' (base) comprising of the forces of production (i.e. the means and organization of production) and the relations of production. In this guise, the primary function of ideology is to mask the contradictions and conflicts between the forces and relations of production. Since ideology constitutes the imaginary relationships that serve to mask the real conditions of existence, ideology would have to change when the socio-economic formation changed. As such, Marxist approaches conceive ideology as being determined by the economy (Bloch 1986: 177, 187; Hodder and Hutson 2003: 78-9).

What Marxist approaches lack is an understanding of how ideology itself determines and creates society and contributes to social change (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 80, 877). Weber's analysis argues against the primary significance of the forces and relations of production common to Marxist historical materialism, and gives equal weight to the influence of historically situated ideals and values upon the organization of society and the economy. By refuting the functionally deterministic relationships common to Marxist conception of the social totality, Weber envisions individual action as the building block of social totalities (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 132, 134).

> Weber does not see this set of ideas developing on its own. Rather, the material and the ideal are integrated, so that to explain each action or social product it is necessary to consider both the historical context of subjective meaning and the practicality of daily life.
>
> (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 133).

It is worth reiterating Rowlands and Gledhill's (1998) point that studies of long-term socio-economic change in prehistory should involve the analysis of 'total social systems' in which ideological, political and economic processes are conceived as interdependent and mutually constituting (Rowlands and Gledhill 1998:42). Following Weber, it is suggested that one means of achieving this is to understand the way in which contextual meanings are related to practice over the long-term (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 130).

1.3 Research question, theoretical considerations and methodology

1.3.1 The research question

Adapting Max Weber's (2002[1904-5]) insights regarding the origins of modern capitalist accumulation in changing modes of religiosity, this thesis will investigate the changing relationship between ritual practice and the circulation of wealth as a means to investigate the social and cultural factors underlying the large-scale accumulation and mobilisation of capital during the late fourth-millennium BC. This will be achieved by examining patterns of wealth consumption as part of mortuary rituals in the transition from village to urban life in early Mesopotamia. It is anticipated that a long-term study funerary consumption will provide an informative - and archaeologically visible - intermediary through which to investigate this process.

By reinstating mortuary rituals into the analysis of emergent complexity, and by considering the role played by such rituals in the removal of 'wealth' from circulation, it may be possible to offer a complementary approach to that provided by world-systems theory; one which restores the cultural aspects of capital accumulation to their proper place within a wider explanatory framework. It is expected that this avenue of investigation may also address a related, but little discussed, aspect of urban growth during the late fourth millennium BC - the virtual disappearance of human burials from the archaeological record. By carefully considering shifting patterns of wealth consumption through burials over the long-term, it may be possible to evaluate the extent to which we should understand these phenomena as being interlinked. The key questions that this thesis will address are as follows:

(a) Do changing patterns of wealth consumption in burials relate in any systematic way to wider trajectories of wealth accumulation and mobilisation?

(b) Can the decline of on-site burial practices during the Late Uruk Period be linked to the large-scale accumulation and rapid mobilisation of capital in early urban centres?

1.3.2 Current approaches to wealth consumption and moral economies

> It is not only in order to display power, wealth and lack of self interest that slaves are put to death, precious oils burnt, copper objects cast into the sea, and even the houses of princes set on fire. It is also in order to sacrifice to the spirits and the gods, indistinguishable from their living embodiments, who bear their titles and are their initiates and allies.
>
> (Mauss 2002[1954]: 20)

The issues first raised by Weber have been central to anthropological, and to a lesser extent archaeological, approaches to ritual practice and economic behaviour in the study of 'ritual' or 'moral' economics (see Wilk 1996, Chapter 5, for an overview of such approaches in anthropology; and Wells and Davis-Salazar 2007 [eds.] for recent applications in archaeology). Within both disciplines, the relationship between systems of belief and economic behaviour has for the most part been investigated through consumption practices. For archaeology at least, this is because some aspects of economic behaviour are often difficult to detect in the archaeological record. From an archaeological perspective, therefore, trajectories of wealth mobilization are predominantly inferred from the material residues of past consumption practices, such as elaborate funerary rites, feasts, monumental buildings or votive hoards (see for example Kristiansen 1998). Archaeological approaches to wealth consumption have for the most part incorporated interpretive frameworks derived from anthropology and sociology, which in turn have either sought to identify a veiled economic rationality behind such wasteful behaviour (status enhancement and associated benefits), or have emphasised the way in which consumption practices form part of a wider ritual economy concerned with the maintenance of social reproduction (consumption in the service of social relations or the gods). Although both approaches are by no means mutually exclusive, they continue to influence current understandings of wealth consumption in archaeology.

Recent research in evolutionary and ecological archaeology, for example, has developed a number of models to explain the irrational or uneconomical expenditure of energy (i.e. time and resources etc.) in terms of Darwinian evolutionary theory. This avenue of research developed out of hypothesis originally outlined by Dunnell (1989), whose aim

was to determine if there are particular conditions where the uneconomical expenditure of energy through cultural elaboration, or 'waste', would enhance fitness and be favoured by selection (Aranyosi 1999: 359; Dunnell 1999: 246; Dunnell and Greenlee 1999: 381; Kornbacher 1999: 285; Madsen *et al.* 1999: 253). Alternative approaches have drawn upon theories of consumption and symbolic capital developed Veblen (1899) and Bourdieu (1977; 1984) in combination with theories of signal selection developed in evolutionary biology (Zahavi 1975; 1987), to interpret the economically irrational expenditure of resources as a form of wasteful advertising or costly signalling (Boone 2000; Bliege Bird and Smith 2005; Neimen 1997).

Theories of wasteful advertising or costly signalling argue that conspicuous consumption is essentially a reliable means to convey a signal or advertise some form of information about the underlying fitness-related attributes or qualities of competitors, which would otherwise be difficult or impossible to observe (Aranyosi 1999: 359; Bliege Bird and Smith 2005: 224; Boone 2000: 85; Neimen 1997: 271). By providing an honest signal of underlying fitness-related attributes that would be of interest to observers, costly or wasteful behaviour - such as ostentatious funerary rites - can be favoured by natural selection or adaptive cultural transmission (Bliege Bird and Smith 2005: 224; Shennan 2008: 84). As Bliege Bird and Smith (2005: 225-6) and Boone (2000: 85) make clear, theories of wasteful advertising and costly signalling were developed to create a testable model that can account for the role of symbolic capital (as a means of status reinforcement) in motivating human behaviour. Such approaches therefore assume that the principal motive behind wasteful advertising or costly signalling is the innate desire to compete for social status, an assumption that has its theoretical origins in Thorstein Veblen's (1899) original theory of conspicuous consumption, to which I now turn.

The concept of conspicuous consumption was first outlined in Thorstein Veblen's (1899) *Theory of the Leisure Class*. As part of his thesis, which was originally inspired by anthropological accounts of the Kwakiutl potlatch ceremonies observed by Franz Boas, Veblen argued that in situations of high socioeconomic mobility knowledge of an individual's qualities or position in society may not be widely known. It therefore follows that knowledge of a person's social standing must be established through certain social displays that can confer information on an individual's particular qualities

and position in society, such as the display of an individual's wealth (Bird and Smith 2005: 222; Trigg 2001: 101). Veblen was therefore concerned with the types of social performances instrumental to the transformation of wealth into status. In particular, Veblen argues that these performances must entail displays of wealth that involve the seemingly 'uneconomical' expenditure of time and resources i.e. conspicuous consumption (Trigg 2001: 100-101). According to Veblen's theory, individuals partake in elaborate displays of conspicuous consumption as a means to indicate their wealth and status to other members of society (Bliege, Bird and Smith 2005: 222; Trigg 2001: 101).

Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption is echoed in Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital', which can be loosely understood as the attainment of prestige or social honour in the pursuit of reputation and distinction. For Bourdieu, symbolic capital forms one aspect of capital, the others being economic capital, social capital (valued relations with others) and cultural capital (primary legitimate knowledge, see Bourdieu 1984). What these forms of capital have in common are the ways in which they define the structure of social relations in a social field i.e. social position is defined by virtue of the access they afford to various forms of capital at stake in a social field (Jenkins 2002: 85).

> The only way to escape from the ethnocentric naiveties of economism, without falling into populist exaltation of the generous naivety of earlier forms of society, is to carry out in full what economism does only partially, and to extend economic calculation to all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation.
>
> (Bourdieu 1977: 177-8).

For Bourdieu, then, the motivation behind the accumulation of symbolic capital should be conceived as being as economically 'rational' as the accumulation of material capital, especially since both forms can be freely converted from one to the other (Bliege Bird and Smith 2005: 223; Bourdieu 1977: 178).

> Symbolic capital, a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical "economic" capital, produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in "material" forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects.
>
> (Bourdieu 1977: 183).

As Bourdieu points out, the accumulation of symbolic capital is attained when individuals engage in conspicuous consumption or generosity since the significant costs involved in such displays work to attach value to symbolic capital. Furthermore, the 'rationality' of such seemingly 'un-rational' and 'un-economic' behaviour lies in the social benefits gained from manipulating social relationships with other individuals, in that such intangible social benefits may ultimately result in further wealth acquisition (Bliege Bird and Smith 2005: 223; Bourdieu 1977: 181; 1990: 120):

> Once one realizes that symbolic capital is always credit, in the widest sense of the word, i.e. a sort of advance which the group alone can grant those who give it the best material and symbolic guarantees, it can be seen that the exhibition of symbolic capital (which is always very expensive in economic terms) is one of the mechanisms which (no doubt universally) make capital go to capital.
>
> (Bourdieu 1977: 181).

Theories of conspicuous consumption have been criticized for concentrating almost exclusively upon the role of consumption as an index of social status. In particular, theories of conspicuous consumption assume that the motive behind consumption is status emulation, in that the irrational or uneconomical expenditures of resources is essentially a means to compete with and compare oneself against others in the pursuit of esteem, status and rank (i.e. symbolic capital; C. Campbell 1987: 49; 50). Furthermore, such approaches assume that status emulation as a motive is an innate disposition common to humankind (C. Campbell 1987: 50; 1994: 32; Rowlands 1994: 148). As C. Campbell makes clear in relation to Veblen's original theory, emulation is more of an intention than a motive, or to be more precise, an intention that is consistent with many different motives (C. Campbell 1993: 42).

C. Campbell suggests that a flaw common to theories of conspicuous consumption is a lack of understanding of, and attention to, the motives that drive and legitimise such behaviour. Furthermore, there is little attempt in such approaches to understand the system of belief and values that give this conduct meaning (C. Campbell 1993: 42, 1994: 31). Drawing upon Max Weber's (2002 [1904-5]) famous argument outlined above, C. Campbell (1994: 34) emphasises Weber's point that motives can only be understood in reference to a larger systems of beliefs and values. Furthermore, Weber

perceived the intimate connection between motivation and legitimisation in his argument that people are predisposed to engage in forms of conduct that are deemed morally acceptable (C. Campbell 1994: 43).

It therefore follows that if individuals partook in the conspicuous display and consumption of wealth as a means to acquire status, such behaviour would have to operate within a system of commonly held social and moral norms, or if this was not the case, countervailing moral claims would be required to provide legitimacy for such behaviour (C. Campbell 1994: 44). Thus, even if certain forms of social behaviour and practices can be attributed to conspicuous consumption as a means to acquire symbolic capital, we still fall short of understanding the motives behind this form of cultural practice. According to C. Campbell, to better comprehend the motives behind conspicuous consumption, it is essential to understand the predominant and practical moral parameters that both motivate and legitimate such practices (cf. C. Campbell 1994: 44).

The issues raised by C. Campbell have been central to anthropological interpretations of economic behaviour and consumption practices, which has long recognised that beliefs and values give meaning to economic systems, and that economic relations often rest on moral foundations (i.e. Appadurai 1986; Godelier 1999; 2004; Harrison 1992; Parry and Bloch 1989; Weiner 1985; 1992; 1994). By contrast, these themes have received relatively little attention in archaeology (see discussion in Wells and Davis-Salazar 2007). Notable exceptions include Richard Bradley's work on hoarding practices in Bronze and Iron Age Europe (Bradley 1982; 1988; 1990). Bradley has drawn on Gregory's (1980) discussion of gifts-to-gods systems to argue that hoarding practices in prehistoric Europe can be interpreted as the material remnants of status-orientated votive offerings. Bradley suggests that votive deposits - and by extension the provision of grave goods - provided an 'unparalleled theatre for competitive consumption' by removing prestige objects from circulation and reducing the pool of wealth available for competitors (Bradley 1990: 39).

A similar argument has been made by William Rathje (2002), who has recently proposed that formative Maya communities engaged in a 'nouveau elite potlatch' where social status was negotiated by strategically investing resources into 'material

extravaganzas' such as elaborate funerary rites, which were motivated by a certainty that such actions were in service of the gods or ancestors (Rathje 2002: 33, 35; Wells and Davis-Salazar 2007: 10-11). Davis-Salazar (2007) has recently argued that transformations in mortuary practices at Formative Period Copán reflect the attempts of emerging elites to monopolize control over ritual consumption in funerary contexts. According to Davis-Salazar, control over the ritualized consumption of goods conformed to existing systems of beliefs and values because such practices were perceived as an investment in symbols of community ideology and identity (Davis-Salazar 2007: 204, 208, 216).

The theoretical frameworks underlying these approaches are clearly influenced by ethnographic accounts that highlight the social tensions that exist between two fundamental orders of exchange; transactions that are orientated towards status enhancement, and transactions orientated towards long-term social reproduction. Ethnographic studies have discussed how in societies where relations between persons are mediated through the exchange of differentially valued objects, social rank is established by withholding those objects deemed to be of higher value from circulation, and to lose such objects to others entails a loss of prestige (Barth 1990: 649; Godelier 1999: 33; Rowlands 1998 [1987]: 229; Weiner 1992: 10). The strategies surrounding giving-and-keeping are therefore instrumental in transforming relationships of difference into relationships of inequality (Godelier 1999: 33; Weiner 1992:11). Nevertheless, such strategies are normally subjected to forms of social control and restriction, since exchange often constitutes the principal locus for mediating social relationships and ensuring wider social reproduction (Godelier 1999: 104).

This tension between the desire to uphold status through the withholding of objects and the maintenance of social reproduction through mediated exchange can be equated with what Parry and Bloch (1989) consider to be two distinct yet mutually constituting transactions: those concerned with reproducing long-term social or cosmic order, and short-term transactions concerned with individual appropriation and competition (Parry and Bloch 1989: 23-4). Parry and Bloch contend that some ideological space is in fact necessary 'within which individual acquisition is a legitimate and even laudable goal' since the maintenance of the long-term social and cosmic order is often 'both pragmatically and conceptually dependent on individual short-term acquisitive

endeavours' (Parry and Bloch 1989: 26). They argue that conversion between the two orders fundamentally rests upon their moral evaluation, in that cycles of short-term individualistic gain may be deemed morally acceptable if it ultimately serves to reproduce long-term cycles of social reproduction (Parry and Bloch 1989: 26).

In light of current approaches to intentional wealth removal and consumption practices, this study will be generally informed throughout by the following hypotheses. Firstly, consumption through intentional discard or riddance ensures that social status is upheld by removing inalienable or valuable objects from circulation, thus limiting their access to competitors and guaranteeing the value of similar objects that remain in circulation. Secondly, the conspicuous discard of wealth converts material capital into 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1977) or 'intellectual property' (Harrison 1992; 1995) – an information economy comprised of non-tangible resources (i.e. sacred knowledge, titles, the underlying qualities or attributes of individuals) that play a fundamental role in the maintenance and definition of rank and prestige. Thirdly, acquisitive behaviour and displays of wealth operate within wider systems of belief and values, which may work to prohibit, legitimate or motivate such practices.

1.3.3 Methodological considerations and structure of the thesis

In order to demonstrate the applicability of a long-term, holistic, approach to understanding economic change in the transition from village to urban life, this thesis will explore the relationship between burial rites and funerary consumption from the Late Neolithic through to the Late Chalcolithic period (c. 6400-3000 cal. BC) in the Greater Mesopotamia region. To achieve this, I have assembled a comprehensive database on mortuary practices in the Greater Mesopotamian region for the periods under study, which is based upon the available published records for skeletal information, context and grave goods. Due to the uneven nature of the data (see below) the database will primarily function to isolate major trends and deviations in funerary consumption over time, as well as providing the foundations for a detailed contextual analysis of particular data sets. The analysis will be structured to address the following points:

1. **To assess the scale of funerary consumption over the long-term.**

2. **To identify broad patterns in the types of object removed from circulation through funerary rites.**

3. **To identify broad patterns in the spatial context of burials, such as variations in the scale of intramural (i.e. habitation zone) or extramural burials through time.**

4. **To broadly determine the principal methods of burial and the extent to which burial methods varied through time**.

1.3.3.1 Quantifying wealth consumption in the burial record

It is essential to outline here the methods used to measure wealth consumption in burials, and to justify the adoption of such a methodology. A recent study of interregional wealth transmission and inequality in pre-modern societies (Bowles *et al*. 2010) has sought to identify distinctive forms of wealth that can be quantified and investigated empirically. They broadly define 'wealth' as 'an attribute of the individual that contributes to a flow of valued goods or services' (Bowles *et al*. 2010: 9), and attempt to group types of wealth into three distinct categories: material wealth, relational wealth, and embodied wealth. Within this model, material wealth includes material items that act as stores of wealth (such as real estate, livestock and goods), whereas relational wealth refers to the position of an individual in a wider social network (i.e. links to high status individuals). Embodied wealth, on the other hand, includes physical attributes (strength, immune function) as well as practical skills and knowledge (Bowles *et al*. 2010: 9).

While such a model is commendable for its far-ranging definition of wealth and its various attributes, critics have pointed out that embodied and relational wealth are often dependent upon - or at least not independent from - forms of material wealth (Boone 2010: 98), to the extent that these categories of wealth should not be considered in isolation, but as being interdependent and mutually constituting (Bradburd 2010: 99; Waller 2010: 118). It is acknowledged, for example, that the consumption of material

wealth can be a means of generating intangible forms of wealth, which have been variously described in the ethnographic literature as examples of 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1977) or 'intellectual property' (Harrison 1992; 1995). Moreover, it has also been pointed out that the process of identifying and quantifying embodied and relational wealth from the archaeological record is inherently difficult. On a practical level, archaeologists are therefore better equipped to study the material aspects of wealth (Ames 2010: 96).

Taking these points into consideration, this thesis will therefore document the removal of material wealth (grave-goods) from circulation in funerary rites. This however, brings up additional quandaries that need to be addressed. The foremost of these quandaries concern the quantification of material wealth, and the problematic subject of what constitutes value. Archaeologists have traditionally identified objects of value on the basis of their relative scarcity in a site or given region, the rarity of the materials, distance to a source of supply, or the amount of labour expended on their production (see critical discussion in M. L. Smith 1999: 113). Nevertheless, as Godelier (1999: 67) aptly puts it, the value of material items 'does not reside solely in the scarcity of their matter ... or in the labour expended to manufacture or enhance them. The choice of material and the labour invested all count, of course, but less than a certain immaterial reality present in the objects.' Godelier's (1999) point is supported by the countless material culture studies that demonstrate how all objects - whether they come to represent 'gifts', 'commodities', 'sacred' items or 'utilitarian' objects - are imbued with symbolic value, and that value is created and redefined through sustained material engagement (Appadurai 1986: 17; Fotiadis 1990: 391; Gell 1992: 148, 167; Gosden and Marshall 1999: 170; Kopytoff 1986: 384; Lesure 1999; M. L. Smith 1999: 116). As such, it cannot be easily assumed that the items recovered from funerary contexts were either 'ordinary' goods or items of intrinsic value. Rather, the consumption of wealth in funerary contexts may have been an important means of negotiating the status and value of objects:

> 'The simultaneous inclusion of objects of domestic use into burial, ritual and discard contexts illustrates that premodern peopled invested material objects with multiple simultaneous and context-bound meanings.'
>
> (M. L. Smith 1999: 117)

Taking these points into consideration, it cannot simply be assumed that an 'exotic' object, such as an obsidian blade or gold ornament, can be treated as being of greater value to a supposed 'utilitarian' object, such as a ceramic vessel. For the purpose of impartial quantitative analysis - and to avoid modern biases regarding definitions of wealth and value - grave-goods will be equally weighted and treated on equivalent terms (e.g. one ceramic vessel is treated as being equivalent to - in quantitative terms – one vessel sherd). Funerary consumption will therefore be measured in terms of the numbers of grave-goods present in burials. It is acknowledged, however, that an analysis based solely on the numbers of grave-goods present in funerary contexts will not provide a complete measure of 'wealth' consumption in funerary rites. It is possible that the amount of wealth consumed in burials may not have been quantitatively significant in terms of the overall amount in circulation, but could include a small number of items imbued with considerable symbolic value. Nevertheless, it is anticipated that when approached over the long-term, it will be possible to determine broad patterns in the scale of funerary consumption in the transition from village to urban societies.

It would also be misleading to simply assume that grave-goods held an inherent and fixed value over several thousand years. This is highly unlikely. However, it would be equally misleading to assume from the outset that certain objects can be perceived as having greater value than others, and that this measure of difference was sustained over the long-term. The value accorded to object can also vary enormously within and between specific cultural contexts, sites and regions. Moreover, if changing patterns of funerary consumption can be explained by cycles of competitive mortuary displays (i.e. conspicuous consumption) then the value and status of objects are likely to fluctuate in relation to processes of emulation. Objects initially adopted as 'high-status' or 'high value' grave-goods may lose value or status as they became widely available, and therefore decline in frequency in the burial record (see Cannon 1989 and comments by Bradley 1989: 448). As Bradley (1989: 448) points out, cycles of competitive emulation in funerary rites may then account for the changing frequency of grave-good types over time, as their value was unstable. By extension, as the value of grave-goods are likely to fluctuate, there is 'little objective basis for calculating "wealth scores"' (Bradley 1989: 448) in the analysis of funerary consumption. This analysis will therefore quantify the scale of funerary consumption in terms of the four main artefact classes recorded from funerary contexts - vessel forms, tools, personal ornaments, and miscellaneous objects. It is anticipated that this will identify broad patterns in the frequency of grave-good types over time. A marked change in the frequency of grave-good categories may then suggest that certain object

types were valued over others for use in mortuary rites. This additional level of investigation will therefore complement an analysis of funerary consumption based on numbers of grave-goods, as it is recognised that changes in the quantities of grave-goods cannot be treated as separate from the types of objects consumed in funerary rites.

It also possible, of course, to evaluate funerary consumption in terms of the time and energy expended in funerary rites and methods of burial. This may be then measured in terms of the size of funerary structures, labour expenditure, degree of elaboration (prolonged funerary rites, public ceremonies, funeral feasts etc.) and so forth. Unfortunately, due to the highly variable nature of recording for burial methods, as well as variability in the terms used to describe burials, it is not possible to provide an accurate measure of funerary consumption in term of burial methods or funerary structures (see section 1.3.3.5 below). However, the analysis will attempt to broadly determine the principal methods of burial and the extent to which burial methods varied through time. In addition, when detailed information on burial methods is made available, they will be discussed at length as a series of case studies and linked to wider-patterns of grave-good consumption.

Although the long-term analysis of funerary consumption will form the foundation of this study, it is recognised that funerary practices are not isolated social phenomena. Patterns in the scale of consumption, and the types of objects removed in funerary contexts, will be considered within a wider social matrix and informed throughout by the theoretical models outlined in section 1.3.2. The analysis will therefore provide the foundations for a detailed study of particular burial groups, and it is anticipated that the methodological concerns outlined above can be better addressed in these sections. The term ‘capital’, as used in this thesis, will be distinguished from the term wealth. Capital will be broadly defined here as a form of wealth that is not directly consumed but appropriated for reinvestment i.e. capital that is entered into the process of circulation for the purpose of generating more capital. Drawing on Algaze (2001; 2008), it is proposed that large-scale economies of capital accumulation developed in southern Mesopotamia during the Uruk period (see sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). By isolating major patterns of wealth consumption in the burial record over time, it is anticipated that

further insight may be gained into the cultures of capital accumulation that emerged towards the end of the fourth-millennium BC.

1.3.3.2 Data collection and variability in published reports

It is important to indicate here the limits of what can reasonably be attained from a long-term analysis of the burial record when considering the overall quality of the data collected from publications. Information provided in published reports varies significantly as a result of many factors. Older publications are less likely to provide detailed information concerning the age and sex of skeletal remains. In addition, a number of past excavations (particularly salvage excavations) have not been fully published. Data concerning the burial record of these sites must therefore be obtained from the limited information provided in preliminary reports. In addition, important data from a number of recent excavations is somewhat limited as excavations are either ongoing or awaiting final publication. Of necessity, then, burial data from recent excavations is for the most part collected from preliminary reports. The primary data-set obtained for this study is presented in Appendix B, which is organised alphabetically by site name. For each site, a brief summary of the publications used, publication types, investigation type and the quality of the burial data will also be provided in Appendix B.

1.3.3.3 Age and gender categories

A major issue to address is the nature and reliability of age categories in the burial record, as these distinctions will be central to my arguments throughout the thesis. Overall, information concerning the age of individuals recorded in the burial record is of poorer quality than would be desired. Of the 1,677 burials recorded for this study, detailed information on the age of skeletal remains is provided for only 165 individuals. Following general practice in the publications used - where in the majority of instances the approximate age of individuals is recorded - the key age categories used throughout this study are: infant, child, adolescent and adult. For the small number of cases where detailed information on the age of the skeletal remains is available, the approximate age categories are defined as follows:

Age Range	Approximate Age
0 to 5	Infant
6 to 12	Child
13 to 18	Adolescent
18 or over	Adult

Table 1.1 Age range and approximate age categories

The interpretive logic behind the categorisation of age groups is rarely discussed in site reports, and no direct correspondence with prehistoric social classifications can be presumed. The variable nature of recording human remains means that any survey of age-orientated patterns in the burial record must be treated as an approximation and with due caution. What may be defined as an 'infant' in one report could be described as a 'child' in another. In addition, it is clear from the data that adolescents appear to be heavily underrepresented in the overall burial sample. It is very likely that the small number of adolescent burials recorded in the sample either derive from publications that better describe skeletal remains, or represent the few instances where the term is adopted to describe burials. Taking these caveats on board, it is nevertheless a core assumption of this thesis that such a survey, particularly when conducted over a large scale and across a long chronological span, constitutes a worthwhile contribution to the field, extracting the maximum interpretive possibilities from an uneven data-set that would otherwise remain highly fragmented. It is anticipated, moreover, that any hypotheses arising from this analysis will stimulate further discussion of the early Mesopotamian burial record, to be verified or amended in light of new and more informative publications.

A related issue is the lack of data relating to biological sex in the human skeletal record. Of the 1,705 burial contexts recorded for this study, detailed information on the sex of skeletal remains is provided for only 166 individuals: a similar number to that for which detailed information on age is provided. Whereas approximations of age are given for the majority of other burials, information relating to sex is often entirely lacking from the published reports. An analysis of long-term social change based upon the burial record would ideally incorporate the interpretation of gender categories alongside age categories. A severe lack of information for the sex of skeletal material in published reports nevertheless precludes even a tentative analysis of the burial record by gender

categories. Given the importance of gender for comprehending long-term social change, it can only be hoped that this situation will improve with future publications.

1.3.3.4 Grave-goods

The information provided for grave-goods in published reports is generally of a workable standard. In some cases it can be established from the published reports that certain graves contained grave-goods, but no comprehensive inventory of artefacts is provided. In addition, the degree of detail provided for the contents of graves varies between publications. For the most part, however, this relates to the types of ceramic vessels recorded in burials. With the exception of beads and animal remains, which will be addressed separately below, all grave-goods recorded from burials will be counted as a single unit for the purpose of objective quantification i.e. one ceramic vessel sherd or one flint fragment will be deemed as equivalent to one ceramic vessel or one flint blade, and thus counted as a single unit. Additional points regarding the recording of objects from funerary contexts must be further clarified:

1) Information concerning the spatial context of grave-goods is rarely provided in publications. It is therefore difficult to assign grave-goods to a specific individual in burials that contain multiple individuals i.e. contexts whereby a concentration of skeletal remains belonging to multiple-individuals can be associated with a specific context or feature (e.g. grave-pit, tomb, architectural unit). Burials that contain multiple individuals are therefore treated as a single unit for the purpose of recording grave-goods i.e. grave-goods will be assigned to burials and not to individuals. This will only effect the small proportion of burials where multiple individuals were recorded (5.6% of the overall burial sample).

2) The analysis of funerary consumption by age category will, of course, assign grave-goods to individuals rather than funerary contexts. As such, multiple-burials are excluded from the analysis of funerary consumption by age category. For example, in a multiple burial context that contained both an adult and a child, it is often difficult to determine from the published material whether any accompanying grave goods can be spatially associated with either individual. The analysis of funerary consumption by age category will therefore only include contexts where grave-goods can be realistically

assigned to individuals i.e. burial contexts with single interments only. Again, this will only effect the small proportion of burials where multiple individuals were recorded (5.6 % of the overall burial sample).

3) In those instances where skeletal remains are interred within a ceramic vessel or vessel fragments, these objects will be recorded as grave goods, although statistical information in the main chapters distinguishes them from other methods of burial (see below, 1.3.3.5).

4) In the small number of instances where it is indicated that quantities of a particular grave-good were present in a funerary context, but exact numbers are not recorded, then grave-goods will be counted as a single unit for the purpose of identifying the presence of grave-goods in funerary contexts i.e. burials with grave-good assemblages described as 'pottery vessels' or 'vessel sherds' will be counted as a single unit (e.g. 1 pottery vessel, 1 vessel sherd).

5) The detailed recording of animal remains in funerary contexts is often absent from publications. Moreover, the animal remains recovered from funerary contexts are often fragmented or represent particular skeletal elements (it is clear from some contexts that burials were provisioned with cuts of meat). As a practicality, animal remains will not be counted when quantifying grave-goods. However, the presence of animal remains in burials will be recorded in the primary database. Furthermore, funerary contexts that display evidence for large scale feasting events (i.e. large quantities of processed animal bone in funerary deposits) will be described in detail as separate case studies.

6) The very large numbers of beads recorded from some contexts (which can number in the thousands) would significantly inflate artefact counts and distort an analysis of funerary consumption if enumerated as individual grave goods. In addition, publications often record the presence of beads in grave inventories as a 'bead necklace' or 'ornament' without any indication of the number or types of beads recovered. At Tepe Gawra, for example, beads from graves were divided and enumerated according to their various types (e.g. materials, size, shape, colour; see Peasnall 2002: 173). A single grave inventory from Gawra could therefore list quantities of specific bead types (e.g. 12 copper beads, 56 round obsidian beads, 32 white paste beads) without any indication

as to whether they formed a composite ornament. As a practicality, therefore, burials containing ten or more beads of a specific 'type' (as defined in the published material) will be recorded and counted as a single artefact (e.g. 12 copper beads = 1 copper bead ornament; for a similar approach see Bolger 2008: 227). While it is acknowledged that this system brings up various predicaments (see section 1.3.3.1), it is nevertheless anticipated that this method of counting beads will provide a more accurate representation of long-term funerary consumption. Furthermore, this system will mainly impact on a small number of burial contexts where very high quantities of beads are recorded. These contexts will nevertheless be discussed at length as separate case studies.

1.3.3.5 Burial methods and skeletal remains

Due to the variable nature of recording for burial methods, as well as variability in the terms used to describe burials, burial methods have been grouped within broad categories to aid analysis (e.g. 'pit burial'; 'vessel burial'). On occasion, when detailed information on burial methods is not available and cannot be grouped in this way, the descriptive terms used in the original publication will be used. Detailed information on burial methods, when available, is presented in the primary data-set in Appendix B. Non-standard burials made in architectural features - such as grain-bins, ovens and house floors - will be categorised on the basis of their association with an architectural feature (e.g. 'grain-bin burial', 'floor-burial' and 'oven-burial') in order to distinguish them from more standard methods of burial. A number of burials will be described as 'object burials': - contexts where graves are recorded that contain objects but lacked clear evidence for skeletal remains. It was decided that it would be worthwhile recording these contexts as part of the analysis in order to explore possible links between object caching and funerary consumption.

Information on skeletal remains, such as the degree of articulation, position of the body, alignment and orientation etc. is rarely given in published reports. Again, due to the variable nature of recording for this aspect of the burial record, as well as variability in the terms used to describe burials, these features will regrettably not form part of the analysis. When available, this information will nevertheless be presented in the primary data-set located in Appendix B. It is also noted in the primary data-set whether the

skeletal remains are interpreted as representing a primary burial (where the skeletal remains are complete and in anatomical order), a fragmentary burial (where the skeletal remains are in a state of disarticulation/not in anatomical order) or a secondary burial (used loosely here as the secondary interment of skeletal remains from some place of temporary storage). These categories must be treated as an approximation and with due caution, since they are generally based on descriptive terms used in publications and are therefore unsystematic.

1.3.3.6 The spatial context of burials

It is frequently assumed that burials excavated from settlement contexts were originally interred during periods of habitation. It is often stated in publications, for example, that burials were made below the floors of architectural units. As S. Campbell (2007/8: 136) has pointed out, such assertions are rarely justified with reference to explicit stratigraphic links between burials and architectural features. It is conceivable that burials described in this way may have been interred between phases of construction or habitation, and there is indeed evidence to suggest that some burials were implicated in the establishment, reconfiguration, or abandonment of habitation zones. In certain cases unoccupied settlement mounds were also used as burial grounds during part of their life histories.

In cases where burials are located in open areas within habitation zones, the burials in question will be broadly grouped within a category termed 'general settlement area'. This category extends to burials that cannot be directly associated with architectural features or activity zones, or burials made within settlements where spatial context is not adequately recorded. It therefore remains possible that some burials placed within this category were created between distinct phases of occupation. Burials recorded as lying below the floors of architectural units must be treated with similar caution as detailed stratigraphic confirmation is often lacking, and the location of the burial in relation to an overlying floor may be the result of the interment having been carried out between different phases of construction. The term 'cemetery' will be used to describe the agglomeration of human burials on the margins of (i.e. Eridu), or beyond (i.e. Yarim Tepe I, Tell Kashkashok), architecturally defined habitation zones. Detailed descriptions

of the spatial context of burials, when available, will be provided in the primary data-set located in Appendix B.

In assembling as comprehensive a database as possible from limited and variable sources, this thesis takes into account the fact that future archaeological work in Iraq, and the condition of the country's archaeological record in general, have been seriously compromised by conflict and looting in recent decades. In providing a detailed account of the late prehistoric burial record of this region, based on previous investigations and publications, it is hoped that this thesis will serve to highlight both the possibilities and challenges that lie ahead.

1.3.3.7 Chronological framework

The key units of analysis utilised by archaeologists for the periods under study in the Greater Mesopotamian region remain the classic culture-type groupings, such as Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, Ubaid and Uruk. However, it is essential to comprehend that these typologies are largely, if not entirely, based upon pottery style, and result in a traditional chronological framework derived from a small number of classic type-sites (see Bernbeck 2008: 714; S. Campbell 2007: 105; Carter and Philip 2010: 2; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 24-27; 2008: 692). As S. Campbell (2007) demonstrates, a chronological framework founded upon ceramic sequences has the potential to seriously misdirect research, especially in studies that seek to interpret social change:

> Change in the style of ceramics, although obviously happening through time, is not directly the result of temporal change. Rather it is a result of the very social changes that are the object of study. There is a dangerous element of circularity if a chronological structure that is defined through change in material culture is then used as a framework within which to explain social changes reflected in that material culture
>
> (S. Campbell 2007: 104).

It is therefore not only misleading to conceive of terms such as 'Halaf' or 'Ubaid' as representing bounded homogenous cultures - typologies that are founded on ceramic styles may in fact obscure attempts to interpret long-term social change (see also the discussion in Shennan 1989: 11-14 on the treatment of 'cultures as entities'). Culture-historical models, for example, tend to play down the significance of variation within

culture groups and focus instead on the differences between them. When utilized in social evolutionary frameworks, the emphasis is on aspects of social change between groups through time, at the expense of recognising social change *within* groups. In the case of Near Eastern prehistory for example, there is clear evidence for significant social change during the Late Neolithic, and we should no longer conceive of this period as a homogenous static entity fixed between an earlier aceramic Neolithic and the later Chalcolithic (Bernbeck 2008: 715; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 27; 2008: 692). A related problem is that researchers commonly associate particular culture-types with specific forms of social organization derived from social evolutionary archaeology (Carter and Philip 2010: 10-11). These social-organizational models are often constructed from diverse data sets agglomerated from a number of sites from different regions, which, as Stein (2010: 25) points out, effectively homogenises regional variation and can lead to reconstructions of societal types that have no basis in past reality.

For Nieuwenhuyse, it would be more productive to conceive Late prehistoric societies as comprising a widespread and overlapping network of social fields: 'To think of Late Neolithic societies as constituted of extensive, overlapping social fields instead of monolithic, bounded cultures has the advantage of moving away from the traditional reduction to reified archaeological constructs such as Hassuna, Halaf, Ubaid etc. It allows the possibility that such 'cultures' never existed, stimulating open-minded approaches' (Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 218; 2008: 701-2; see also Mann 1986). A comparable argument has been put forward by both Bernbeck (2008: 718) and Watkins (2008), who refute the existence of sharply delineated archaeological 'chronocultures' in Near Eastern prehistory. Both authors suggest that the notion of archaeological culture groups should be replaced by a model that sees prehistoric communities as engaged in complex multi-level networks of interaction.

This, however, begs the question of how one approaches the study of long-term change in prehistory without resorting to the use of arbitrary and potentially misleading culture-phase typologies such as 'Halaf' and 'Ubaid'? As Nieuwenhuyse (2007: 216-7) himself suggests, it may be a question of scale. In archaeological studies that focus on the relatively short-term, micro-scale analysis of particular contexts, conventional culture-historical boundaries may be seen to dissolve and become increasingly blurry

(Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 217). However, when viewed on the macro-scale and over the long-term, these conventional culture groupings may appear more robust as it becomes possible to distinguish a more homogenous set of attributes or core traits that are more-or-less isolated in time and space (Carter and Philip 2010: 5; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 216-7).

An alternative means to address this problem is proposed by S. Campbell (2007), who argues for a more flexible and variable phenomena-based approach to chronology. In this approach, chronology is utilized to isolate phenomena of interpretational interest (S. Campbell 2007: 108). Firstly, it is necessary to establish the chronologies of individual sites with as high a definition as possible and with limited reference to each other. The phenomena to be investigated may then be examined, and explicitly linked back to the individual site chronologies that together would form part of the interpretive process (S. Campbell 2007: 108). Greater emphasis can then be placed on periods of change as opposed to change between cultural-phases: 'The emphasis is not on discrete and relatively stable phases, between which we seek to date boundaries. Instead it is on phases of change – essentially the boundaries themselves' (S. Campbell 2007: 132). Furthermore, this approach allows for the isolation of phenomena that may have divergent trajectories of change, such as architectural style or burial practices, which may be the result of different social processes. Such phenomena may then be located in contexts of time and space free from the bounds of discreet cultural-phases (S. Campbell 2007: 132-3). As Bernbeck notes, 'An entity that is historically defined by pottery styles cannot be assumed to be unified in terms of burying people' (Bernbeck 2008: 718-9).

It was originally anticipated that this study would adopt a comparable approach to the long-term analysis of burial practices. However, it quickly became apparent that there is a scarcity of reliable radiocarbon dates for the majority of contexts under analysis. As such, due to the absence of highly-defined site chronologies based upon radiocarbon determinations, the adoption of a phenomena-based approach based solely on radiocarbon dates would lead to the omission of much relevant data. Nevertheless, it would be unsatisfactory and potentially misleading to group the available data into broad-brushed and discreet cultural entities such as 'Halaf', or 'Ubaid', since any observed changes in funerary practices over time will ultimately be evaluated on the

basis of change between archaeologically created cultural groups. Keeping these points in mind, this study will group and analyze data sets within approximate 200 year periods based on a relative chronological sequence that is of higher chronological resolution than traditional supra-regional culture-groupings. The data will then be assembled within three broader units (Late Neolithic, Late Ubaid and Late Chalcolithic) to help structure the thesis (see chronological charts in Appendix A):

Chronological units of analysis:

Late Neolithic:

Period 1. Date Cal. BC = c. 6400 - 6200 (proto-Hassuna)

Period 2. Date Cal. BC = c. 6200 - 6000 (Transitional/Hassuna-Samarra)

Period 3. Date Cal. BC = c. 6000 - 5800 (Early Halaf)

Period 4. Date Cal. BC = c. 5800 - 5600 (Early -Middle Halaf)

Period 5. Date Cal. BC = c. 5600 - 5400 (Middle - Late Halaf)

Late Ubaid:

Period 6. Date Cal. BC = c. 5400 - 5200 (HUT)

Period 7. Date Cal. BC = c. 5200 - 5000 (Ubaid 3a)

Period 8. Date Cal. BC = c. 5000 - 4800 (Ubaid 3a-3b)

Period 9. Date Cal. BC = c. 4800 - 4600 (Ubaid 3b)

Period 10. Date Cal. BC = c. 4600 - 4400 (Ubaid 4-Ubaid Transitional/Terminal)

Late Chalcolithic:

Period 11. Date Cal. BC = c. 4400 - 4200 (LC1)

Period 12. Date Cal. BC = c. 4200 - 4000 (Early LC 2)

Period 13. Date Cal. BC = c. 4000 - 3800 (Late LC2)

Period 14. Date Cal. BC = c. 3800 - 3600 (Late LC2 – Early LC3)

Period 15. Date Cal. BC = c. 3600 - 3400 (LC3 – Early LC4)

Period 16. Date Cal. BC = c. 3400 - 3200 (LC 4 - Late LC4)

Period 17. Date Cal. BC = c. 3200 - 3000 (LC5)

Due to the general paucity of reliable radiocarbon dates, the allocation of the data within these chronological units are based out of necessity upon established relative

chronological frameworks, utilizing calibrated radiocarbon dates when available to provide (somewhat dispersed) 'fixed points' of chronological reference (see Appendix A). It is recognised, however, that the general paucity of detailed chronological information from a number of sites often leads to a situation where phases of occupation or specific features/contexts are dated on the basis of pottery style, and are then allocated a position in a general relative chronology that is primarily based upon ceramic sequences. This is more so with funerary contexts, as they are often cut into, and therefore excavated from, stratigraphically earlier deposits. As such, burials are primarily dated on the basis of grave goods such as ceramics. Moreover, it is important to note that chronological frameworks in Mesopotamian prehistory remain the subject of continuous debate and are constantly revaluated on the basis of new data.

Having establishing a relative chronological framework for this analysis, burials were then categorized chronologically within this sequence (see chronological charts in Appendix A). The chronological allocation of data sets is based upon available published material for individual sites, and the basis for the dating used for each site (published source) will be provided in the introductory sections of each analysis (sections 3.3.1; 5.4.1 and 7.2.1). It is inevitable that the dating of some burials will fall around the border of two chronologically defined phases. However, as the majority of burials are dated either on the basis of grave-goods (i.e. pottery style), or on their stratigraphic allocation within a phase of occupation (again mainly dated on the basis of pottery style), it is then possible to assign a burial within a chronologically defined phase, as these phases are themselves predominately defined by ceramic sequences. Burials that lack sufficient information for dating and cannot be assigned to the chronological framework presented in Appendix A will be omitted from the analysis. In addition, by categorizing burials within 200 year phases, it is anticipated that the misallocation of a burial that falls around the border of two chronologically defined phases will not significantly impact on the overall analysis, or at least not to the same extent as would a study based on the categorization of burials within 500 year phases.

The data collected for this study derive from sites located in the Greater Mesopotamian region, which encompasses modern Iraq, the alluvial lowlands of Southwest Iran (Khuzestan) as well as northern Syria, south-central and south-east Turkey (Upper Euphrates, Upper Khabur and Upper Tigris Basins; see map showing distribution of

sites in Appendix A section 11.1). While the overall burial sample is large enough to justify a long-term investigation of funerary consumption analysed within approximate 200 year time bands, a further level of analysis based upon regional variation in funerary consumption would significantly reduce the sample size, and weaken the quality of the analysis. This additional level of analysis would be possible if the data sample was analysed within 500 year time bands, but that would have compromised the principal objectives of this study, which is to investigate long-term trends in funerary consumption in as finer chronological resolution as possible. Although the analysis will encompass data collected from sites located across Greater Mesopotamian, the regional location of each site used for every 200 year phase analysed will be presented in the introductory sections of the analysis (sections 3.3.1; 5.4.1 and 7.2.1). Regional divergences in funerary practices and patterns of funerary consumption will also be highlighted throughout the thesis.

1.3.3.8 Thesis structure

For each major chronological phase (Late Neolithic/Late Ubaid/Late Chalcolithic) the data will be analyzed and discussed in two sections structured as separate chapters. A review of long-term trends in funerary practices for each period will be presented in Chapters 3, 5, 7. In preparation for this systematic review of burial practices for each period, observations will be made concerning the distinctive properties of social organization and material culture as well as any other themes and issues relevant to the period in question. This is in line with my general methodology, approaching funerary data in a holistic framework of social and cultural change over the long-term. Preliminary analysis of the burial data will follow. The data analysis in these chapters is not intended to isolate any single criterion for 'rich' burials in the archaeological record. The principal aim is rather to determine major trends and deviations in patterns of wealth consumption through burials, and provide foundations for the contextual analysis of burials over the long-term, including changing ritual treatments of the body and constructions of personhood in death.

For each chronological phase, a second stage of analysis (Chapters 4, 6 and 8) will present a synthesis of funerary practices within their wider social matrix. Each such chapter provides a detailed consideration of specific burial groups, structured as a series

of case studies and interpreted in light of the preceding data analysis. The penultimate chapter (Chapter 9) considers cultures of capital accumulation in the Late Uruk period against the background of the thesis as a whole, in order to address more fully the key social transformations that occurred throughout the region of Greater Mesopotamia at this time. A concluding chapter (Chapter 10) summarises the main arguments and findings of the thesis. The guiding strand of this research is an investigation of the interplay between trajectories of accumulation and the consumption of wealth through burials. It is anticipated that this approach will allow for both a 'bottom-up' account of particular archaeological contexts, as well as the 'top-down' analysis of large-scale phenomena and long-term social transformations. It is intended that each account will inform and contextualise the other. A preliminary chapter (Chapter 2) will first consider the current state of research into the funerary archaeology of the wider Near East, as a foundation for the chapters that follow.

2 Approaches to the funerary archaeology of the Near East from the PPN to the Early Bronze Age

This chapter will present a comparative appraisal of the funerary archaeology of Western Asia from the establishment of sedentary agricultural communities to the development of urban polities. It is anticipated that a critical review of current research in this subject area will situate this thesis against the background of existing scholarship, and outline its relevance and potential to contribute towards a greater understanding of the long-term socio-economic developments that occurred during the transition from village to urban societies. This review will therefore consider current approaches to the funerary archaeology of the early Neolithic period through to the third millennium BC, with the aim of highlighting dominant research trends and theoretical paradigms within this field of study. Furthermore, I hope to situate the funerary archaeology of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods - which will constitute the principal focus of this thesis – against broader patterns of funerary practices observed for the periods covered in this review. It is anticipated that a review of early Neolithic burial practices will contextualise later developments in the funerary archaeology of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. A review of post-Uruk (third millennium BC) patterns of burial will highlight subsequent transformations in the funerary archaeology of early cities situated on the Southern Alluvium. By considering the role played by funerary practices in processes of 'secondary' urbanization in Upper Mesopotamia (third millennium BC), I hope to draw attention to the distinctive attributes of Late Chalcolithic funerary practices in relation to the development of early cities towards the end of the fourth millennium BC.

2.1 Current approaches to the funerary archaeology of the Early Neolithic (Pre-Pottery Neolithic) in the Near East

Conceived as an evolutionary first, it is not surprising that the archaeology of the earliest settled agricultural communities across the Fertile Crescent has been subject to a

substantial degree of research and theoretical debate. As part of this research, considerable attention has been directed towards the role played by funerary practices as part of wider transformations in ritual practices in early sedentary communities. In a notable divergence from earlier scholarship that sought to understand the adoption and spread of agriculture from an ecological perspective, giving precedence to such factors as climate change, population pressure and the biological aspects of plant and animal domestication (Bar-Yosef and Belfer-Cohen 1989; Bar-Yosef and Meadow 1995; Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 1997; see Matthews 2003: 70-88 and Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 69-76 for an overview), research has been increasingly directed towards understanding the social and cultural transformations that marked the transition from hunter-gatherer societies to farming communities in the Near East. Following wider theoretical trends in archaeology and neighbouring disciplines, greater emphasis has been placed on transformations in symbolic and cognitive behaviour. This was in part a response by archaeologists confronted with an extraordinary wealth of new material forms and 'exotic' funerary rites in the archaeological record of early agricultural villages, which appear to mark an unprecedented investment in material and ritual symbolism at this time.

2.1.1 Symbolic/Cognitive Approaches

An influential account of the origins of agriculture that accords primacy to transformations in symbolic and cognitive behaviour is outlined by Jacques Cauvin in *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Agriculture*. For Cauvin (2000a; 2000b), the adoption of agriculture did not have its origins in environmental stimuli or nutritional requirements. The Neolithic revolution was a 'revolution of symbols' that originated from a new conception of the world; a transformation in 'collective psychology' (Cauvin 2000a: 65-72; 2000b: 242). According to Cauvin, it was the 'birth of the gods' in human form that created the necessary dynamic and alienated sense of self that set in motion a profound cognitive transformation in collective consciousness; a transformation that established the preconditions for humans to 'domesticate' and radically transform their social and cultural environment (Cauvin 2000a: 72, 209; Hodder 2001: 108). Within Cauvin's framework, funerary rites were an essential component of wider symbolic transformations in social life at this time, playing an important role in the construction and maintenance of this new collective consciousness,

functioning as ‘a strong cement for the psychological cohesion of these sedentary human groups’ (Cauvin 2000a: 91). While Cauvin has been commended for highlighting the importance of symbolic and cognitive behaviour as a key feature of the ‘Neolithic Revolution’ (Hodder 2001; Watkins 2001; Verhoeven 2002b: 248), his approach has also been criticized for a failure to adequately explain the cause of these apparent changes in the ‘psycho-cultural realm’, since this collective experience, as Cauvin understands it, is divorced from the practical elements of lived reality (Hodder 2001: 110, 112; Watkins 2001: 118).

Perhaps the most influential account of the symbolic transformations that accompanied the origin and spread of agricultural societies is Ian Hodder’s (1990) *The Domestication of Europe*. Hodder’s approach differs to Cauvin’s in that symbolic structures are not conceived as residing solely in the mind, but are given contextual meanings through the routine and concrete practices of daily life (Hodder 1990: 13). Hodder’s account of this transformation is based on a contextual analysis of the archaeological record, where the available evidence is interpreted in terms of its internal symbolic relations. This approach proceeds by identifying relationships of similarity and difference in the material record, which are then abstracted for interpretation (Hodder 1990: 13, 21). In *The Domestication of Europe* (which begins with a discussion of Neolithic society in the Near East), Hodder considers the home, or ‘*domus*’ in his terminology, to be the principal means by which Neolithic society was ordered. According to Hodder’s interpretation, the *domus* served both as a locus of social reproduction and as a conceptual unit to control and domesticate those things perceived to be symbolically dangerous, such as death and the wild (Hodder 1990: 38-9). In particular, Hodder argues that the *domus* provided a means to structure ideas concerning the control of death and the wild, and for conceptualising oppositions between social and unsocial, culture and nature.

Funerary practices are central to Hodder’s conception of the *domus*, as he draws upon the burial record to demonstrate how death was brought into the *domus* and controlled by physically incorporating the dead within the home. According to Hodder, this transformation in symbolic behaviour essentially equipped Neolithic societies with the conceptual and practical apparatus required to effect wider socio-economic change – such as plant and animal domestication (Hodder 1990: 39). While the work of Cauvin

(2000a, 2000b) and Hodder (1990) were pioneering in their consideration of the social and cultural factors that made possible the process of domestication, such approaches fall prey to generalising metaphors and establish universalistic dichotomies between concepts such as nature vs. culture and wild vs. domestic, which fail to grasp the complex relationships that are likely to have existed between the human and non-human world in early Neolithic societies (Wengrow 2006: 62; see also Ingold 2000: 61-76).

Cauvin's (2000) suggestion that a transformation in collective cognition accompanied the Neolithic Revolution has recently been expanded and elaborated in the work of Watkins (2004a; 2004b). While in general agreement with Cauvin's thesis, Watkins is dissatisfied with Cauvin's lack of explanation as to why such a transformation in human cognitive and cultural abilities occurred at that specific point in time (Watkins 2001: 118; 2006a: 19). Drawing upon the work of Merlin Donald (1991; 2001) and the theoretical frameworks of cognitive archaeology developed by Colin Renfrew (1998) and others, Watkins argues that as fully sedentary communities developed across the Fertile Crescent during Epipalaeolithic and the beginnings of the Neolithic, the built environment became an especially powerful means of 'external symbolic storage'. The notion of 'external symbolic storage', developed by Merlin Donald, refers to the human ability to store and access information outside the mind of the individual through the emergence of media such as writing systems (Watkins 2004a: 14; 2006a: 21). Although the emergence of external symbolic storage is deemed to be a purely cultural phenomenon, according to its adherents it nevertheless changes the cognitive workings of the human mind (Watkins 2004a: 14; 2006a: 21).

Following Renfrew (1998), Watkins argues that this transformation in cognition occurred in tandem with an increasing investment in material symbolism. It is hypothesised that new material forms (conceived as a non-literate mode of symbolic representation), like writing systems, provided an effective means by which to off-load and retrieve information (Renfrew 1998: 4; Watkins 2004a 15; 2006a: 21). For Watkins, a fundamental shift in the ability access external symbolic storage occurred with the establishment of sedentary communities and increasing investment in material symbols such as the built environment. Watkins refers to the Neolithic built environment as 'theatres of memory' – a mode of symbolic representation in architectural form that served to 'materialize social institutions, frame their perceptions and form the arena

within which social and other relations were played out' (Watkins 2001: 15; 2004a: 15; 2004b: 105; 2006a: 21).

For Watkins, the co-evolution of cognitive faculties and material symbolism was stimulated by the growing size and permanence of sedentary communities, which required increasing investment in social capital – a stock of shared values and norms – to facilitate social cohesion as communities expanded (Watkins 2004a: 19; 2005a: 47; 2005b: 87; 2010: 631). Watkins suggests that these early sedentary communities embodied symbolic values in their built environment, thereby providing a medium through which symbolic objects and performances – such as communal ritual practices and elaborate funerary rites (intramural burials, secondary mortuary practices, skull caching) - reinforced social values and communality (Watkins 2002: 45; 2004a: 16-17; 2006a: 22; 2006b: 650, 657; 2010: 631-2). Although funerary practices are an essential component of Watkins' overall argument, in his model, funerary rites essentially function to mediate social cohesion. It will be demonstrated below that broadly functionalist approaches to the funerary archaeology of the Early Neolithic permeate much recent research.

2.1.2 Functionalist Perspectives

One of the most influential bodies of research that specifically aims to address the funerary record of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic is the work of Ian Kuijt (2000a; 2002). Kuijt's interpretation of community-wide funerary rituals as a necessary element of social life for community cohesion, and a response to the various social stresses that impacted upon early sedentary communities, places his theoretical approach in line with the broadly functionalist Durkheimian frameworks utilised by both Cauvin (2000) and Watkins (2004a). Kuijt's (2000a; 2002) interpretation of the PPN burial record partly originates from his wider argument that population pressure and social crowding in early villages necessitated the development of social hierarchies and community-wide participation in ritual practices (Kuijt 1994; 2000b; see also Goring-Morris 2000: 130; Goring-Morris and Horwitz 2007; Kuijt and Goring-Morris 2002: 396). Kuijt draws upon the extensive evidence for secondary mortuary practices during the PPN (i.e. crania removal and caching) to argue that these elaborate mortuary practices involved elements of communal ancestor worship, and more importantly, the extensive co-

participation of the community in funerary rituals, which cross-cut kin and household lines (Kuijt 2000a: 143-5).

Kuijt proposes that such rituals represent a form of social action designed and conducted by the living, and that such actions have implications for how social relations were defined within Neolithic communities (Kuijt 1996: 315, 331; 2002: 82). Drawing upon anthropological studies of secondary mortuary practices, he argues that such rituals are a powerful means of defining and maintaining identities within the community, while also functioning to reaffirm kin and economic connections between households by symbolically and physically linking community members (Kuijt 2000a: 139, 143). Kuijt also points out that secondary mortuary practices allow for the scheduling of mortuary rites at socially significant points in time, thereby facilitating the accumulation of resources for community-wide participation in ritual events such as funeral feasts (Kuijt 2000a: 143; Goring-Morris and Horwitz 2007; Hayden 2009). Kuijt proposes that the particular values expressed in such rites emphasised shared identity and affinity between individuals and household groups, enforcing a wider egalitarian ideology that served to limit power and authority in these early communities (Kuijt 1996: 331; 2000a: 141). Nevertheless, Kuijt suggests that such rites would in fact advance a measure of social asymmetry by selecting particular individuals for secondary mortuary rites, and by distinguishing the ritual specialists who performed such tasks (Asouti 2006: 123; Kuijt 2000a: 142; 2002; see also example Goring-Morris 2005).

Recent research by Mark Verhoeven (2002a; 2002b; 2005) builds upon the insights of these previous studies and expands the data set to include PPN sites in Southeast Anatolia. Although Verhoeven agrees with Kuijt and Goring-Morris that secondary mortuary rituals served to regulate social behaviour and emphasise aspects of communality, the notion that such rituals can be explained solely on the basis of ancestor worship is challenged (Verhoeven 2002a: 249; 2002b: 9; 2005: 262; see also Whitely 2001 for a critique of 'ancestor worship' models in archaeology). Verhoeven points out that children were often selected for secondary mortuary treatments, and it is therefore questionable that they were regarded as real ancestors (Verhoeven 2002a: 249; 2005: 260). In an attempt to move beyond frameworks that focus on ancestor worship as an explanatory model for secondary mortuary practices, Verhoeven considers PPN

funerary practices against the broader context of early Neolithic ritual traditions (Verhoeven 2002a: 251; 2005: 263). Importantly, Verhoeven's research goes beyond the functionalist frameworks of Kuijt (1996; 2000a; 2000b) and Goring-Morris (2000) by attempting to distinguish the general structuring principles of a PPN ritual system, which he identifies as communality, dominant symbolism, vitality and human-animal linkage (Verhoeven 2002a: 245; 253). It is here that Verhoeven breaks away from a functionalist interpretation of the burial record and draws upon the cognitive/symbolic approach of Cauvin (2000a; 2000b) and the structuralist/contextual approach of Hodder (1990).

In a more recent study Kuijt (2008), like Verhoeven (2002a; 2002b; 2005), points out that PPN mortuary rites should be understood as part of a wider interrelated system of social and material practices orientated towards identity and the human body (Kuijt 2008: 171-172). Departing from his earlier emphasis on ancestor worship, Kuijt now suggests that Neolithic funerary practices were tied to community beliefs concerning memory work and embodiment. Kuijt explores how the practice of fragmenting individual bodies, plastering skulls (the creation of an idealized image) and the scheduling of secondary mortuary rites effected a transformation from the experiential remembering of an individual to a referential remembering of the symbolic collective (Kuijt 2008: 185). According to Kuijt's interpretation, mortuary rites were a means of depersonalising the individual through intentional acts of forgetting (fragmenting, skull plastering), thereby engendering the collective remembering of an abstracted, referential social persona that highlighted notions of shared identity and community membership (Kuijt 2008: 186).

2.2 Current approaches to the funerary archaeology of the Late Neolithic through to the Late Chalcolithic periods in Greater Mesopotamia

This section will present a review of the interpretive literature concerned with funerary practices in Greater Mesopotamia during the period central to this thesis, the Late Neolithic through to the Late Chalcolithic. Marking the transition from agricultural villages to fully urban states, it is remarkable that the burial record of this pivotal period

is rarely incorporated into wider interpretations of social change and emergent complexity. Discussions of the burial record have, for the most part, focused on highly circumscribed periods and have treated the burial record in isolation from other aspect of social life. Like the earlier Pre-Pottery Neolithic periods, the transition from the Late Neolithic to the Late Chalcolithic straddles another 'evolutionary first' with the Urban Revolution. As such, the burial record has been recurrently interpreted within social evolutionary models of analysis. However, current research based on more recent and ongoing excavations have sought to re-establish the role of burial practices within a wider social matrix, drawing on themes such as the ritual treatment of the body and constructions of personhood in death

2.2.1 General syntheses of the burial record

It has been noted by several scholars that taken as a whole, the burial record of the Late Neolithic to the Late Chalcolithic period is significantly underrepresented. This is due in part to the small number of sites excavated for some periods and regions, not to mention inconsistencies in publication. It is very likely, however, that on-site burials represent a small portion of the inhabitants from any given settlement, the majority of whom were probably buried beyond the physical margins of habitation zones (Akkermans 1989: 82-3; 1993: 306; Breniquet 1996: 96; S. Campbell 1995: 30; 2007/8: 126). Perhaps it is for this reason that very few syntheses of the burial record exist for the later prehistoric period in Greater Mesopotamia. Reviews of the burial record have for the most part been confined to specific chronological periods or culture-groups. For the Hassuna and Samarra periods, for example, aspects of the burial record have been discussed as part of Hole's (1989) assessment of later fifth millennium burial practices, and Oates' (1978) treatment of the burial record in relation to wider sixth-millennium ritual practices. While there are numerous reviews of Halaf funerary practices, rarely do they provide a comprehensive interpretive analysis of funerary rituals on a supra-regional scale.

Reviews of the Halaf burial record by Akkermans (1989; 1993) and Merpert and Munchaev (1993a: 223) comment upon the highly complex and variable nature of Halaf funerary practices; a factor that may also discourage interpretive syntheses of the data. One prominent pattern in the burial record discussed in these reviews, however, is the large sample of infant remains recorded compared to other age-groups. This has led to

the suggestion that adults were likely to have been buried beyond habitation zones in communal cemeteries, and that the small sample of adult remains found in settlements represent instances of differential mortuary treatment (Akkermans 1989: 83; 314-315). The striking prevalence of infant and child burials in the Late Neolithic burial record has been interpreted by Akkermans (1989; 1993) as reflecting high infant mortality rates and the differential treatment of infants and children compared to adults. The intramural burial of infants and children are deemed to have been of little importance to Late Neolithic social life, and represent kin-orientated rites that were 'open to the idiosyncratic wishes or needs of the relatives' (Akkermans 1993: 83-4; 1993: 314).

By way of contrast, Breniquet (1996) has considered whether the comparable modes of mortuary treatment provided for all age groups during the Halaf period implies that social distinctions between adults and children were downplayed in funerary rites (Breniquet 1996: 98). Breniquet's (1996) review of the Halaf burial record argues that the intramural primary burial of individuals in simple pits represents the 'normal' methods of burial for those individuals who were not accorded special social status in Halafian society. 'Deviant' burial types, such as secondary mortuary practices, group burials, cremations and extra-mural burials, are taken to represent marked differences in the status of individuals within the community or may be related to the conditions of death. Changes in Halaf funerary practices are then linked to wider transformations in the way social status was displayed (Breniquet 1996: 104-6).

Currently, one of the most comprehensive analyses of the burial record for this period is Hole's (1989) extensive review of the fifth millennium burial record. Hole provides an overview of the burial record of individual sites organised according to chronological period and region, before discerning any long-term patterns in the data when taken as a whole. Through this analysis, Hole suggests that a marked divergence in burial practices emerged during the fifth millennium with the standardised burial of adults in large cemeteries associated with major settlements and the intramural burial of infants (Hole 1989: 174-5). Hole proposes that the gradual appearance of large cemeteries adjacent to major areas of settlement during the fifth millennium BC may reflect an increasing emphasis on corporate community identity (Hole 1989: 175). By way of contrast, the intramural burial of infants below the floors of domestic units is suggestive of their transitory role and general insignificance in wider social life. For the later Ubaid, Hole

observes an increasing formality and standardisation in funerary practices in terms of burial methods, spatial context and grave good assemblages. This standardisation in burial practices is taken to reflect wider changes in the organisation of social life during the Ubaid, notably the increasing formalisation of social roles in communities and the comparable processes of standardisation evident in material culture, such as ceramic assemblages (Hole 1989: 175-6, 179).

2.2.2 Social evolutionary approaches

The perceived importance of the Mesopotamian region as offering an unadulterated view of early state development has led to the widespread adoption of social evolutionary approaches to the archaeological record of the Chalcolithic period. Consequently, the burial record is frequently utilised by researchers to infer the existence of hierarchical forms of social organisation, which has permeated the wider comparative literature. In a paper titled 'The Cultural Evolution of Civilizations' for example, Kent Flannery (1972) links the 'rich' infant burials from Late Neolithic Tell es-Sawwan with the emergence of hereditary elite status groups at this time (Flannery 1972: 403). Such an argument is based upon the premise that a high degree of material investment in infant burials may indicate the existence of ascribed status at birth, and by extension, the characterisation of Late Neolithic social organisation as conforming to models of chiefdoms. Regional specialists place greater emphasis on the Ubaid Period as representing the key foundational stage in the trajectory to statehood (see for example Frangipane 2007; Stein and Rothman 1994; Wright and Johnson 1975; see critical discussion in Carter and Phillip 2010: 10-11). However, contrary to the expectations of traditional social evolutionary approaches, extensive analyses of the Ubaid burial record (Hole 1989; Pariselle 1985; Wright and Pollock 1987) reveal little evidence for pronounced status differentiation, leading some to suggest that burial rites may have functioned to mask existing social inequalities (Pollock 1999: 203; Stein 1994: 39; for a contrary opinion regarding status differentiation in the Ubaid burial record see Forest 1983: 115).

In part a reaction to refined chronological frameworks that now separate the Ubaid from the Late Uruk period (Philip and Carter 2010: 11), and debates that question the primacy of Southern Mesopotamia as the heartland of cities (Algaze 1989; 2001a;

2001b; 2005; 2008; Frangipane 1997; Gibson and Maktash 2000; Oates and Oates 1997; Oates *et al.* 2007; Rothman [ed.] 2001; Stein 2001; Ur *et al.* 2008), recent research has drawn attention to the development of 'indigenous' complex societies and comparable processes of urbanisation on the margins of the Fertile Crescent. It is against this background of research that the Late Chalcolithic burial record (i.e. Hacinebi, Tepe Gawra and Grai Resh) has been used to determine the development of elite status groups in northern Mesopotamia during the early fourth millennium BC. Again, such discussions highlight the presence of 'rich' infant burials at early fourth millennium settlements to argue the existence of hereditary elite status groups in marginal regions prior to Uruk contact (Kepinski 2009: 123; Peasnall 2002: 233; Rothman 2001: 390-1; 2002: 147; Rothman and Peasnall 1999: 110; Stein 1999: 125; 2001: 274; 2002: 150).

The Late Chalcolithic sequence at Tepe Gawra in northern Iraq remains critical for these interpretations. A reassessment of the Gawra burial record was undertaken by Forest (1983) as part of a broader study of funerary practices in Mesopotamia from the fifth to the third millennium BC. Forest argues that the 'rich' child burials recorded towards the end of the Late Chalcolithic sequence at Gawra reflects the transition from a mode of social organisation structured around distinctions in gender and age towards increasingly hierarchical forms structured around a vertical succession from father to son (Forest 1983: 109). According to Forest, rules of vertical succession restricted access to prestige goods (as reflected in the burial record) and other privileges, and social status was reinforced as elaborate on-site burial rites - especially the burial of rightful heirs - became the monopoly of select groups (Forest 1983: 108-110). More recently, Peasnall (2002) has provided an exhaustive reassessment of the Gawra burial data as part of a wider synthesis of the site by Rothman (2002). While Peasnall (2002) provides a comprehensive re-analysis of the Gawra burial record, it is primarily directed towards an assessment of variability in the status of burial groups, which is then used to infer the existence of hierarchical status groups at the site (Peasnall 2002: 233; Rothman 2002a: 390-1; 2002b: 147; Rothman and Peasnall 1999: 110).

2.2.3 Alternative interpretations of the burial record

Despite the prevalence of social evolutionary approaches to the funerary archaeology of this period, a number of researchers have sought to approach the burial record using theoretical perspectives and interpretative tools derived from contextual/interpretative archaeology and cultural anthropology. These approaches often place emphasis on the detailed analysis of specific archaeological contexts, and have for the most part focused on funerary contexts from single sites. S. Campbell's reanalysis of the burial data from Tell es-Sawwan contests Flannery's (1972: 403) interpretation of the 'rich' infant burials as evidence for 'ranked societies' during the Late Neolithic period, as there is little evidence for variability between burial groups (S. Campbell 1995: 33). Campbell highlights instead the striking prevalence of graves with 'grave-goods' but no human remains at the site, which suggests that the consumption of wealth was an important social practice in-itself, one that nevertheless formed an interrelated aspect of mortuary practices at the site. Campbell (1995: 32-4) further proposes that such practices may attest to the deliberate consumption of wealth as part of competitive gift exchanges.

A detailed study of particular funerary contexts at the Late Neolithic 'burnt village' at Tell Sabi Abyad has led Verhoeven (2000; 2002c) to suggest that the violent conflagration of the settlement was related to a protracted funerary rite that marked the abandonment of the entire settlement (Verhoeven 2000: 62; 2002c: 33). As part of his analysis, Verhoeven draws upon a range of contexts from other Late Neolithic sites to suggest that Late Neolithic funerary rites were often implicated in wider ritual systems that involved the breaking of objects forms, the use of fire, and the deliberate destruction and abandonment of areas of occupation (Verhoeven 2000: 62). Both S. Campbell (2007/8) and Croucher (2010) have revaluated the Late Neolithic burial record in light of recent evidence from Late Neolithic Domuztepe, where a complex funerary deposit comprising the heavily processed remains of some 40 individuals and significant quantities of processed animal bones were recorded (S. Campbell 2007/8: 129; Kansa and Campbell: 2002: 12; Kansa *et al.* 2009: 161). Drawing comparisons with range of funerary contexts from other Late Neolithic sites, both authors observe how mortuary rites involved common elements, such as the fragmentation of human remains and their deposition in atypical mortuary contexts within areas settlement. They argue that the curation and circulation of human remains may have been an important

means of negotiating concepts of identity and redefining social relationships in Late Neolithic communities (S. Campbell 2007-8: 136; Croucher 2010: 9).

S. Campbell (2007/8: 131) goes on to suggest that Late Neolithic funerary practices may have had a considerable impact on the practice of everyday life by connecting the living and the ancestral dead within a specific locale (S. Campbell 2007/8: 131-132). By anchoring ties between the living and the dead within the settlement, mortuary rites provided an especially powerful means of maintaining community solidarity at larger Late Neolithic sites such as Domuztepe (S. Campbell 2007/8: 133). On a broader level, he suggests that by locating the dead within lived spaces, an ancestral landscape is created - a site of social memory where links to the past actively shape the present and future. As such, the burial of the dead in the context of the living may have impacted on wider settlement patterns, and may account for the continuous occupation of particular locations (S. Campbell 2007/8: 137).

2.3 Themes and issues in the funerary archaeology of the third-millennium BC

This section will present a brief review of the post-Uruk (third millennium BC) burial record in order to highlight subsequent transformations in funerary practices throughout the Greater Mesopotamian region, and to assess their impact on wider social processes of social change. This review will principally focus on research that links funerary practices in early South Mesopotamian cities with contemporary developments in socio-political organization, and on current research assessing the impact of funerary practices upon processes of 'secondary' urbanization in regions of Upper Mesopotamia. It is anticipated that this appraisal will then draw attention to the distinguishing features of the Late Chalcolithic burial record towards the end of the fourth millennium BC, at the height of urban genesis.

2.3.1 Broader patterns of burial in third-millennium southern Mesopotamia and their interpretation

It has been acknowledged by researchers that during the Uruk period there appears to be a significant break in funerary practices, which is reflected in a near absence of evidence for burials in the archaeological record despite substantial excavations and extensive regional surveys (Algaze 2008: 162; Charvát 2002: 151; Frangipane 2007/8: 174; Hole 1989: 176; Pollock 1992: 298; 1999: 204; 2007a: 211). Towards the end of the fourth millennium BC, the inter-regional networks that emerged by the Late Uruk period appear to disperse. Nevertheless, the process of urbanisation continued in Southern Mesopotamia, leading to eventual political centralisation and new forms of social and economic organization (Pollock 1999: 117-147; Van De Mieroop 2004: 39-79). In the succeeding Jemdet Nasr (ca. 3100-2900 B.C.) and Early Dynastic periods (ca. 2900-2350 B.C) in southern Mesopotamia, burials re-emerge in the archaeological record. Reviews of the burial record point towards the growing elaboration of funerary rites over time, as attested by increasing quantities and diversity in grave goods, as well as the differential treatment of individuals based on gender, age, and position in society (Pollock 1999 213: 2007a: 212; see also Postgate 1980). Despite growing distinctions in the way individuals were treated at death (Pollock 1999: 206), broadly similar patterns in the grave structures, furnishings and body placement leads Pollock (2007a) to suggest that supra-regional methods of burial emerged at this time (Pollock 2007a: 212).

It has been suggested by Pollock (1999) that these broader patterns of burial reflect increasing social conflict within third-millennium urban communities. She argues that the divergent modes of funerary activity evident within some communities - as attested by the burial of some segments of society in community cemeteries (Mackay 1925; Woolley 1934) and other below the floors of dwellings (Delougaz, Hill and Lloyd 1967; Postgate 1980) – reflect growing tensions between opposing sectors of urban society. At the community level, Pollock suggests that the placement of the dead either within individual dwellings or community cemeteries reflect the growing tension between traditional forms of kin-based households and the great household institutions (including temple and palace institutions) that emerged during the third millennium (Pollock 1991; 175, 177; 1999: 206; 2007a: 210). These institutions consisted of large hierarchically ordered socio-economic units that controlled large tracts of land, invested

in the centralised production of goods, and attracted a large workforce with clearly defined divisions of labour (Pollock 1999: 117-123; 2007a: 210). Drawing upon contemporary literary evidence, Pollock (1999) suggests that individuals or groups may have attached themselves to emerging institutions as a means to guarantee 'proper' funerary rites at death, which would have involved some form of payment or service to temples. The inducement of 'proper' funerary rites may therefore have been an especially effective means of coercing family members into a dependant relationship with emerging institutions (Pollock 1999: 206, 210).

2.3.2 Sacrificial economies and the expression of elite power

A growing number of studies have sought to reinterpret the spectacular tombs excavated by Leonard Woolley at the 'Royal Cemetery' of Ur in southern Iraq by exploring themes such as the maintenance and definition of elite power, contesting ideological and political struggles, the construction of elite identities, and methods of state control and subjugation. The cemetery at Ur was excavated over a twelve-year period by Woolley, who in five field seasons recorded approximately 2,000 graves spanning from the Early Dynastic III period to the post-Akkadian period. The 16 graves that Woolley differentiated as being 'Royal Tombs' were attributed to the earliest phase of the cemeteries use, during the Early Dynastic IIIa period (c. 2600-2350 BC; Pollock 1991: 171; 2007b: 97; Woolley 1934). Those designated 'Royal Tombs' consisted of built chambers of stone and brick containing vast amounts of material wealth and human remains, which Woolley interpreted as representing the mass sacrifice of courtiers or servants who willingly accompanied their masters in death (Pollock 1991: 175).

A number of recent publications offer alternative accounts to those first put forward by Woolley (1934). Sürenhagen (2002) has recently argued that the multiple interment of individuals within the 'Death Pits' and 'Royal Tombs' at Ur may be better understood as reflecting secondary mortuary rites. A reanalysis of the tombs - some of which contained incomplete skeletons and groups of individual skulls - suggests to Sürenhagen (2002) that the collective burials at Ur represent the final phase of a multi-stage burial sequence, which involved the secondary deposition of individuals originally buried elsewhere (2002: 336). A comprehensive reassessment of the Royal Tombs by Cohen (2005) argues that the spectacular performances accompanying mortuary rites -which

would have included the display and consumption of material resources, foodstuffs and human capital - was a means of materialising an ideological dogma that endorsed the office of kingship. Cohen's (2005) study suggests that elite death rituals actively contributed to the maintenance and definition of an early form of kingship, which emerged towards the end of the Early Dynastic period (Cohen 2005). Dickson (2006) has similarly argued that the Royal Tombs and accompanying Death Pits represent carefully choreographed political dramas that served to highlight the extraordinary status of elites and legitimise their governance. Dickinson (2006: 214), however, suggests that the large-scale sacrifice of life is a poignant example of institutional violence staged by rulers and state institutions – 'theatres of cruelty' performed in pursuit of power and legitimacy.

Pollock (2007a; 2007b) posits an alternative interpretation of the Royal Tombs by arguing that each tomb was intended to mark the death of a 'great household' (Pollock 2007a: 214; 2007b: 100). She points out that the cemetery was primarily reserved for a select segment of the adult population from Ur that were is some way affiliated with great household institutions, while those with ties to traditional forms of kin-based households were interred within domestic buildings (Pollock 1991: 175, 177; 1999: 206; 2007a: 213-4; 2007b: 99). Pollock argues that upon the death of an elite household member, the cultic and managerial personnel of the household, alongside a portion of the household valuables, were ritually killed and disposed of as part of ritual declaration of the 'death' of the household (Pollock 2007a: 214). While such mortuary displays showcased the power and authority exercised by great households, they simultaneously provided an ideological assertion that property and office was not being inherited, thereby concealing the actual transmission and accumulation of resources through family lines (Pollock 2007a: 216; 2007b: 100).

In a related publication, Pollock (2007b) addresses one the most compelling questions posed by the Royal Tombs – how were the members of great household institutions convinced to go to their deaths? Drawing upon the insights of Althusser (1971), Pollock (2007b) proposes that the creation of state subjects and their consent to a dominant ideology is situated as much in the mundane practice of everyday life as the theatrical and spectacular (Pollock 2007b: 92). She suggests that the embodied routines common to basic sustenance and ritual feasting was an especially effective means of connecting

the mundane and the spectacular, a hypothesis that sits well with the prominence of materials associated with feasting activities within the Royal Tombs (Pollock 2007b: 102-5). The centrality of feasting and making food offerings in the daily routines of elite households members inadvertently inculcated individuals with an embodied knowledge of the etiquette and actions appropriate to elite funerary feasts (Pollock 2007b: 101-2). Under the emotional weight and pomp of such rites, these disciplined bodies conformed to proceedings as expected, and ultimately consented to their untimely demise (Pollock 2007b: 105).

2.3.3 Patterns of burial, emergent complexity and secondary urbanization in Upper Mesopotamia

Following the 'Uruk collapse' in northern Mesopotamia, cultural ties to the southern alluvium broke down, and localised material culture traditions emerged in different regions (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 211; Frangipane 2007b). By the mid-third millennium, a process of 'secondary' urbanization and state formation was underway on the Middle Euphrates, and current research links concurrent transformations in funerary practices with these wider social changes. Schwartz (1986; 1994) has proposed that these developments should be understood as the culmination of local trajectories of change evident in northern Mesopotamia during early third-millennium. To test this developmental model, Schwartz (1986; 1994) has analysed the Ninevite V burial record as a means to determine the predominant mode of social organisation during this period. Schwartz draws upon models developed by Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971) by asserting that that the treatment of an individual in death will be consistent with his social status in life, and that ascribed rank at birth is indicated by the presence of rich child burials (Schwartz 1986: 44-6).

In his earlier study, Schwartz (1986: 55-6) concludes that there is no clear evidence for social stratification in the Ninevite V burial record, which may be a result of the relatively small sample available to study. In a later paper, however, Schwartz (1994) suggests that social stratification *is* apparent from the variation in mortuary furnishings during the Ninevite V period, and that evidence for large caches of pottery in certain burials 'parallel the burials of higher ranked individuals in chiefdoms that are associated with large deposits of valuables' (Schwartz 1994: 162). Schwartz's (1994) interpretation

is supported by Bolt and Green's (2003) analysis of Ninevite V burial practices. Like Schwartz (1986; 1994), they are concerned with identifying variation in the status of the deceased and concur that the evidence for moderately wealthier graves containing large amounts of pottery, graves with items of personal adornment, and the few instances whereby children were afforded grave-goods indicate that a degree of social stratification existed during the Ninevite V period (Bolt and Green 2003: 536).

A number of studies have drawn upon the mortuary record to identify the presence and movement of different ethnic groups in the Euphrates Valley during the Early Bronze Age. Carter and Parker (1995), for example, have compared burial assemblages with the distribution of contemporary ceramic horizons to test the hypothesis that the diffusion of the EB III/IV ceramic assemblages is related to the spread of EB III/IV cultural groups across northern Syria and southern Turkey. Their analysis indicates that the spread of ceramic forms was independent of regional identity and socio-economic complexity, and that patterns of ceramic distribution are more likely to correspond to patterns of regional interaction (Carter and Parker 1995: 109). A review of the EBA burial types in the northern Euphrates Valley by Cooper (2007), however, states that the spatial distribution of cist and shaft graves may suggest that two ethnic groups can be distinguished in this region. By way of contrast, the spatial distribution of stone-built shaft and chamber tombs suggest that such mortuary traditions cross-cut ethnic boundaries, and may therefore represent instances of peer-polity interaction and cross-regional elite representation (Cooper 2007: 66-8).

Both Frangipane (2007b; 2007/8) and Palumbi (2007/8) have linked the appearance of stone cist graves along the Upper and Middle Euphrates with the spread of the Kura-Araks culture from the Southern Caucasus during the early third-millennium, and the widespread adoption of new forms of elite representation. Both authors observe that compared to earlier periods, where burials are largely absent in urban zones, there is a marked emphasis on elaborate funerary rites, metal consumption and weaponry at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, suggesting that mortuary rites emphasised the power and authority of high status individuals (Frangipane 2007/8: 188-191; Palumbi 2007/8: 160-161). In the absence of the socio-economic structures characteristic of urban polities, and the probable political fragmentation of the region at this time, Frangipane suggests that high status individuals gained wealth and power by controlling

access to metal goods (especially weaponry and warrior symbolism) and metal production, and that the hierarchical structure of society was reiterated through the elaborate mortuary rites afforded to high-status individuals (Frangipane 2007b: 123; 2007/8: 188-191; see also Frangipane 2010: 82).

Philip (1995; 2007) has also reviewed the evidence for warrior burials (Philip 1995) and metalwork consumption (Philip 2007) in the EBA funerary record of the Euphrates Valley. Phillip (2007) demonstrates that during the early third-millennium, grave repertoires indicate the existence of distinct spheres of metalwork consumption in the Carchemish region and Southern Mesopotamia, which is attributed to contrasting forms of political economy and modes of elite representation that developed in both regions. By the second half of the third-millennium, the spread of homogenous metal forms across north-West Syria and the Euphrates valley is evident in the restricted range of personal ornaments and weaponry found in graves, and is broadly comparable to metal assemblages from funerary contexts in Southern Mesopotamia. The spread of standardised metal assemblages suggests to Phillip that intra-regional modes of elite representation emerged by second half of the third-millennium (Phillip 2007: 193-4).

In an explicit attempt to depart from analyses that endeavour to reconstruct forms of social organization from mortuary data, Peltenburg (1999) emphasises the important role played by funerary rituals within the wider context of power structures at third-millennium Jerablus Tahtani. Peltenburg correlates the introduction of monumental collective burial structures with wider processes of urbanization and state formation that was taking place in north Syria and southeast Turkey during the mid-third millennium BC. It is argued that increasing differentiation between settlements and the integration of pre-existing elites into larger alliance systems brought instability and tension to existing social orders. It is suggested that rather than merely reflecting socio-political changes, the emergence of monumental funerary structures should be understood as part of the wider strategies employed by elite groups to enhance their social standing by emulating elite behaviour elsewhere (Peltenburg 1999: 428-9).

The conspicuously positioned tombs at Jerablus Tahtani contained collective burials, items associated with mortuary feasting and votive offerings, all of which suggest that a dynamic relationship existed between the living and the dead (Peltenburg 1999: 432;

see also Peltenburg *et al.* 2000: 71-73). Peltenburg proposes that affiliation with funerary monuments and the ancestors interred within them would have enhanced claims of elite membership and status, and promoted an ideology legitimising descent-based systems of political domination (Peltenburg 1999: 433; see also Bolger 2008: 241). Bolger (2008) has further suggested that active participation in mortuary rituals and the manipulation of the deceased at sites such as Jerablus Tahtani was an important means by which the living members of society could negotiate and affirm their own social identities (Bolger 2008: 241-2).

In a wider review of mortuary practices in Early Bronze Age Syria, Peltenburg (2007/8) contrasts the evidence for conspicuous and accessible extra-mural funerary monuments evident at sites such as Tall Banat, Umm el-Marra (discussed below) and Gre Virike (see Ökse 2005; 2006; 2007), with the later development of exclusionary inter-mural burials at sites such as Ebla and Qatna (Peltenburg 2007: 110-220). Peltenburg suggests that funerary landscapes were manipulated and eventually appropriated by competitive descent groups, as mortuary rites - particularly those involving the ancestral dead - became increasingly restricted to select segments of the population and enclosed within elite buildings (Peltenburg 2007/8: 232, 234). Porter (2002a; 2002b) has similarly argued that the construction of monumental funerary structures at Tell Banat were fundamental to the strategies of elite groups, and played a dynamic role in processes of urbanisation and state formation in the Euphrates valley during the third-millennium BC.

Porter argues that despite their evident diversity, funerary practices at Tell Banat are broadly comparable as spaces where individuals were transformed and incorporated into the ancestral group through multistage burial rites (Porter 2002a: 22; 2002b: 168). Such practices, according to Porter, formed ‘part of a complex dynamic of ideological representations of the social group in relation to place, expressed in the physical containment of ancestors in a particular type of mortuary structure – monumental and visible burial mounds.’ (Porter 2002a: 1). Porter explains how the visibility of mortuary mounds denoted elements of space and place, and served as landmarks that objectified the social identity and genealogical history of the group (Porter 2002a: 23). Porter points out that some the mortuary mounds actually precede construction of the urban

settlement of Tell Banat, suggesting that the settlement had its origins as a burial place (Porter 2002a: 24; 2002b: 169).

Following the Uruk collapse, Porter suggests that indigenous pastoralist groups may have undergone a process of sedentarization as a response to a deteriorating economic system and dwindling opportunities for exchange. In such times of instability, Porter argues that descent ideology becomes an important means of defining group membership, which can be reproduced in physical and symbolic form through the creation of funerary landscapes (Porter 2002a: 25). Porter believes that ancestral burial mounds served as visible anchors to specific territories and became centralising forces in the social organisation of the group as people came together for ancestral rituals and other communal activities. The ultimate consequence of this process was the sedentarization of those groups who serviced and controlled the funerary monuments at Banat. The emergence of elaborate ritual and administrative structures at Tell Banat can then be linked to the convergence of power within a single descent line, which according to Porter became institutionalised as groups claimed exclusive control over funerary landscapes and community self-representation, which may have led to significant transformations in the socio-political realm (Porter 2002a: 26; 2007/8: 195, 210-1).

A comparable interpretation of the burial record has been explored by Schwartz (2007) in relation to an elite mortuary complex found at Umm el-Marra in Syria, which consisted of several tombs that appear to belong to a succession of high-ranking families or dynasties. Notably, some of these tombs contained significant quantities of material wealth alongside the remains of equids and infants, which have been interpreted as sacrificial offerings made to venerated ancestors (Schwartz *et al.* 2003: 338; 2006: 629-633; 2007: 51-2). Schwartz (2007) has argued that this elite mortuary complex should be understood within the context of early forms of institutionalised rulership that emerged at this time, and may therefore represent a materialization of elite ideology that was repeatedly manipulated to reinforce claims to social and political power (Schwartz 2007: 40; Schwartz *et al*. 2006: 632). According to Schwartz, one means of responding to the threat of social disorder following the death of a ruler is to situate past rulers and their associated symbolism in the context of the living. As such, the successful transition of rulership and legitimisation of the existing elite was

sustained by constructing and maintaining ancestral mortuary complexes and through the routine enactment of associated rituals (Schwartz 2007: 47). He suggests that physical incorporation of ancestors into the centre of the community and the conspicuous rituals surrounding their veneration provided legitimacy for elites as their natural and rightful descendants. At the same time, Schwartz (2007: 53) argues that social memory was also manipulated through the intentional desecration and sealing of tombs in times of political change and animosity.

2.4 Concluding remarks

A review of current approaches to the funerary archaeology of the Near East between the Neolithic Revolution and the emergence of city-states suggests ample scope for a more focused study of burial practices for the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. With notable exceptions, previous accounts of the funerary archaeology of these periods have employed social evolutionary models of interpretation, which assume a correlation between mortuary practices and the emergence of ranked societies. As such, the burial record has formed only marginal aspects of broader research agendas. In response to the current state of research, I consider it imperative that mortuary rituals are reinstated into the analyses of emergent complexity. A striking aspect of the funerary archaeology of the third-millennium is the significance accorded to funerary rites in the development and socio-political organization of early urban centres. It is clear that current research links mortuary rites with broader aspects of social and political life in early cities, which was sustained through a dynamic relationship between the living and the dead.

It is therefore remarkable that at a time of rapid urban growth and unprecedented socio-economic development, there is a marked absence of burials in the archaeological record of the late fourth millennium BC. This calls attention to the unique trajectories of social change that led from Neolithic societies to the appearance of early cities across regions of Mesopotamia. By identifying the processes that led to the removal of the dead from the context of the living, further insight may be gained into the wider social transformations that led to the emergence of urban settlements on the Mesopotamian alluvium. My aim in what follows is to build upon an alternative approach to the funerary archaeology of Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, emphasising detailed analysis of specific archaeological contexts, while retaining a long-term perspective on

the changing relationship between funerary rites and the circulation of wealth during the transition from village to urban life in Mesopotamia.

3 Greater Mesopotamia c.6400-5400 BC

3.1 The archaeological record of the Hassuna, Samarra and pre-Halaf periods c. 6400-6000 BC

The traditional units of analysis for the Late Neolithic period in Upper Mesopotamia remain the classic culture-type groupings such as the 'Hassuna', 'Samarra' and 'Halaf'. As was discussed in the introductory chapter, it is important to understand that these typologies are largely, if not entirely, founded upon the geographical distribution of pottery styles (see Campbell 2007: 105; Carter and Philip 2010: 2; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 24-27). The material culture assemblages traditionally defined as 'Hassuna', 'Samarra' and 'proto-Halaf' overlap geographically and chronologically, and, as far as pottery types are concerned, it is now argued that both Hassuna and Samarra assemblages formed part of a broader ceramic horizon characterised by the distribution of Fine Wares throughout the region during the Late Neolithic, reflecting the diffuse nature of cultural boundaries during this period **(**Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 49; Nieuwenhuyse 1999: 15; 2007: 218; see Fig.3.1 below). Although the traditionally established boundaries between such culture-groups are far less rigid than once presumed (at least in terms of ceramic styles) it is still possible to outline a number of significant distinctions between the rain-fed agricultural communities of the Late Neolithic in Northern Mesopotamia and the communities that settled south of the dry-farming zone. As will be demonstrated below, these differences can be perceived principally in terms of settlement patterns, settlement organization, architectural forms, modes of production and social organisation.

3.1.1 Settlement and subsistence

The Late Neolithic settlements of the Jezireh and Middle Euphrates were located in regions favourable to dry farming. Settlement in the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh during the Late Neolithic was generally extensive but of low intensity, with 1-2 hectare settlements

occurring every 10-15 sq km and an estimated population density of 3-20 persons per sq km. This pattern is consistent with survey data from the area around Tell al-Rimah where settlements of around 1 ha occurred every 10-15 sq km (note that this data assumes that all sites are contemporaneous, and therefore represents the maximum estimate population; Oates 1980: 308; Wilkinson 1990: 97, 99). Subsistence was based upon labour intensive dry-farming with the use of chipped stone hoes, exploiting the full range of domestic crops (two-row barley, naked six-row barley, emmer wheat, bread wheat, einkorn) supplemented by animal husbandry (sheep, goat, cattle, pigs) and the exploitation of wild resources (Cavallo1996; Charvát 2002: 28-9; Matthews 2001: 81; Merpert 1993: 121-2; Merpert and Munchaev 1993b: 91-2; Potts 1997: 58-62; Van Zeist and Roojen 1996; Zeder 1994).

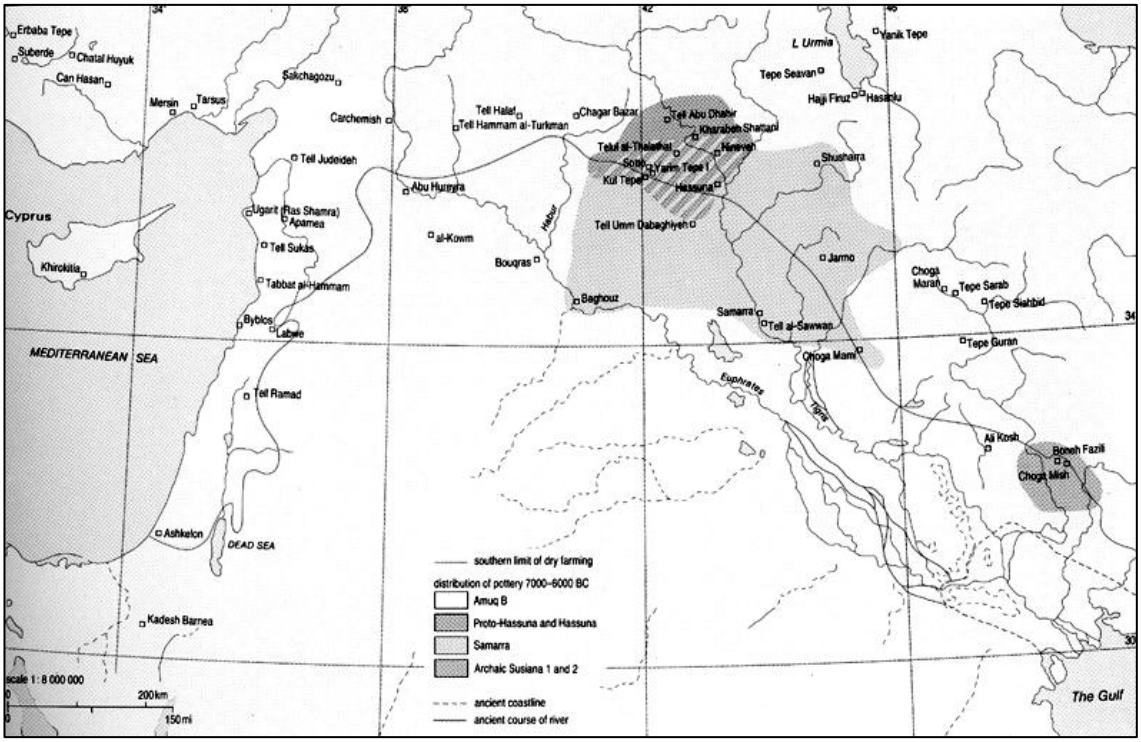


Figure 3.1 Map of Mesopotamia showing distribution of Late Neolithic pottery types c. 7000-6000 BC (reproduced from Roaf 1990: 43)

Settlements of the Samarra type appear on previously unoccupied riverine locations south of the rain-fed agriculture zone in central Mesopotamia. In contrast to the ephemeral occupation of Hassuna settlements, Samarra sites are relatively stable in time and reached up to 5-6 hectares in size. Survey data from the Choga Mami area shows that settlement density was considerably higher than in the rain-fed zones of the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh, as settlements were only located some 1.5-3 km apart (Oates 1980). It has

been argued that settlement in these climatically marginal regions of central Iraq was only possible with the development of irrigation agriculture, which is attested by botanical evidence from both Tell es-Sawwan and Choga Mami, as well as by the presence of irrigation channels at the latter site (Akkermans 1993: 223; Bernbeck 1995a: 13; Helbaek 1972; Oates 1973: 166-7; Oates and Oates 1976a). In settlements located south of the dry-farming zone subsistence was based upon a mixed economy involving the cultivation of domestic crops (emmer, single-row wheat, standard bread wheat, naked six-row barley, hulled two-row barley, flax, lentil), animal husbandry (primarily cattle and pigs as well as sheep, goat and dog) and the exploitation of wild resources (fish, shellfish, game; Oates 1973: 167, 169; Potts 1997: 58-62). While the range of resources exploited by Samarran communities is comparable to settlements located in the dry-farming zone, the organization of production in Samarran communities would have differed substantially as a result of the labour-intensive and time consuming methods of irrigation agriculture (Bernbeck 1995a: 14; Frangipane 2007a: 164). Furthermore, although hoe cultivation was an attribute of agricultural production in the dry-farming zone, Oates and Oates (1976a: 119) have suggested that communities practicing irrigation agriculture may also have used the ard for plough cultivation.

The earliest phases of settlement in the southern alluvium were identified at the site of Tell el-Oueili, situated 200 km north-west of modern Basra. French excavations uncovered levels spanning the traditional Ubaid sequence of Ubaid 1-4, as well as an earlier phase of occupation designated by the excavators as Ubaid 0. Dating to the early sixth millennium, and showing close affiliation with Samarran cultural assemblages of central Iraq, the Ubaid 0 phase at Oueili marks the earliest known occupation of the Mesopotamian alluvium (Huot 1989; 1992). Located far south of regions favourable for dry-farming, cultivation at Tell el-Oueili was aided by irrigation, and perhaps also the use of draught animals (Charvát 2002: 59; Stein 1994: 36). Paleobotanical data from the earlier occupation levels at Tell el-Oueili (Ubaid 0-3) point towards the cultivation of six-row hulled barley, einkorn, wheat, flax as well as the date palm (Huot 1989: 26; Huot 1992: 193). Faunal remains from Oueili show a predominance of cattle and pigs over ovi-caprids (Huot 1989: 27; Huot 1992: 193).

3.1.2 Spatial organisation and architecture

In northern Mesopotamia, the architecture of 'Hassuna' period sites largely consist of *tauf* walled, rectilinear, multi-roomed structures that agglomerated around courtyards or open areas. It is also during the Hassuna or proto-Halaf period that structures with a circular ground plan - precursors of the later Halaf 'tholoi' - appear in the archaeological record (Akkermans 2010). It is often difficult to discern the functions of Hassuna period buildings, since structures generally lack a standard plan, with houses being built directly against each other and frequently modified with the addition and removal of partitions, walls and rooms. Storage at Hassuna sites is attested by the numerous bins/vessels dug into floors of settlement levels, which were placed within the rooms of buildings as well as in open areas where activities such as food-processing and ceramic production were practiced (Bernbeck 1995a: 14; Flannery 2002: 426; Lloyd and Safar 1945; Matthews 2000: 64; Merpet and Munchaev 1993b; Oates 1973: 161). Evidence for the communal storage of cereals in Late Neolithic settlements located in the dry-farming zone is attested by a large structure consisting of two parallel rows of similarly sized rooms from Yarim Tepe I (Level 5; Frangipane 2007a: 157; Matthews 2000: 81; Merpet and Munchaev 1993b: 79; see Fig. 3.2) and the rectangular buildings excavated at the Transitional levels of Tell Sabi Abyad in the Syrian Middle Euphrates that appear to have functioned as granaries or communal storehouses (Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995; Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 112-3; see Fig 3.3).

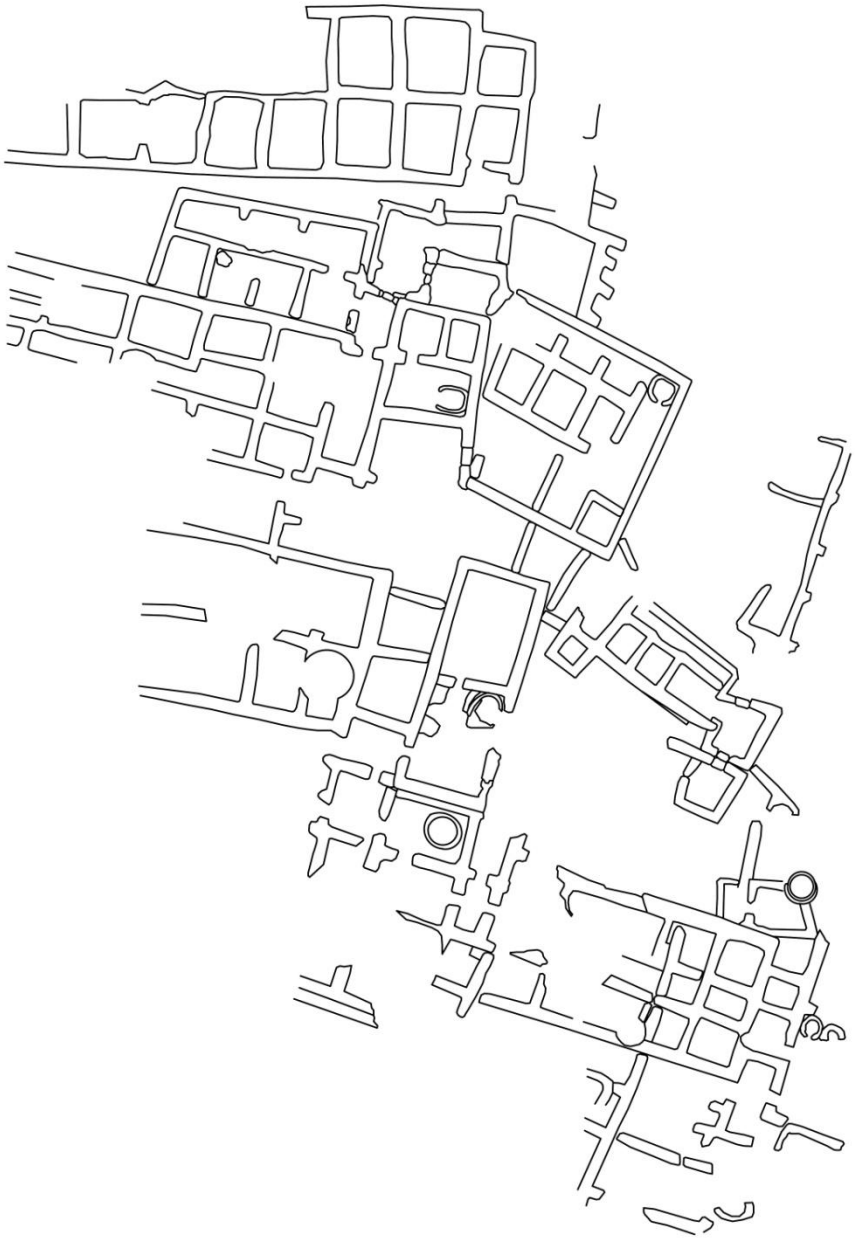


Figure 3.2 Plan of the Level 5 Hassuna settlement at Yarim Tepe I (adapted from Merpet and Munchaev 1993b: 78. Fig 6.3

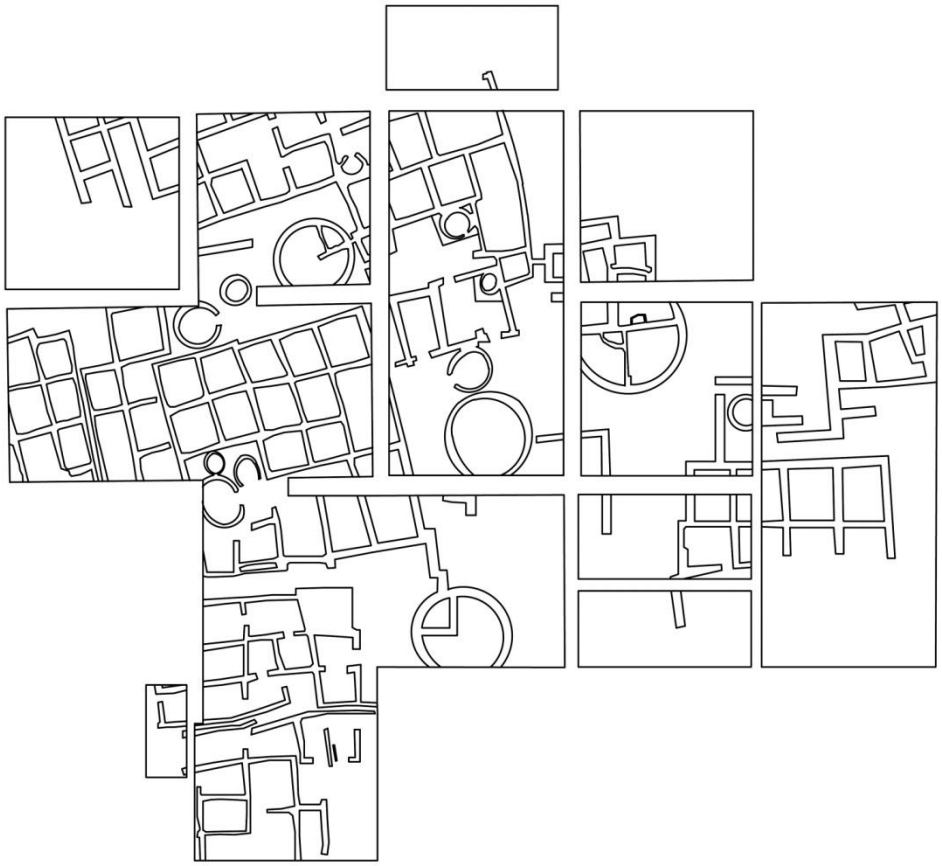


Figure 3.3 Plan of the Level 6 pre-Halaf (Balikh IIIA) settlement at Tell Sabi Abyad (adapted from Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 51. Fig 2)

While it is often difficult to determine the functional organisation of villages situated in the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh, settlements located south of the dry-farming zone were made up of highly uniform and easily distinguishable architectural units (Bernbeck 1995a: 14; see Fig 3.4 below). Houses were large, rectangular, multi-roomed structures that probably accommodated extended families (Banning 1996: 176, 179; Bernbeck 1995a: 18). House forms were generally standardized, being arranged according to a tripartite or T-shaped plan and externally buttressed at the corners of buildings and at the junction of walls. In addition, while Hassuna period structures were built of *tauf* or *pise*, Samarran buildings were constructed of sun-dried mud-bricks (Abu Al-Soof 1969: 3-4; Al-A'dami 1966: 58-9; Breniquet 1991: 83-88; Oates 1969: 116; 119; Walid Yasin 1970: 3-5 and Plate I; Youkana 1997: 15-28, 42-5).

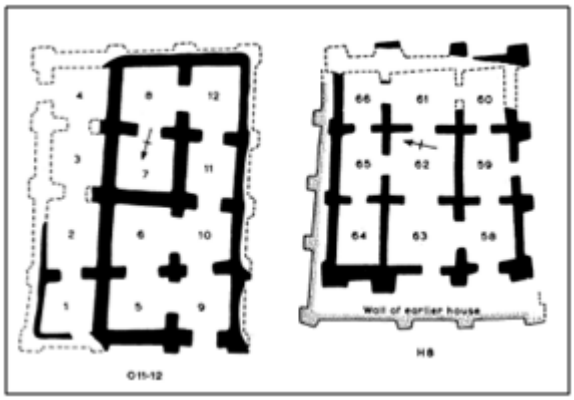


Figure 3.4 Samarra period houses from Choga Mami (reproduced from Oates 1969a: Plate XXIV)

In contrast to the agglomerated arrangement of Hassuna settlements located in the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh, domestic structures in central and southern Iraq are spatially distinct from other buildings, perhaps emphasising the importance of the family unit over the group. Following the bounded nature of individual buildings, the margins of settlements were also clearly defined, as attested by the construction of a wall and a trench surrounding the Level III settlement at Tell es-Sawwan (Abu Al-Soof 1969: 3; Bernbeck 1995a: 14; Breniquet 1991: 83; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 19; Frangipane 2007a: 165-6; Matthews 2000: 82; Oates 1973: 169; see Fig 3.5). Social distance between households at Samarran settlements is accentuated by the absence of communal storage facilities (and sealing practices) and the absence of evidence for activities conducted in open areas, suggesting that the storage and processing of goods commenced within each household unit (Abu Al-Soof 1968: 7-8; Bernbeck 1995a: 15-16; Frangipane 2000: 226; Frangipane 2007a: 167). Comparable forms of settlement organization and architectural features were excavated at Tell el-Oueili (Ubaid 0) in Southern Mesopotamia. The architectural remains recovered at the earliest levels of Tell el-Oueili revealed large spatially distinct dwellings comprised of a large central room containing a hearth and rows of pillars (for supporting the roof?), flanked on either side by a series of smaller rectilinear rooms (Huot 1989: 32; 1992: 192; Kubba 1998: 2, 36; see Fig 3.6).

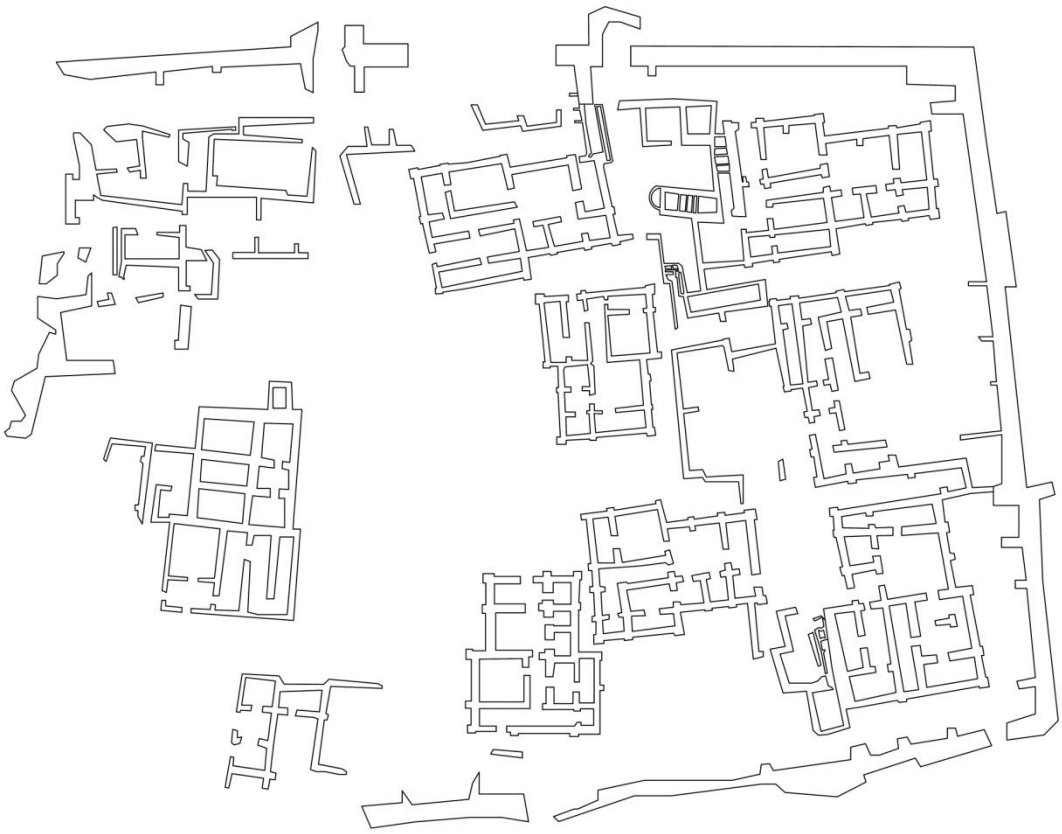


Figure 3.5 Plan of the Level IIIA settlement at Tell es-Sawwan, central Iraq (adapted from Walid Yasin 1970. Pl I).

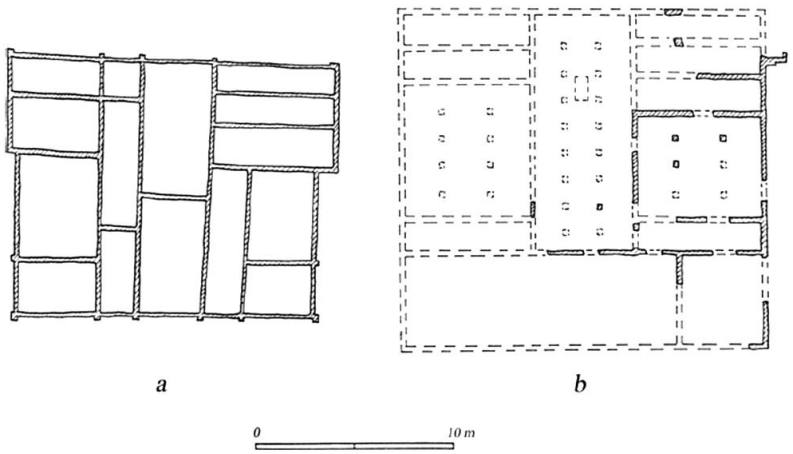


Figure 3.6 Multi-room houses from Tell es-Sawwan Level I and Tell Oueili (reproduced from Frangipane 2007a: 166. Fig 5).

3.1.3 Aspects of material culture

A defining aspect of Late Neolithic material culture is the widespread adoption of decorated fine-ware ceramics with elaborately painted geometric design configurations around c. 6200 cal. BC. Late Neolithic Fine Wares typically comprise elaborately decorated open-form serving vessels that are thought to have played an important social role in the consumption of food and drink (Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 209-10, 223-5). The production, form and decoration of Late Neolithic Fine Wares developed out of a long tradition of ceramic experimentation and the manufacture of vessels made from other materials (Nieuwenhuyse *et al.* 2010). It is evident that people had been modifying basketry vessels by coating them with bitumen or plaster, and experimenting with other plastic media such as gypsum, mud-paste and bitumen (Akkermans *et al.* 1982, 1983; Merpert *et al.* 1984: 52; Nieuwenhuyse *et al.* 2010: 74; Özdogan and Özdogan 1993: 93; Wengrow 2001: 178). That the form of early ceramic vessels relied upon a pre-existing template in other materials is attested in the negative basketry impressions on ceramic sherds indicating the use of baskets for moulds, as well as the decoration of these early ceramic vessels with patterns reminiscent of vessels made from other materials (Adavasio 1977, 1983; Wengrow 2001: 173, 178).

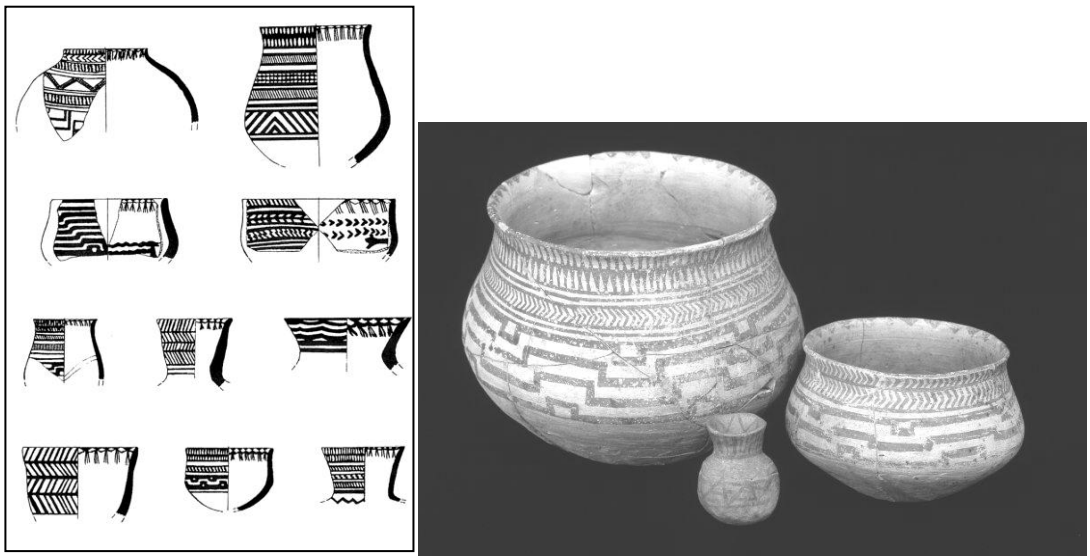


Figure 3.7 Decorated Samarran vessels from Tell es-Sawwan (left: reproduced from Garfinkel 2003: 152) and Samarra (right: photograph courtesy of The British Museum, object reference number 1924, 0416. 251).

Clay was also widely utilized in the crafting of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, 'tokens', sealings, jar stoppers, spindle whorls and sling missiles during this phase of the Late Neolithic, as illustrated by the extraordinary assemblages of objects recovered from Transitional (Balikh IIIA) levels at Tell Sabi Abyad (Braidwood *et al.* 1952: 18-19; Duistermaat 1996; Merpet and Munchaev 1993b: 91; Oates 1966; Spoor and Collet 1996: 441-443, 448-452; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 50, 55-6). Interestingly, although sealing mechanisms (clay sealings/stamp seals) are attested at Late Neolithic sites in Northern Mesopotamia, they are virtually absent in the Samarran settlements of central Iraq. The absence of sealing mechanisms in irrigated zones may be linked to the absence of communal storage facilities in Samarran villages (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996; Frangipane 2007a: 167). Clay and stone figurines, however, are well attested in Samarran settlements such as Choga Mami and Tell es-Sawwan (Oates 1966; 1969a: 127-29; Walid Yasin 1970: 9-10). At the latter site, the skilled crafting of stone is evident both in figurine production and the hundreds of fine alabaster vessels recovered from burials and caches (El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965). Typical Late Neolithic ground stone implements include grinding slabs, pestles, mortars and querns for the processing of foodstuffs, as well as stone hoes, celts, mace-heads and palettes. The social importance of body-orientated display is indicated by the decoration of Late Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines and the use of ornaments (seals, beads, pendants, labrets) fashioned from a variety of materials such as semi-precious stones, metals shell, and bone (Abu Al-Soof 1968: 7-8; Collet and Spoor 1996; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 22; Lloyd and Safar 1945: 269; Merpet and Munchaev 1993b: 91, 112-114; Spoor and Collet 1996: 444-448; see Figs 3.8 and 3.9).

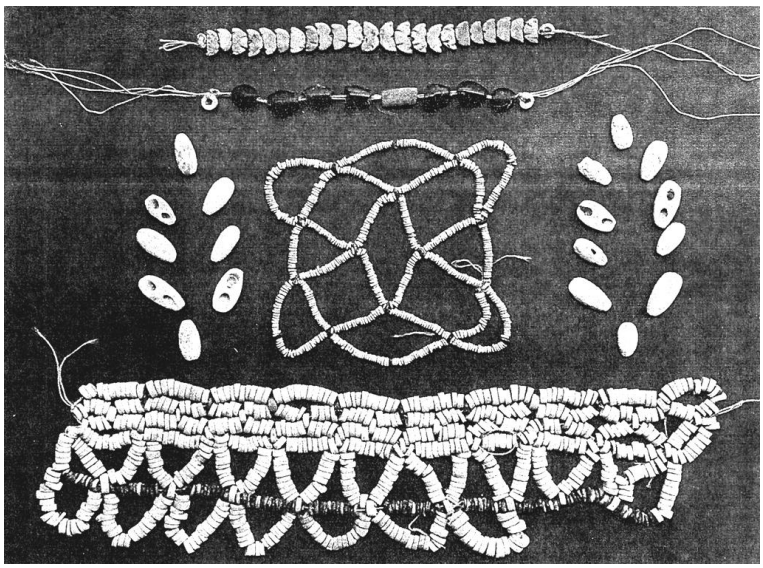


Figure 3.8 Shell and bead ornaments from Samarra (reproduced from Herzfeld 1930. Plate XLV).

Figure 3.9 Painted figurines from Choga Mami showing bodily decoration (reproduced from Oates 1969. Plates XXV and XXVIII).

The Late Neolithic chipped stone industry has been characterised as being 'impoverished', and assemblages are typically comprise of simple untrimmed flakes, a narrower range of blades such as sickle elements, as well as scrapers, borers, burins, arrowheads and 'tile knives' (Braidwood *et al.* 1944: 54-57; Braidwood *et al.* 1952: 19-20; Charvát 2002: 30; Copeland 1996: 304-7; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 22; Lloyd and Safar 1945: 269; Merpet and Munchaev 1993b: 91). The importance of organic materials for the production of basketry vessels and textiles is attested by impressions on ceramics and clay sealings, botanical evidence for flax cultivation, as

well as the significant numbers of spindle whorls, bone awls and needles recovered from Late Neolithic settlements (Abu Al-Soof 1968: 9-10; Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 20; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 131; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 22; Lloyd and Safar 1945: 269; McCorriston 1997: 519; Merpet and Munchaev 1993b: 91; Spoor and Collet 1996: 439-40, 452-3; Van Zeist and Bakker-Heeres 1975). Limited evidence for metal production is attested at Yarim Tepe with the discovery of a lead bracelet, while copper objects and copper ore have also been recovered from Yarim Tepe I, Tell es-Sawwan and Tell Sabi Abyad (Level 6; Kayani 1996: 134; Merpet 1993: 123; Moorey 1982: 18; 1994: 255; Spoor and Collet 1996: 452).

3.2 The archaeological record of the 'Halaf phenomenon' c. 6000-5300 cal. BC

3.2.1 Settlement and subsistence

The cultural assemblage generally referred to as the 'Halaf' is essentially defined on the basis of a distinctive ceramic assemblage that supposedly spread outwards from the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh to the Taurus and Anti-Taurus foothills of south-eastern Turkey, the mountainous regions of Eastern Anatolia and the Tigris basin (Akkermans 1993: 297; Frangipane 2007a: 154-5; see Fig 3.10). It should be acknowledged, however, that the Halaf phenomenon is not as culturally homogenous as was once believed, and current evidence indicates that there is considerable regional variation during this period (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 115; Campbell *et al.* 1999: 397).

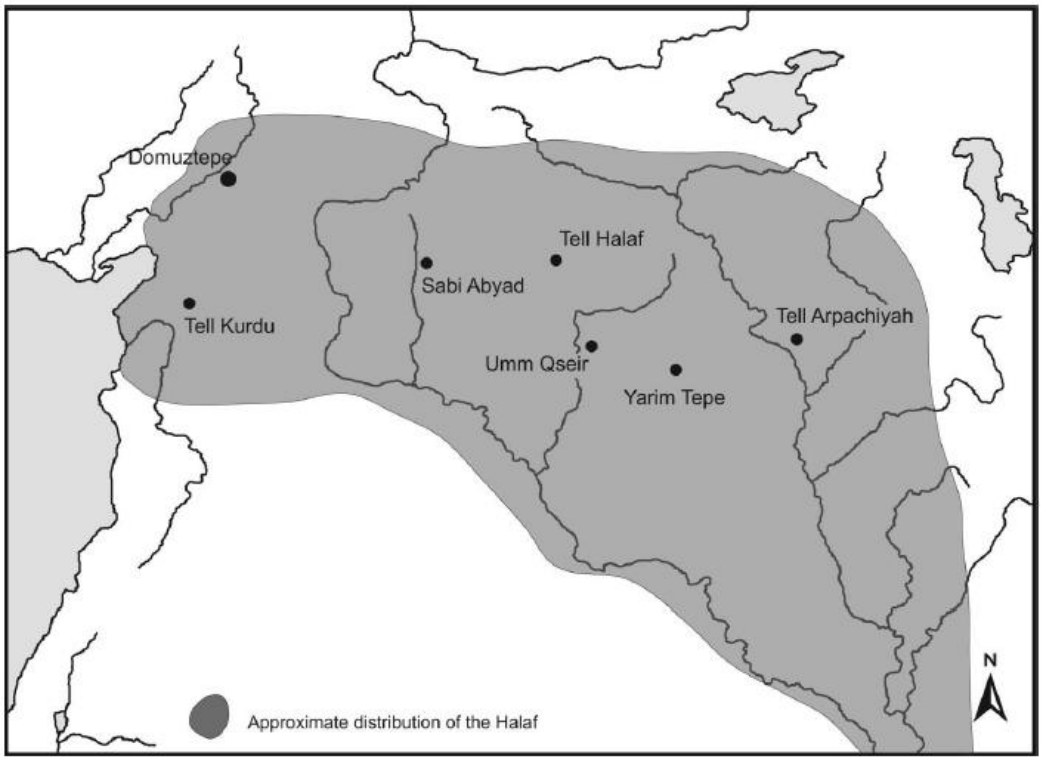


Figure 3.10 Distribution of Halaf material culture (reproduced from Kansa *et al.* 2009: 898. Fig 1).

The vast geographical extent of Halaf material culture assemblages has been linked to the expansion of Halaf communities into marginal areas as a result of demographic growth, increasing population pressure, community fissioning and the movement of communities into previously uninhabited areas. However, it is now apparent that in every region the population density was generally very low. Survey data from Northern Iraq for example, demonstrates that clusters of 5-6 sites of up to 1 ha in size were situated apart at distances of 10-12km (Oates 1980: 308; Wilkinson 1990). Comparable data obtained from the Balikh Valley in Syria shows that although population density during the Halaf period increased, settlement density and population levels still remained relatively low (note that this data assumes that all sites are contemporaneous, and therefore represents the maximum estimate population; Akkermans 1993: 186-191; Wilkinson 2000: 250; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 127-8). The capacity of Halaf groups to expand into marginal areas may be partly explained by the diverse character of Halaf settlement and subsistence patterns. Halaf period communities followed a mixed subsistence economy that included hoe cultivation in the rain-fed zone (two-row barley, naked six-row barley, emmer wheat, bread wheat, einkorn), transhumant pastoralism (sheep, goat and cattle), and the procurement of wild resources (Akkermans 1993: Chapter 6; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 127-8; Bernbeck and Pollock 2003:

68-9; Cavallo 2000: 77; Frangipane 2007a: 160; Kansa *et al.* 2009; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 47-8; Özbal *et al.* 2004: 65-68; Potts 1997: 58-62; Zeder 110-111: 1994).

Survey data suggests that the majority of Halaf settlements were small and temporarily occupied (0.1-1 ha, with archaeological deposits 1-2 meters deep). However, a small number of large permanent villages with relatively unbroken sequences of occupation are also attested for this period, such as the large 20 hectare settlements at Domuztepe and Kazane Höyük located in south-central and southeast Turkey (Campbell *et al.* 1999; Carter *et al.* 2003; Bernbeck *et al.* 1999). The dichotomous nature of occupation during the Halaf may be explained by the divergent economic and social attributes of a settlement within a given region. The small number of large, permanent villages may have functioned as preeminent regional centres for the production and exchange of goods, as well as focal points for important social occasions. It is likely that smaller settlements were seasonally occupied camps for mobile or semi-sedentary groups engaged in transhumant pastoralism and hunting (Akkermans 1993: 190-1, 267; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 127-8; Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 71; Hole 1997: 43; Wilkinson 2000: 233).

Evidence for increased mobility during the Halaf period implies that animal husbandry and seasonal pastoralism became a major economic activity during this period, and it is likely that domestic animals were a source of mobile wealth and symbolic capital, a notion that finds support in the wide-spread depictions of stylized bucranium on ceramic vessels and the large-scale consumption of cattle at funerary feasts (Akkermans 1993: 235; Kansa *et al*. 2009; Nieuwenhuyse 2007**:** 47-8; Wengrow 1998: 787; see Fig 3.11). Considering that a significant component of the population were engaged in transhumant pastoralism, it is possible that the seemingly unoccupied areas distinguished in archaeological surveys were in fact exploited by Halaf groups for grazing and hunting (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 128). In light of these considerations, the expansion of Halaf groups into previously uninhabited areas may be understood as a response to increasing demands for new pastures by mobile components of Halaf communities (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 128-9).

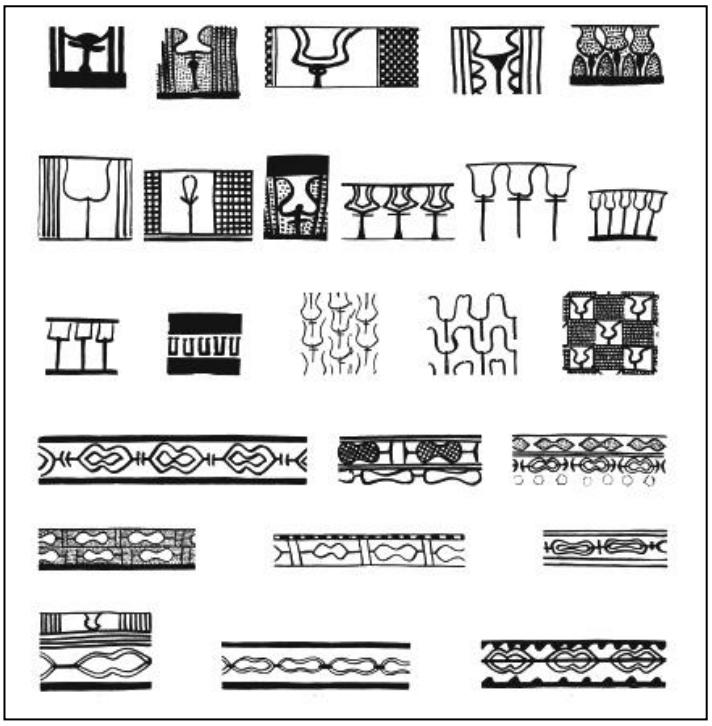


Figure 3.11 Bucranium designs from Halaf pottery (reproduced from Mallowan and Rose 1935. Fig. 74)

3.2.2 Spatial organization and architecture

Halaf period architecture is generally characterised by the structures with a circular ground plan - commonly referred to as 'tholoi' - that sometimes have an attached rectangular antechamber. These circular or key-hole shaped structures are thought to have had a domed or 'beehive'-shaped superstructure (flat roofs have also been suggested for some Tholoi), and mark a significant departure from earlier building traditions (Akkermans 1987: 26; 1989b: 59-60; 1993: 299; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 105-6; Hijara 1997: 17; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 28-34; Merpet *et al.* 1976: 45; 1978: 43; Munchaev and Merpet 1971: 31; see Figs. 3.12 and 3.13). Tholoi structures differ significantly in terms of construction features and dimensions, variations that are likely to be attributed to their varied function. While some tholoi contain domestic features suggestive of their used as dwellings, others have been associated with specific activities such as weaving, food processing and the storage of cereals (Akkermans 1987: 26; 1989b: 60-66; 1993: 226-230, 299-300; Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 27; Frangipane 2007a: 155; Hijara 1997: 17-18; Merpet and Munchaev 1973: 12; 1993c: 131; Merpet *et al.* 1977: 91; Munchaev and Merpet 1971: 19; Watson and Le Blanc 1990: 39). Tholos structures are often found alongside multi-roomed rectangular buildings that appear to

have functioned as spaces for supra-domestic activities such as the acquisition and crafting of materials, the collective storage of goods, and the regulation of exchange transactions (Akkermans and Le Mière 1992: 12; Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996; Campbell 2000: 17; 24-5; Frangipane 2007a: 157; Hijara 1997: 19; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 91-94; Wengrow 1998: 787; see Fig. 3.14).

Figure 3.12 'Keyhole-shaped' Tholos from Tell Sabi Abyad (reproduced from Akkermans and le Mière 1992: 12. Fig. 5)

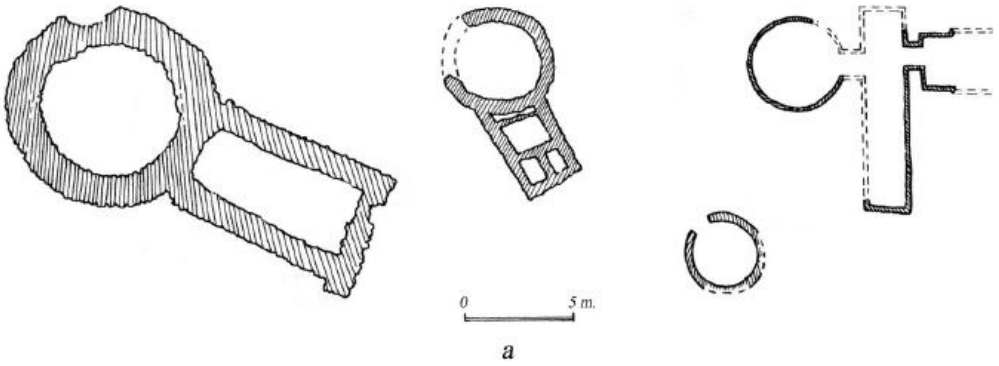


Figure 3.13 Various types of Halaf period Tholoi from Arpachiyah, Çavi Tarlası and Tell Sabi Abyad (reproduced from Frangipane 2007a: 156. Fig. 2)

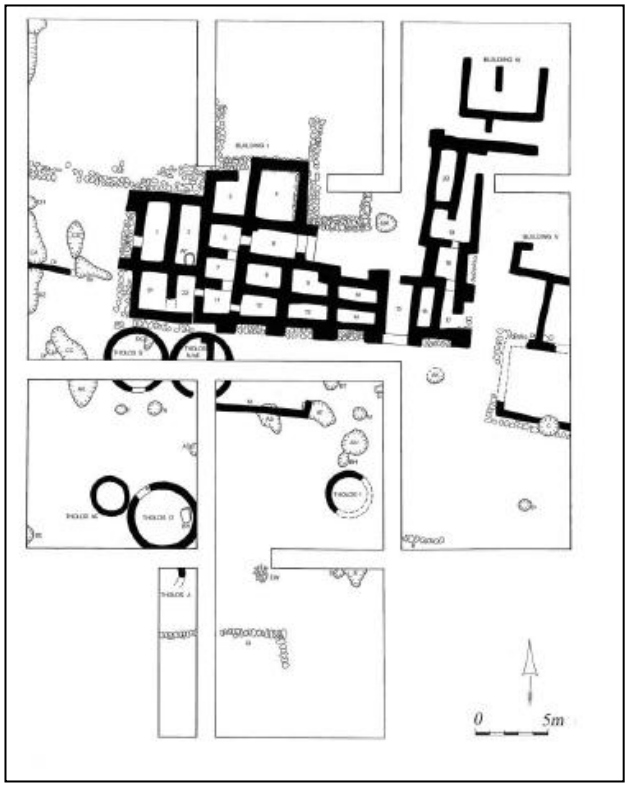


Figure 3.14 The Level 3 settlement at Tell Sabi Abyad showing a large rectangular structure surrounded by Tholoi (reproduced from Akkermans and Le Mière 1992:12. Fig. 13).

Frangipane (2007: 156) has noted that, in comparison with the Samarran houses of central Iraq (see above) and later Ubaid houses, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish individual dwelling structures in Halaf settlements. While minor architectural remains attest to the use of outdoor spaces for various activities, the largely ephemeral traces of architecture evident at Halaf sites may imply that perishable organic materials were frequently employed for construction purposes. This view finds support in a decorated ceramic vessel from the Halaf occupation at Domuztepe, which depicts individual dwellings using cross-hatched patterns, indicative of matting, as well as a gabled roof that is likely to have been constructed of organic materials (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 909; see Fig 3.15 below). The existence of such structures during the Halaf is supported by a similar depiction of a structure with a gabled roof from a decorated ceramic vessel from Tell Arpachiyah, as well as Halaf period amulet carved in the shape of a building with a gabled roof from the same site (Hijara 1978: 126; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 30-31; see Fig 3.16 below).

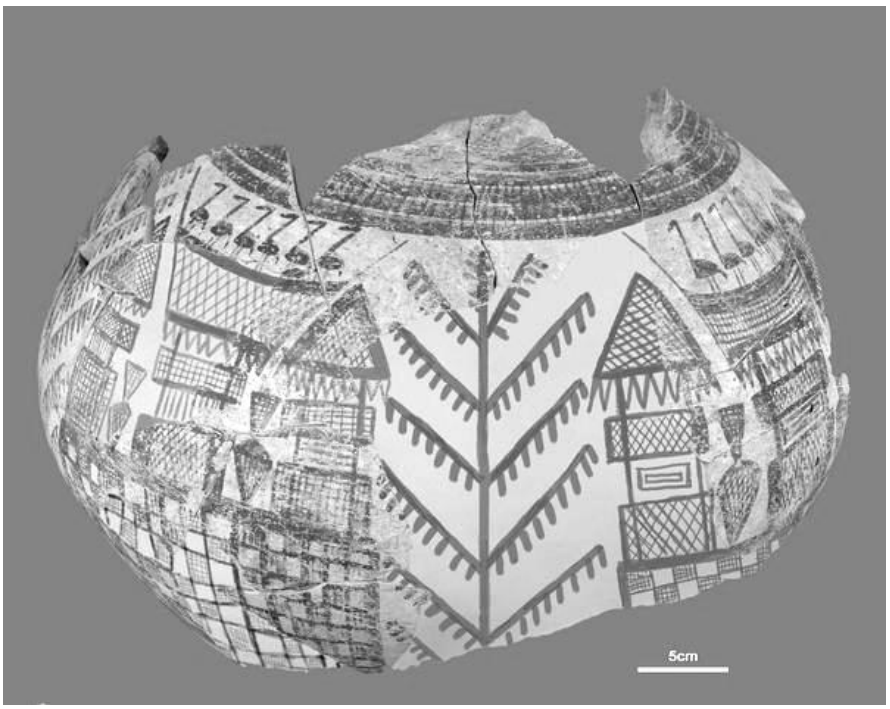


Figure 3.15 Decorated vessel fragments depicting village scene from Domuztepe (reproduced from Kansa *et al.* 2009: 910. Fig. 5).

Figure 3.16Amulet carved in the shape of a structure with a gabled roof and ceramic decoration depicting structure with gabled roof, both from Tell Arpachiyah (left; photograph courtesy of the British Museum, object registration number 1934, 0210. 343; right; reproduced from Hijara 1978: 126. Fig. 1.).

3.2.3 Aspects of material culture

Continuing the Late Neolithic emphasis on highly conspicuous, decorated open forms typical of earlier Standard Fine Ware assemblages, Halaf Fine Ware vessels similarly attest to the social importance of consumption and hospitality during this period. The delicate and elaborately decorated Halaf fine wares form a distinct assemblage that contrasts markedly with the coarsely made, plain, closed forms used for the storage and

preparation of foodstuffs. What distinguishes Halaf Fine Wares from earlier Fine Ware traditions is an increasing emphasis on decorating the interior bases of vessels with inbounded and occasionally naturalistic/figural motifs, while the exterior of vessels continued the tradition of hierarchically organized designs showing bounded, continuous, and geometric motifs comparable to the woven patterns found on basketry forms (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 170; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 212; Wengrow 1998: 786; 2001: 173-4; see Fig. 3.17).

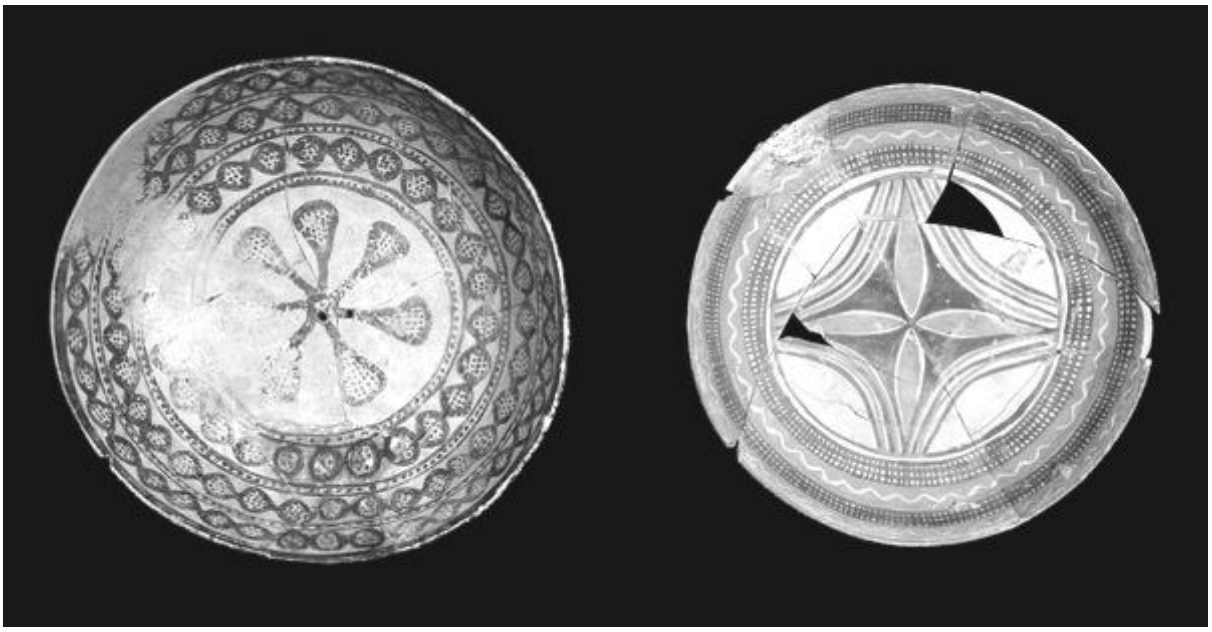


Figure 3.17 Decorated Halaf plates from Tell Arpachiyah (photograph courtesy of the British Museum, object reference number 1934, 0210. 82)

As with earlier Late Neolithic traditions, clay was also formed into anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, often found in association with clay 'tokens', sling missiles, jar stoppers and sealings (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996; Akkermans and Le Mière 1992: 12; Hijara 1997: 75-76; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 91-94). The importance of textile production during this period is attested by the significant numbers of spindle whorls and loom weights recovered from settlement contexts (see also Fig. 3.18 below), while ground stone artefacts include a variety of implements such as pestles, mortars, querns, palettes, mace heads, chisels, celts, seals/pendants as well as various vessels forms (Akkermans 1989b: 273-275, 285-287; Campbell 2000: 28-30, Carter *et al*. 2003: 130-132; 32-33, 35; Hijara 1997: 70-74). Chipped stone industries include simple flake production alongside smaller numbers of more formal re-touched tools, such as sickle elements, scrapers, burins, drills, borers and arrowheads

(Akkermans 1993: 271-273; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 132; Bernbeck *et al.* 1999: 122-124; Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 47-8; Campbell *et al.* 1999: 415; Copeland 1989: 260-263; Merpet and Munchaev 1993c: 132, 145-152; Özbal *et al.* 2004: 56-59). The importance of trade and exchange during the Halaf period is attested by the distribution of obsidian, the presence of copper objects and other metals (Bressy *et al.* 2005; Oates and Oates 2004) as well as the presence of marine shells and bitumen at Halaf sites (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 130).

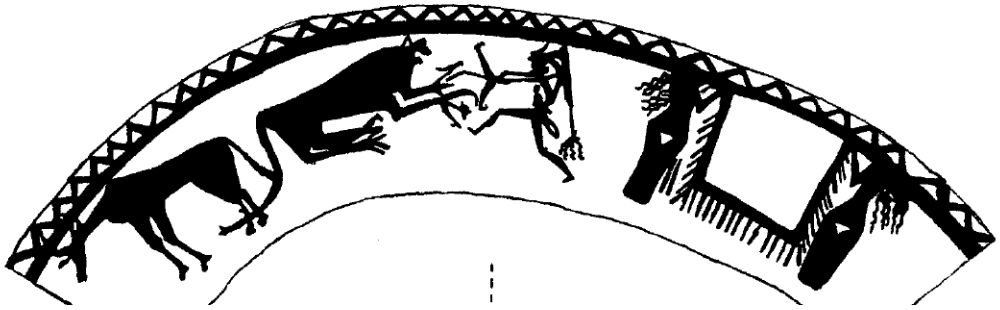


Figure 3.18 Decorative scene from a Halaf vessel from Tell Arpachiyah showing a hunter with bow-and-arrow, as well as female figures with what appears to be a piece of textile (reproduced from Hijara 1978: 126. Fig. 1).

3.3 Patterns of burial during the Late Neolithic period c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

The following section will present a quantitative analysis of the burial data collected for the Late Neolithic period (c. 6400-5400 cal. BC) in the Greater Mesopotamian region, which will be based upon available published records for skeletal information, context, burial methods and grave goods. The principal objective of the analysis will be to investigate the changing relationship between funerary rituals and the removal of wealth from circulation over the long-term. It is anticipated that this study will highlight any major trends and deviations in the circulation and display of wealth through burials over time, as well as providing the foundation for a detailed analysis of particular burial groups that will follow in Chapter 4. Methodological considerations, such as the limits of what can reasonably be attained from a long-term analysis of the burial record when considering the overall quality of the data collected from publications, is outlined in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.3.1 and 1.3.3.2. A discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories (section 1.3.3.3); grave-good inventories (section 1.3.3.4); burial methods (section 1.3.3.5) and the spatial context of burials (section 1.3.3.6) was outlined in Section 1.3.3. The analysis will be structured to address four specific research objectives:

1. **To assess the scale of funerary consumption over the long-term.**

2. **To identify patterns in the types of objects removed from circulation through funerary rites.**

3. **To identify patterns in the spatial context of burials, such as variations in the scale of intramural (i.e. habitation zone) or extramural burials through time.**

4. **To broadly determine the principal methods of burial and the extent to which burial methods varied through time**.

As this study aims to account for long-term changes in the relationship between funerary rites and wealth removal, burial groups will be analysed in approximate 200 year periods between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC, with the aim of providing greater temporal resolution than the conventional cultural periodisation allows. The phases used are given below:

Period 1. Date cal. BC = c. 6400 - 6200 (proto-Hassuna)
Period 2. Date cal. BC = c. 6200 - 6000 (Transitional/Hassuna-Samarra)
Period 3. Date cal. BC = c. 6000 - 5800 (Early Halaf/Ubaid 0)
Period 4. Date cal. BC = c. 5800 - 5600 (Early - Middle Halaf/Ubaid 1)
Period 5. Date cal. BC = c. 5600 - 5400 (Middle - Late Halaf/Ubaid 2)

3.3.1 The Late Neolithic burial data c. 6400-5400 cal. BC: preliminary comments

The burial data was obtained from a sample of 30 Late Neolithic sites (proto-Hassuna through to Late Halaf) located in the Upper Mesopotamian region, and a single site located in Khuzistan (see Tables 3.1 to 3.5, and Fig. 3.19 below). The number of burials from each site used in the analysis for each 200 year chronological phase, and the basis for dating each site, is presented in Tables 3.1 to 3.5 below.

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Tell el-Kerkh	Western Syria	23	14.0	Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 57, Table 2; Tsuneki 2010; Tsuneki *et al.* 1997:9-10, 35; Tsuneki et al. 1998: 8-9, 35; Tsuneki *et al.* 1999: 2, 518-24; Tsuneki *et al.* 2000: 6-7, 28.
Tell es-Sawwan	Central Iraq	129	78.7	al-Adami 1968; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965; Matthews 2000: 74; Oates 1966: 146-7; Youkana 1997: 37
Tell Halula	Middle Euphrates	2	1.2	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 110, Fig. 4.2; Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 52, Table 2; Molist and Faura 1999: 33
Tell Hazna	Khabur	1	0.6	Merpet and Munchaev 1999: 94
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	2	1.2	Fukai *et al.* 1970: 27-31; Mathews 2000: 62.
Tell Sotto	Northern Iraq	7	4.3	Bader 1993a: 44-5; Bader 1993b: 68-9; Matthews 2000: 61; Merpet *et al.* 1976: 98;

	Merpet *et al.* 1979: 46-7

Table 3.1 Table showing Late Neolithic sites used for the analysis c.6400-6200 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Choga Mami	Central Iraq	2	2.4	Oates 1969a: 116; 1972: 50; 1982
Matarrah	Northern Iraq	6	7.1	Braidwood *et al.* 1952: 23-4; Oates 1972: 50-51
Sabi Abyad	Balikh Valley	5	5.9	Akkermans and Verhoeven 1999: 8; Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004, Table 2; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 48, 52-3, 71-2.
Tell es-Sawwan	Central Iraq	13	15.3	Al-Soof 1969; Matthews 2000: 74; Oates 1966: 146-7; 1972: 50
Tell Hassuna	Northern Iraq	17	20.0	Lloyd and Safar : 263, 267-8;
Tell Shimshara	Northern Iraq	1	1.2	Mortensen 1970: 20; 63.
Tell Songor A	Central Iraq	2	2.4	Kamada and Ohtsu 1993: 170; 1995: 275; Matsumoto 1986;
Umm Dabaghiya	Northern Iraq	7	8.2	Kirkebride 1972: 7; 1973: 4
Yarim Tepe I	Northern Iraq	32	37.7	Campbell 2000: 15; Merpet and Munchaev 1973: 103; 1993b: 85, 104-5; Merpet *et al.* 1977: 80-74 ; 1979: 31; 1987: 2, 5-7, 9.

Table 3.2 Table showing Late Neolithic sites used for the analysis c.6200-6000 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Arpachiyah	Northern Iraq	3	7.3	Akkermans 1993: 307-8 ; Breniquet 1996: 58; Hijara 1978;
Tell el-Kerkh	Western Syria	19	46.3	Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 57, Table 2; Tsuneki 2010; Tsuneki *et al.* 1997:9-10, 35; Tsuneki et al. 1998: 8-9, 35; Tsuneki *et al.* 1999: 2, 518-24; Tsuneki *et al.* 2000: 6-7, 28.
Yarim Tepe II	Northern Iraq	19	46.3	Akkermans 1993: 309-311; Breniquet 1996: 58; Merpert and Munchaev 1993a: 210-217

Table 3.3 Table showing Late Neolithic sites used for the analysis c.6000-5800 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Arpachiyah	Northern Iraq	9	17.0	Akkermans 1993: 307-8 ; Breniquet 1996: 58; Hijara 1978: 125; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 42;
Çavi Tarlası	Southeast Turkey	18	34.0	Akkermans 1993: 314; Wickede and Herbort 1988: 17-18, 23-24; Yakar 1991: 72
Chagar Bazar	Khabur	5	9.4	Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 54, Table 2; ; Breniquet 1996: 58;McMahon *et al.* 2001: 202; Mallowan 1936: 10-11, 18, 59
Domuztepe	Southeast Turkey	1	1.9	Campbell 2007: 115-117; Campbell 2007/8: 127;

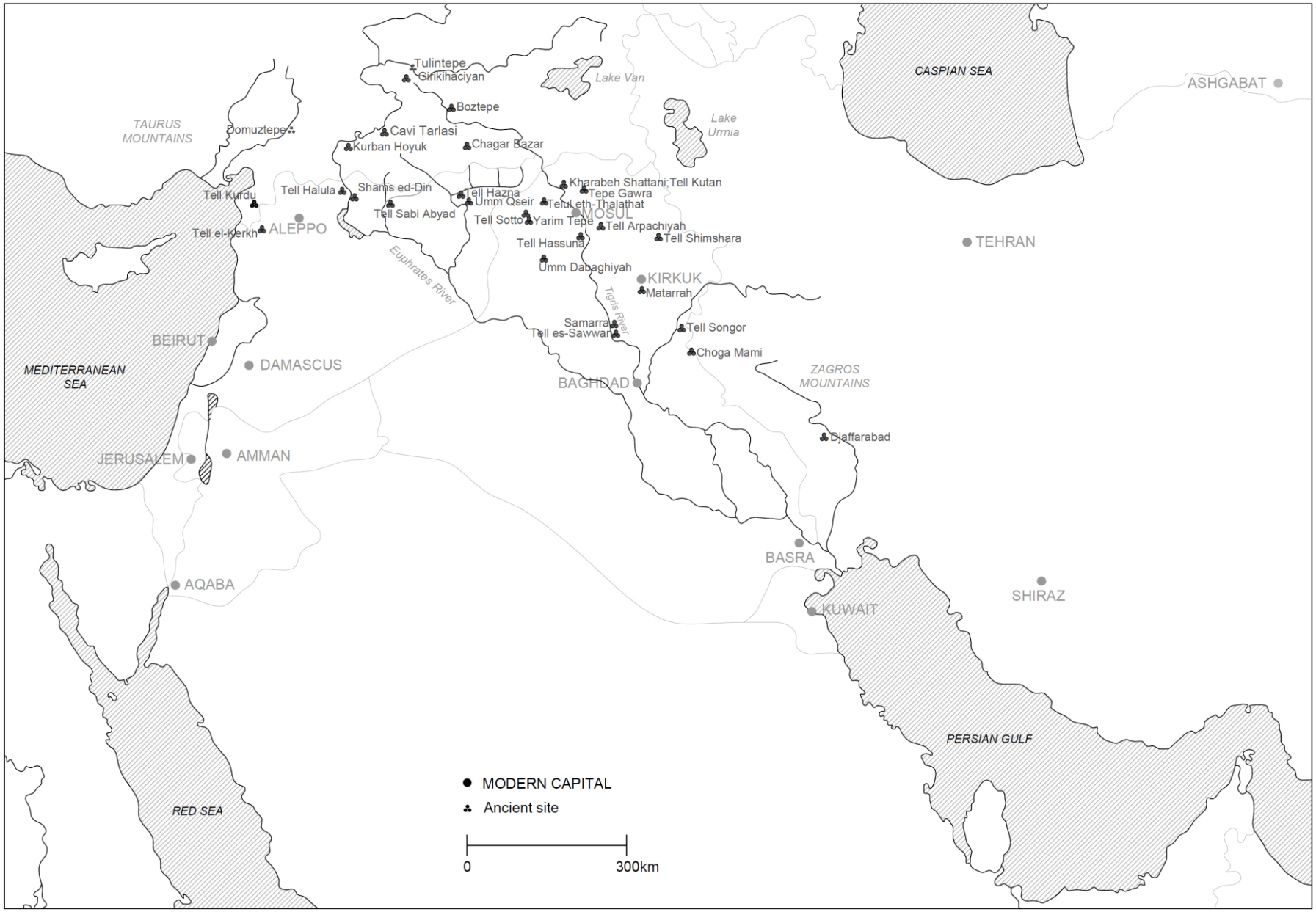
				Campbell *et al.* 2003, Table 1;
Yarim Tepe II	Northern Iraq	8	15.1	Akkermans 1993: 309-311; Breniquet 1996: 58; Merpet and Munchaev 1993c: 210-217
Choga Mish	Khuzistan	12	22.6	Alizadeh 1996: 165; 2003: 31 (Table 3); 2008

Table 3.4 Table showing Late Neolithic sites used for the analysis c.5800-5600 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Boztepe	Southeast Turkey	3	3.8	Parker and Creekmore 2002: 22, 27-31
Chagar Bazar	Khabur	2	2.5	Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 54, Table 2; Breniquet 1996: 58; McMahon *et al.* 2001: 202; Mallowan 1936: 10-11, 18, 59
Choga Mish	Khuzistan	8	10.1	Alizadeh 2003: 31 (Table 3); 2008;
Djaffarabad	Khuzistan	3	3.8	Alizadeh 2003: 31 (Table 3); Dollfus 1975: 22
Domuztepe	Southeast Turkey	8	10.1	Campbell 2007: 115-117; Campbell 2007/8: 128-9; 131-132; Campbell *et al.* 2003: 120-121, Table 1;
Girikihaciyan	Southeast Turkey	4	5.1	Akkermans 1993: 313; Watson and Le Blanc 1990: 121
Kharabeh Shattani	Northern Iraq	3	3.8	Bolt 1995: 10, 12; Watkins 1986: 227-228
Shams Ed-Din Tannira	Middle Euphrates	1	1.3	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003 Fig.4.2; Al-Radi and Seeden 1978: 106
Tell Kurdu	Western Syria	7	8.9	Yener *et al.* 2000: 33-5, 43-4; Özbal *et al.* 2004: 50; 70-71
Tell Songor A	Central Iraq	1	1.3	Kamada and Ohtsu 1993: 187
Tell Songor B	Central Iraq	2	2.5	Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1989, Table 1; Yokoyama and Matsumoto 1990
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	7	8.9	Akkermans 1993: 308; Breniquet 1996: 58; Tobler 1950, pp. 48-50.
Tulintepe	Southeast Turkey	1	1.3	Esin and Arsebük. 1982: 132
Umm Qseir	Khabur	2	2.5	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, fig. 4.2; Hole and Johnson 1986-7
Yarim Tepe I	Northern Iraq	11	13.9	Akkermans 1993: 308; Merpet and Munchaev 1993a: 218-221
Yarim Tepe II	Northern Iraq	12	15.2	Akkermans 1993: 309-311; Breniquet 1996: 58;Merpert *et al.* 1976; 1978; 1979; 1981; Merpert and Munchaev 1987; 1993a: 2010-217
Yarim Tepe III	Northern Iraq	4	5.1	Akkermans 1993: 311-312; Merpet and Munchaev 1993d: 175-6, 194

Table 3.5 Table showing Late Neolithic sites used for the analysis c.5600-5400 cal. BC

Figure 3.19 Below: Map showing geographical distribution of sites used in the analysis (adapted from Carter and Phillip [ed.] 2010: x)


Tulintepe
Sirikihaciyan
Lake Van
CASPIAN SEA
ASHGABAT
Boztepe
TAURUS MOUNTAINS
Domuztepe
Cavi Tarlasi
Lake Urrnia
Kurban Hoyuk
Chagar Bazar
Kharabeh Shattani;Tell Kutan
Tell Kurdu
Tell Halula
Shams ed-Din
Tell Hazna
Tepe Gawra
Umm Qseir
Tell eth-Thalathat
MOSUL
Tell Sabi Abyad
Tell Sotto
Yarim Tepe
Tell Arpachiyah
Tell el-Kerkh
ALEPPO
Tell Shimshara
TEHRAN
Tell Hassuna
Euphrates River
Umm Dabaghiyah
KIRKUK
Matarrah
Tigris River
Samarra
Tell es-Sawwan
Tell Songor
BEIRUT
Choga Mami
DAMASCUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAGHDAD
ZAGROS MOUNTAINS
Djaffarabad
JERUSALEM
AMMAN
BASRA
AQABA
SHIRAZ
KUWAIT
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
MODERN CAPITAL
Ancient site
0
300km

422 burials have been recorded from a sample of 31 Late Neolithic sites, which date between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC (proto-Hassuna through to the Late Halaf). Firstly, it is evident from this sample that these burials must represent a small minority of the population, the majority being buried or disposed of elsewhere, beyond the confines of settlements (apart perhaps from Tell es-Sawwan Level I and Tell el-Kerkh). The existence of extra-mural burial grounds during this period is virtually unknown as research is almost exclusively focused on the excavation of settlement 'tells'. The available mortuary data reveals, therefore, that a minority of the population were selected to be interred within the context of the living. From this sample of 422 Late Neolithic burials, a total of 380 individuals were recorded: 167 infants, 65 children, 34 adolescents and 114 adults. In 115 cases the age of individuals was not recorded in publications (in some cases skeletal remains were in fact absent in graves). It is also evident from this sample that a very small proportion of adolescents are recorded, which is likely to reflect the fact that the skeletal material from a number of excavations was not analysed in detail (see discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories in section 1.3.3.3).

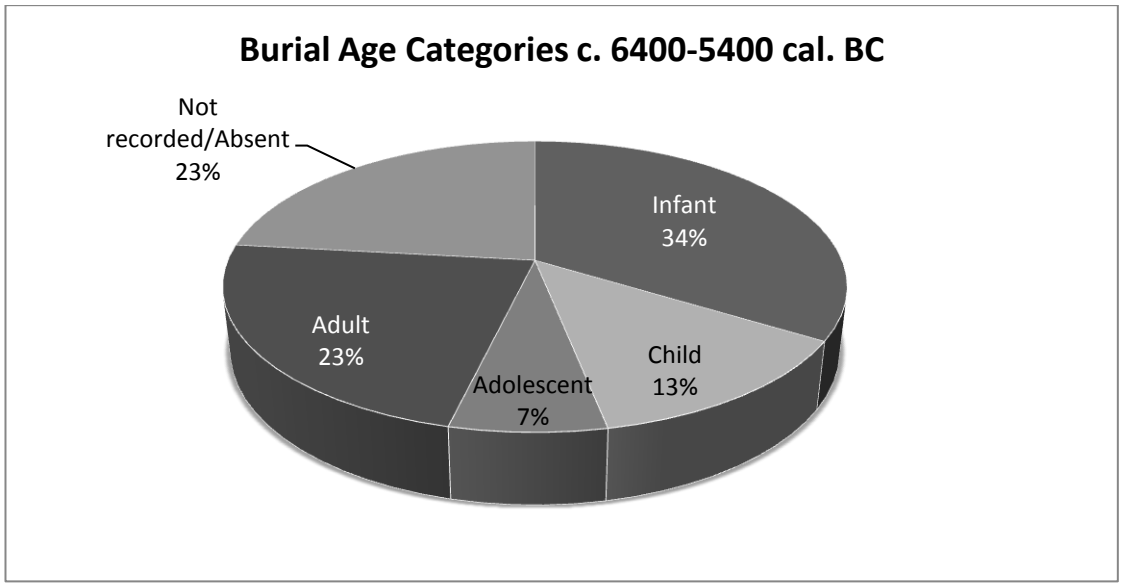


Chart 3.1 Approximate age of individuals from Late Neolithic funerary contexts c. 6400-5400 BC

It should be briefly noted here that the categorization of burials according to their spatial context – such as burials associated with architectural units – is principally based on descriptions provided in the published material. It is often stated in publications, for

example, that burials were made below the floors of architectural units. However, it must be emphasised that such assertions are rarely justified with reference to explicit stratigraphic links between burials and architectural features. At Tell es-Sawwan, for example, the excavators contend that the graves were interred below the floors of architectural units on the basis that not one burial extended beneath the walls of the structure. While the excavators state that the floors of the building were re-plastered after interments were made, detailed stratigraphic confirmation is absent from the published material (El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 20, 23; Youkana 1997: 37-38). As such, it is conceivable that burials described in this way may in fact have been interred between phases of construction or habitation, and must therefore be treated with a degree of caution. Non-standard burials made in architectural features - such as grain-bins, ovens and house floors - will be categorised on the basis of their spatial association with architectural features (e.g. 'grain-bin burial', 'floor-burial' and 'oven-burial') in order to distinguish them from more standard methods of burial.

A further point that requires clarification is the categorization of burials that contain multiple individuals. Twenty-six burials (6.2% of the sample) dating between c. 6400-5400 were categorised as multiple-burials: burial contexts whereby a concentration of skeletal remains belonging to multiple-individuals can be associated with a specific context such as a burial pit, or architectural feature (e.g. remains of multiple individuals placed within a grain bin or on a floor of a building). Of these multiple burials, a number require justification as to their categorization. At Arpachiyah, burial G2 comprised of four skulls, each of which were buried within a ceramic vessel. However, in the published material this context is described as a collective burial (Hijara 1978: 125), and has therefore been recorded as a multiple burial. At Tepe Gawra, the disarticulated remains of multiple individuals were discarded in a pit (interpreted as a disused well) alongside a number of smashed jars (Burials A, B and C; Tobler 1950: 49). As these remains were recorded in the publications as belonging to three separate phases of deposition (Burials A, B and C; see Tobler 1950: 48), they have been categorised as three separate multiple burials. At Domuztepe, a complex funerary pit was excavated comprising layers of disarticulated and processed bone from at least 40 individuals and a large number of animals, mixed with ash, broken pottery and other artefacts (Feature 148; Kansa *et al.* 2009: 161). While the events surrounding the creation of this feature were structured and highly complex, the pit was created and

filled within a relatively short period of time. As such, Feature 148 at Domuztepe has been recorded as a multiple burial, but will be described in detail in section 4.2.3.1.

At Matarrah, the remains of four individuals (S-M-7) were apparently dismembered and thrown into a pit, the bones being 'completely mixed' with some having been broken prior to interment (Braidwood *et al.* 1952: 23-4). As the remain derive from a single context, and are likely to have constituted a single event, the remains have been categorized as a multiple burial. At Tell el-Kerkh (El-Rouj 2c) two concentrations of human remains (Concentrations 1 and 2) each comprised a complete skeleton accompanied by the fragmented remains of multiple individuals (Tsuneki 2010). Each concentration of human remains has been recorded as a multiple burial. At Tell Hassuna, the complete and post cranial remains of two adult placed within a grain bin were recorded as a multiple burial, while at Yarim Tepe I, multiple skeletons remains were interred within Tholoi structures at the site, and have been recorded as multiple burials. Finally, at Tell Sabi Abyad, the remains of two skeletons were recovered in the fill of a room. In light of their unusual position within the room, the excavators suggest that the bodies fell from the roof of the building when the structure collapsed due to a fire (Verhoeven 2000: 48; Verhoeven 2002: 49; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 55-6). As the skeletal remains were concentrated within the fill of this structure, and appear to have formed part of the same funerary rite, they have been categorized as a multiple burial.

It should be noted that subsequent information on mortuary rites at Late Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad (Akkermans 2008) and Hakemi Use (Tekin 2008) was made available after the completion of this analysis. The majority of the new burials excavated at Sabi Abyad can be dated to the final phases of habitation at the site (c. 6100-5900 cal. BC) and includes a significant number infant and child burials interred below the floors of buildings and in abandoned parts of the settlement. Grave-goods include ceramic vessels and personal ornaments (beads, pierced shell, pendants). In addition, eight adult burials were recovered within close proximity of each other in an abandoned area of the settlement, which may imply the presence of a separate burial ground for adults. Notably, two of the adult burials provide evidence for the intentional removal of crania (Akkermans 2008: 624-6). Recent excavations at Hakemi Use in southeast Turkey (c. 6100-6950 cal. BC) have revealed 22 Late Neolithic burials, eight of which belonged to

adults, the remainder belonging to infants and children. Burials were accompanied by grave-goods in the form of monochrome vessels, and in one case, a vessel crafted from basalt (Tekin 2008: 275).

3.3.2 Long-term patterns in funerary consumption c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC a total of 422 burials were recorded and 699 objects were removed from circulation through funerary rites (see Table 3.6 and Chart 3.2).

Period	Number of Burials	Number of Objects	Average
6400-6200	164	382	2.33
6200-6000	85	80	0.94
6000-5800	41	72	1.76
5800-5600	53	75	1.42
5600-5400	79	90	1.14
Total	422	699	1.66

Table 3.6 Table showing the number of grave-goods recorded between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

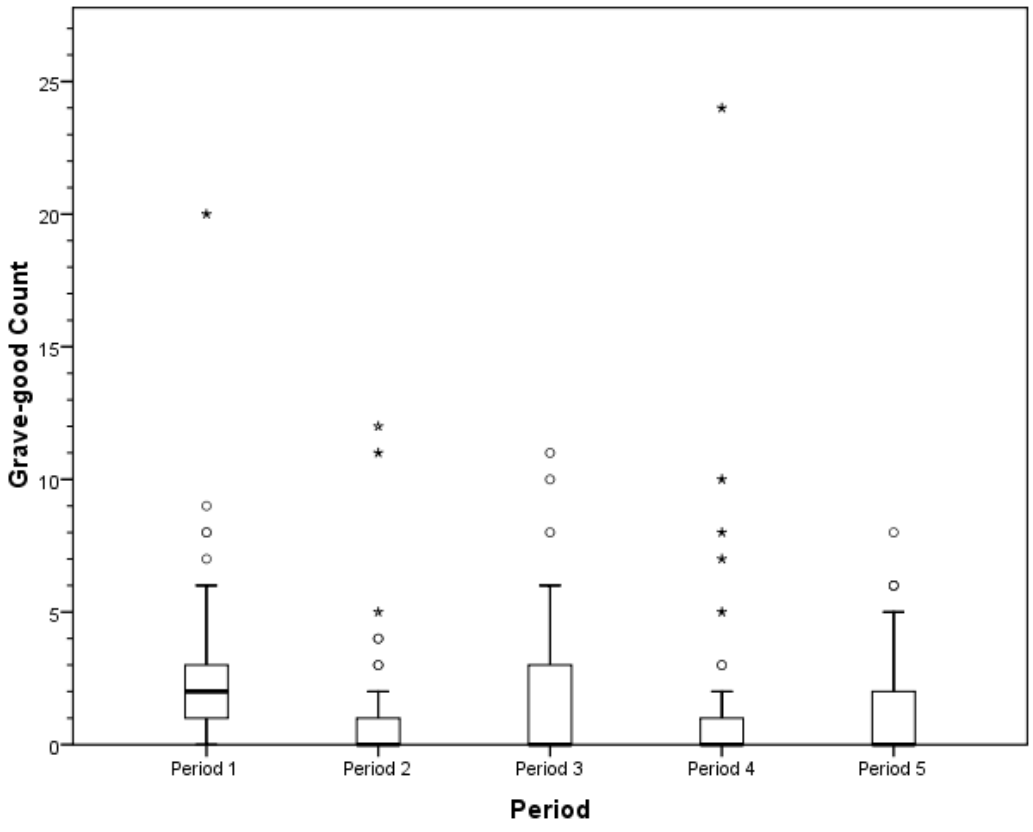


Chart 3.2 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

Chart 3.2 illustrates a boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC. The box represents the interquartile range of the distribution while the lines extending from the boxes, or 'whiskers', indicate the maximum and minimum values that are less than 1 interquartile range from the nearest quartile. The line across the box marks the median value of the distribution, while probable outliers are indicated by open circles, and extreme values by asterisks. Period 1 on the chart, and those that follow, represents 6400-6200 cal. BC; Period 2: 6200-6000 cal. BC; Period 3: 6000-5800 cal. BC; Period 4: 5800-5600 cal. BC and Period 5: 5600-5400 cal. BC. The chart indicates that Period 1's median is higher than other periods, which implies that on average grave-good consumption was highest between 6400-6200 cal. BC. Despite having a lower median, there is a greater variability in grave-good consumption in Period 3 compared to other Periods. Notably, outliers and extreme values are present in all Periods, which suggest that in a small number of cases grave-good consumption was significantly high.

Age category	Number of individuals	Percentage of individuals %	Number of objects	Percentage of objects %
Infant	151	51.9	245	49.8
Child	48	16.5	44	8.9
Adolescent	21	7.2	78	15.9
Adult	71	24.4	125	25.4
Total	291	100.0	492	100

Table 3.7 Table showing number of grave goods per age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

The number of objects consumed in burials by age category totalled 492 (see discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories in section 1.3.3.3). Table 3.7 and Chart 3.3 show that infants make up over half of the total sample (51.9%) and that nearly half (49.8%) of all grave goods are associated with infant burials. Interestingly, the percentage of children (16.5%) and adolescents (7.2%) recorded from the total sample is low, which may relate to the variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains. As such, any broad survey of age-orientated funerary consumption must be treated as an approximation, and with due caution. The nature and reliability of age-categories is outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.3. Nevertheless, the data reveal some potentially interesting patterns when broken down by the relative age groups.

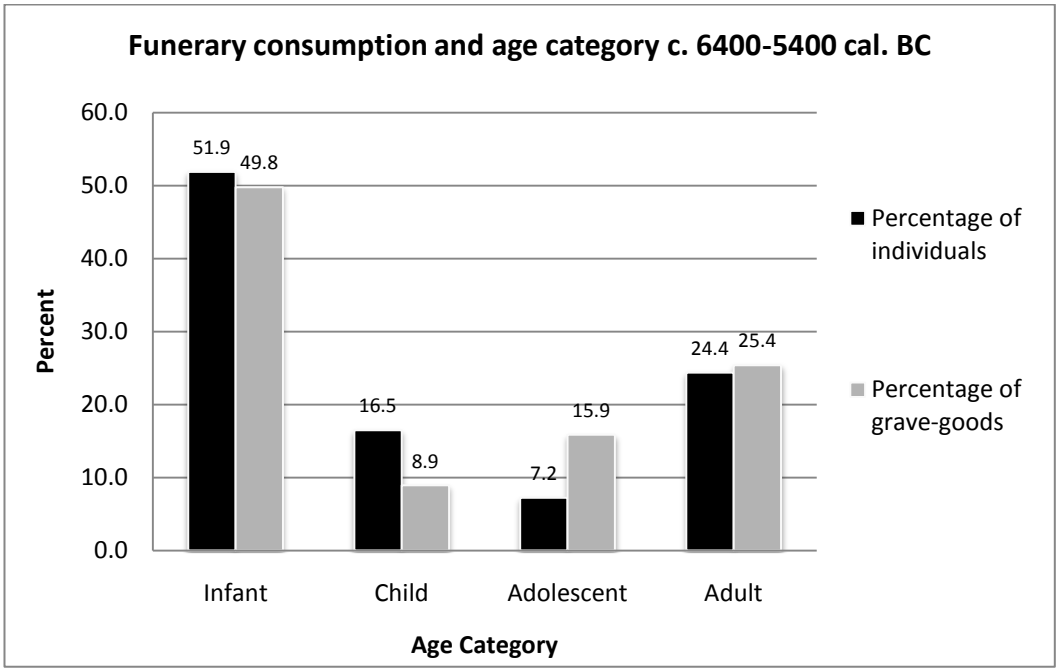


Chart 3.3 Chart showing the funerary consumption by age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

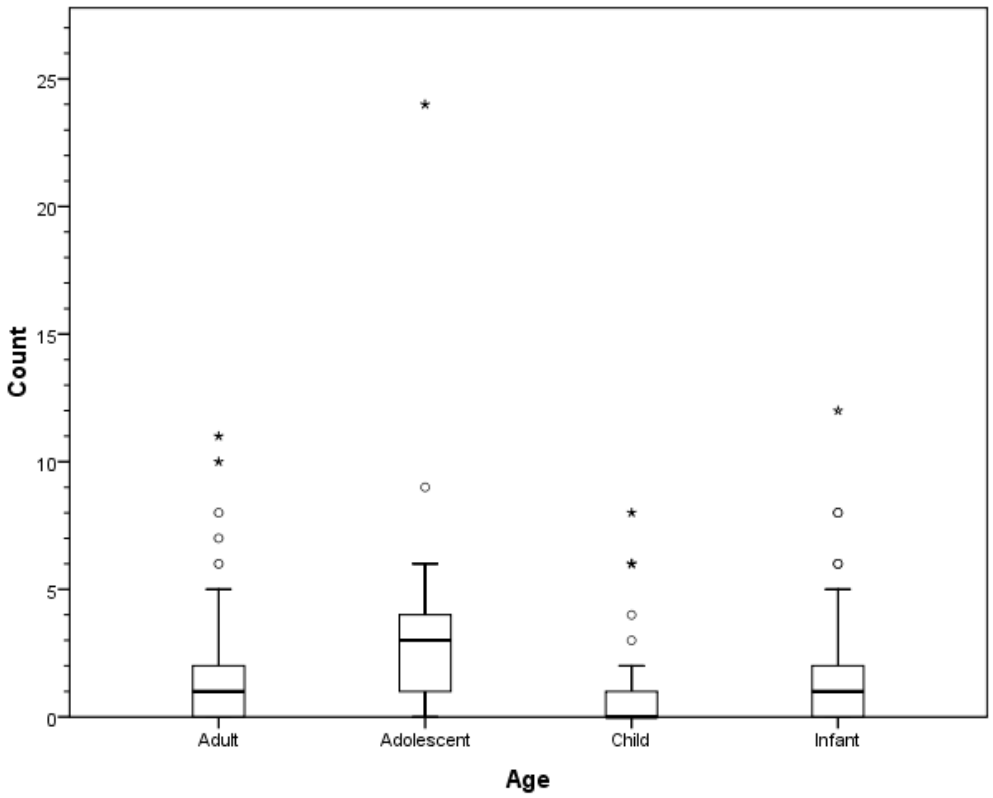


Chart 3.4 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption by age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Chart 3.4 demonstrates that on average grave-good consumption is higher in adolescents burials and there is greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded from adolescent burials. Notably, variability in grave-good consumption is comparable for adult and infant burials, while outliers and extreme values are present in for all age categories, which suggest that in a small number of cases grave-good consumption was significantly high. Notably, the highest number of grave-goods are recorded from an adolescent burial, while adult burials have more outliers and extreme values than other age categories.

3.3.2.1 Infant burials and funerary consumption c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
6400-6200	74	177	2.39
6200-6000	38	40	1.05
6000-5800	17	6	0.35
5800-5600	8	3	0.37
5600-5400	14	19	1.36
Total	151	245	1.62

Table 3.8 Table showing the average number of grave goods in infant burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

The data shows (Table 3.8 above; Chart 3.5 below) that funerary consumption in infant burials - broadly defined, and with the same caveats mentioned above (see also Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.3) – is much greater in Period 1 (c. 6400-6200 cal. BC, proto-Hassuna) compared to other periods. Chart 3.4 also demonstrates that variability in grave good-good consumption is also much higher for this period. By Period 2 (6400-6200 cal. BC; proto-Halaf) funerary consumption is on average lower and there is less variability in the numbers of grave-goods recorded from burials. Nevertheless, for Periods 2-5, the presence of outliers and extreme values suggest that grave-good consumption was significantly high in a small number of cases.

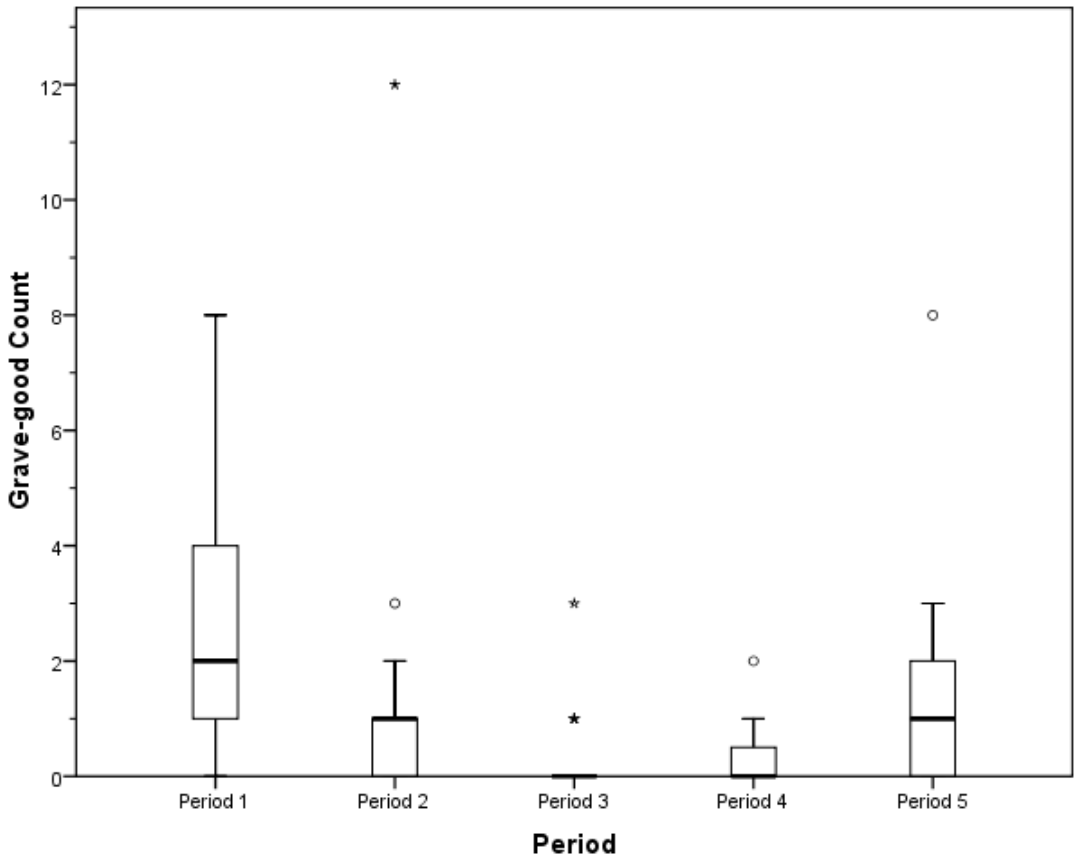


Chart 3.5 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in infant burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

3.3.2.2 Child burials and funerary consumption c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
6400-6200	3	4	1.33
6200-6000	8	3	0.37
6000-5800	2	6	3
5800-5600	17	12	0.71
5600-5400	18	19	1.06
Total	48	44	0.92

Table 3.9 Table showing the average number of grave goods in child burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

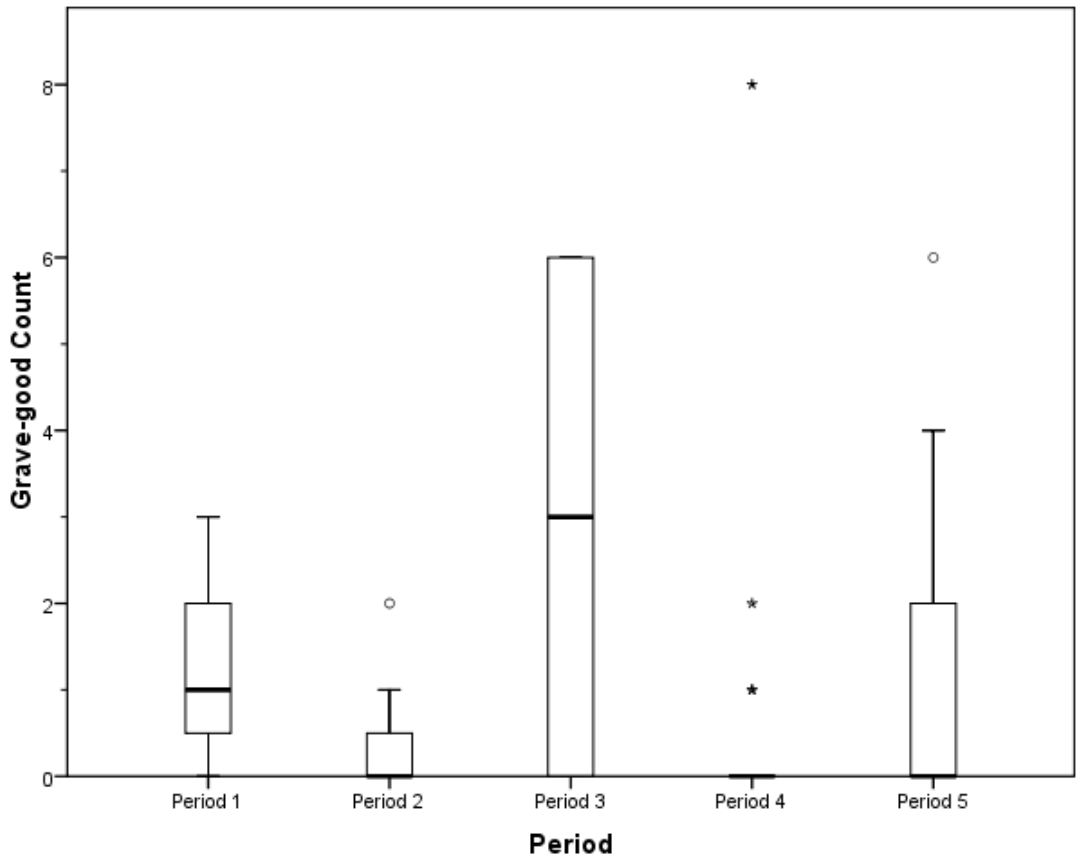


Chart 3.6 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in child burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

It is difficult to compare variation in the scale of funerary consumption in child burials due to the very small number of burials recorded for Periods 1-3 (see Table 3.9), which may relate to the variable nature of recording human remains in publications. Nevertheless, Chart 3.6 shows that there is a greater variability in grave-good consumption in Period 3 (c. 6000-5800) compared to other periods, and that grave-good consumption is also on average higher for this Period.

3.3.2.3 Adolescent burials and funerary consumption c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
6400-6200	16	52	3.25
6200-6000	2	0	0
6000-5800	1	0	0
5800-5600	1	24	24
5600-5400	1	2	2
Total	21	78	3.71

Table 3.10 Table showing the average number of grave goods in adolescent burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

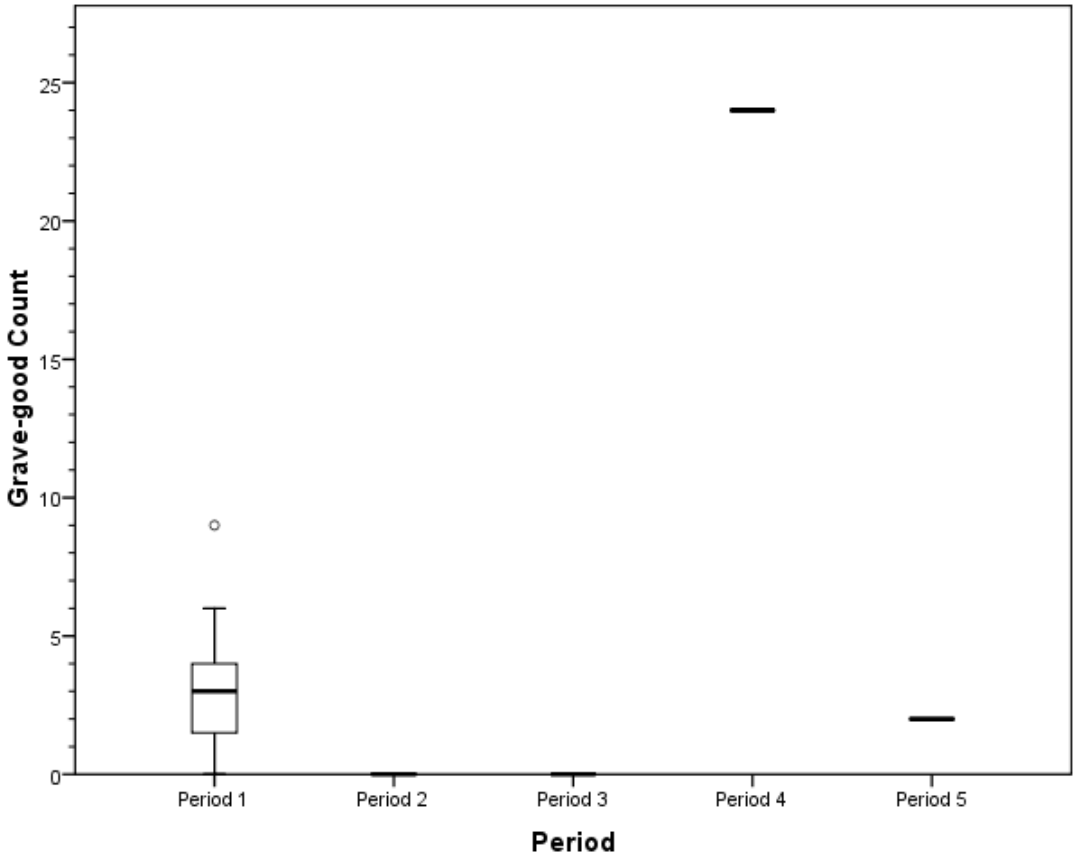


Chart 3.7 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in adolescent burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

Again, due to the very small numbers of adolescent burials recorded for the Periods 2-5, it is difficult to determine any significant patterns in the scale of funerary consumption for adolescent burials (see Table 3.10). Nevertheless, Chart 3.7 shows that for Period 1

(c. 6400-6200 cal. BC), it is clear that the average number of grave-goods recorded from adolescent burials rites is higher than that observed for other age categories, and there is also greater variation in the numbers of grave-goods recorded from adolescent burials compared to adult and child burials.

3.3.2.4 Adult burials and funerary consumption c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
6400-6200	17	42	2.47
6200-6000	16	24	1.5
6000-5800	4	12	3
5800-5600	11	27	2.45
5600-5400	23	20	0.89
Total	71	125	1.76

Table 3.11 Table showing the average number of grave goods in adult burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

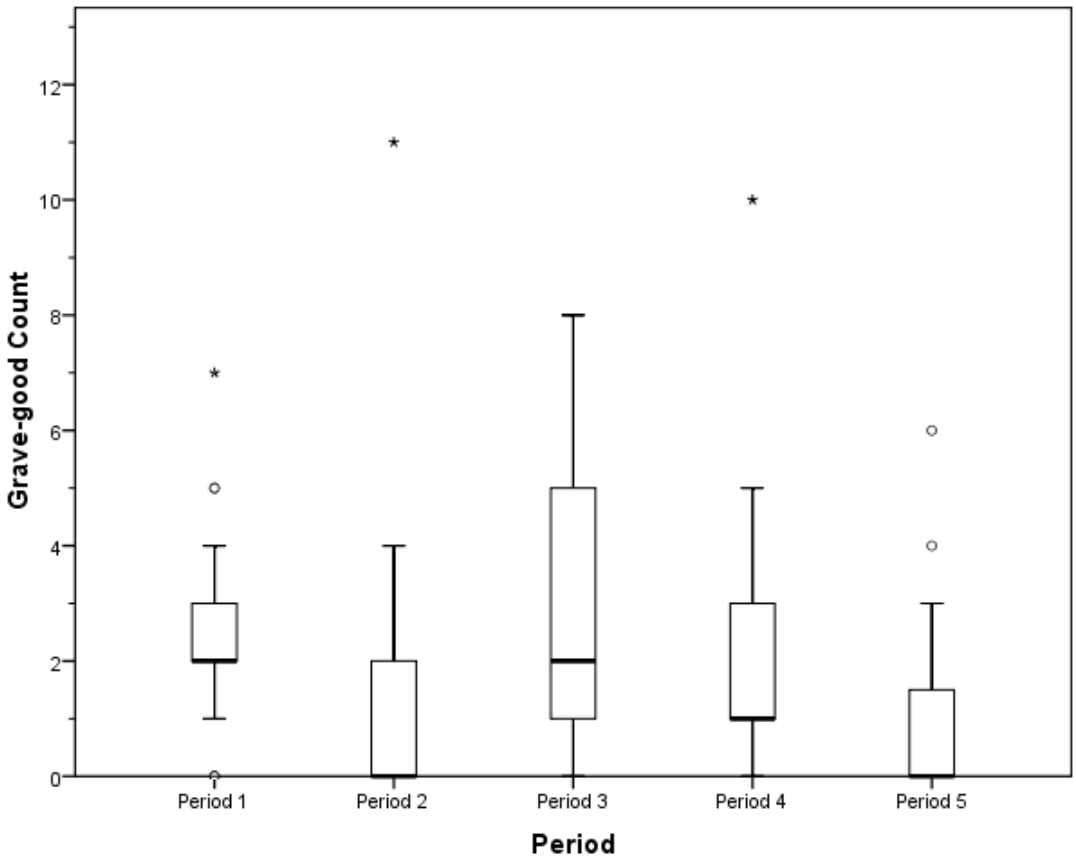


Chart 3.8 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in adult burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

Chart 3.8 indicates that grave-good consumption in adult burials was on average higher for Period 1 (c. 6400-6200 cal. BC) and Period 3 (6000-5800 cal. BC) compared to all other periods, albeit there is much greater variability in the number of grave goods recorded from adult burials for Period 3. The presence of outliers and extreme values for Periods 1, 2, 4 and 5 suggest that grave-good consumption was significantly high for a small number of adult burials.

3.3.3 Grave-good types c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

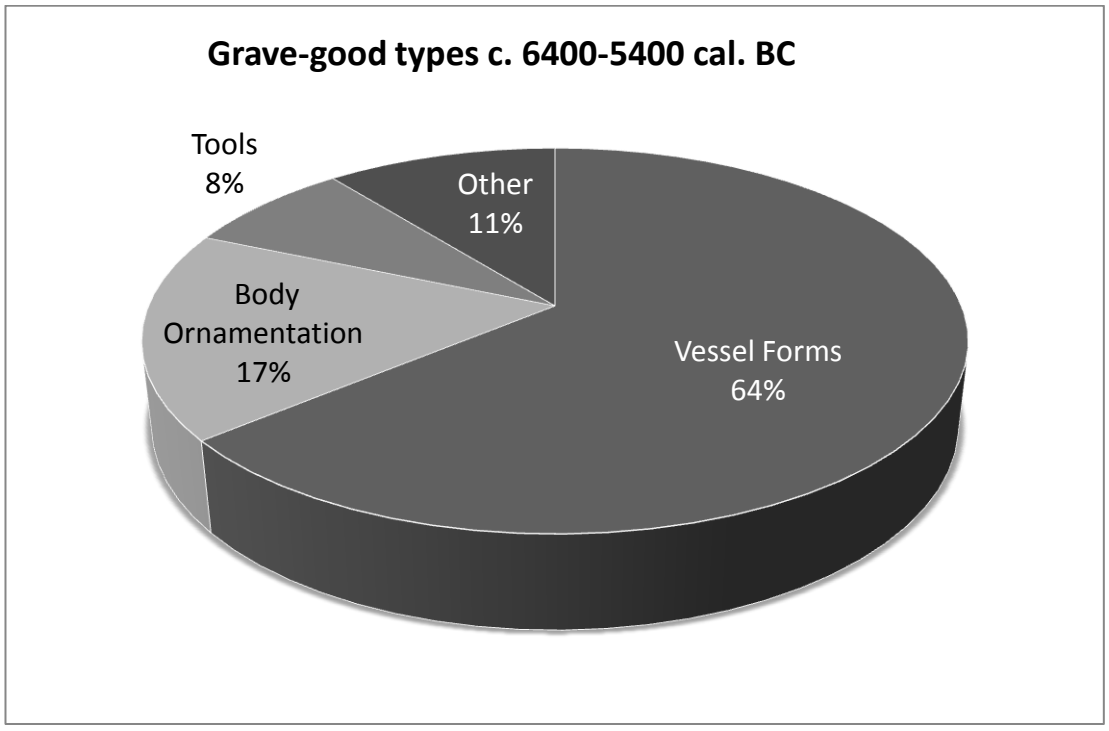


Chart 3.9 Chart showing grave-good types c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Chart 3.9 shows that between c. 6400 and 5400 cal. BC the vast majority of objects removed from circulation are vessel forms (n=447), which make up 64% of grave-good assemblages. Within this category, alabaster vessels (n=222; 49.7%) are the predominant object type, followed by ceramic vessels (n=185; 41.39%). Items related to bodily display and ornamentation primarily consist of bead ornaments crafted from various materials, as well pendants, seals, pins, and rings. The types of tools and weapons removed from circulation include obsidian and flint blades, points and flakes;

ground stone tools; mace-heads; axes and celts. Objects of an indeterminate nature include a significant number of alabaster anthropomorphic figurines.

Period	Vessel Forms	Ornamentation	Tools	Other	Total
6400-6200	238	80	19	45	382
6199-6000	56	13	6	5	80
5999-5800	52	7	2	11	72
5799-5600	40	12	17	6	75
5599-5400	61	10	11	8	90
Total	447	122	55	75	699

Table 3.12 Table showing grave-good type's c. 6400-5400 BC

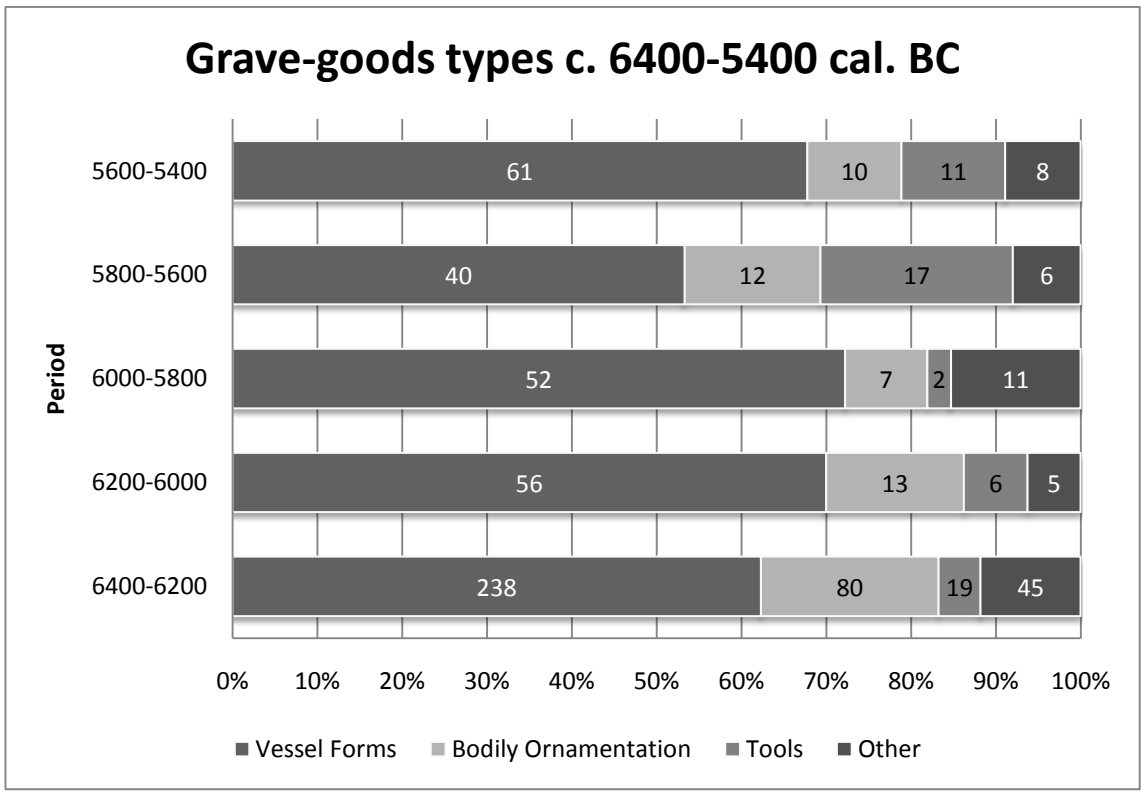


Chart 3.10 Chart showing variation in grave-good types over time c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Table 3.12 and Chart 3.10 demonstrate that for all five phases analysed, the most frequent types of grave-good recorded are vessel forms, which make up over 50% of grave-good assemblages for all periods. One predominant shift in grave-good assemblages is the prevalence of alabaster vessels (n=212; 55.5% of total assemblage) over ceramic forms (n=12; 3.1%) between c. 6400-6200 cal. BC. However, from c. 6200-6000 BC through to c. 5600-5400 cal. BC, the number of alabaster vessels recorded in the grave-good assemblage declines significantly (n=0) as the number of

ceramic vessels recorded increase (n=51; 63.8% of total assemblage). From this point forward ceramic vessels become the predominant object type consumed in burials during the Late Neolithic period.

3.3.4 Long-term patterns in the spatial context of burials c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Context Type c. 6400-5400 BC	Number of Burials	Percentage
Associated with architectural unit	11	2.6
Associated with storage unit	4	1.0
Below doorway of architectural unit	9	2.1
Below floor of architectural unit	165	39.1
Below foundations of architectural unit	3	0.7
Below oven structure in architectural unit	1	0.2
Below oven structure in settlement area	1	0.2
Cemetery	14	3.3
In fill of architectural unit	6	1.4
In-between phases of architecture	4	1.0
In-between phases of oven construction	1	0.2
On floor of architectural unit	7	1.7
Outside architectural unit	10	2.4
Placed in oven structure in settlement area	2	0.5
Placed in oven structure in architectural unit	1	0.2
Settlement area	160	37.9
Unoccupied area	20	4.7
Within wall of architectural unit	3	0.7
Total	422	100

Table 3.13 Table showing burial context types c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

A review of the spatial context of burials between c. 6400 and 5400 cal. BC (Table 3.13) indicates that the majority of burials recorded for this period were located either below the floors of architectural units (n=165; 39.1%) or within areas of settlement (n=160; 37.9%). With the former context, it must be stressed that the stratigraphic links between burials and floor levels of architectural units are not often established. Burials may therefore have been interred in-between phases of architecture as opposed to below the floors of structures. In terms of the latter context, a degree of caution must also be exercised when interpreting this data set, being that some interments may in fact have been made in-between phases of occupation.

This is actually confirmed by the data, as some burials were made in-between phases of building construction and occupation, suggestive of a close relationship between burial

rites and phases of settlement modification. Well defined burial contexts show that burials were made below the foundations of buildings, in building fills, directly on the floor of buildings, within the walls of architectural units and below the thresholds of buildings. It was stated earlier that the small numbers of burials recovered from the excavation of settlement tells suggest that the majority of the dead were buried elsewhere. However, evidence for communal cemeteries is scarce, and only a small number of interments appear to have derived from burial grounds (n=14; 3.3%) located on, or beyond, the margins of architecturally defined habitation zones.

Context Type c. 6400-5400 BC	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Total
Associated with architectural unit	3	2	1	4	10
Associated with storage unit	1	1	0	3	5
Below doorway of architectural unit	2	4	0	2	8
Below floor of architectural unit	82	4	15	17	118
Below foundations of architectural unit	4	0	0	0	4
Below oven structure in architectural unit	0	2	0	0	2
Below oven structure in settlement area	1	0	0	0	1
Cemetery	0	1	0	11	12
In fill of architectural unit	2	2	0	2	6
In-between phases of architecture	2	1	0	0	3
In-between phases of oven construction	1	0	0	0	1
On floor of architectural unit	3	0	0	3	6
Outside architectural unit	6	1	0	3	10
Placed in oven structure in architectural unit	1	0	0	0	1
Placed in oven structure in settlement area	1	0	2	0	3
Settlement area	56	40	13	57	166
Unoccupied area	2	7	3	11	23
Within wall of architectural unit	1	0	0	1	2
Total	168	65	34	114	381

Table 3.14 Table showing context type and age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

Age Group	General Settlement Area	Architectural features	Burial Ground
Infant	58	110	0
Child	47	17	1
Adolescent	16	18	0
Adult	68	35	11
Total	189	180	12

Table 3.15 Table showing general burial context types and age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

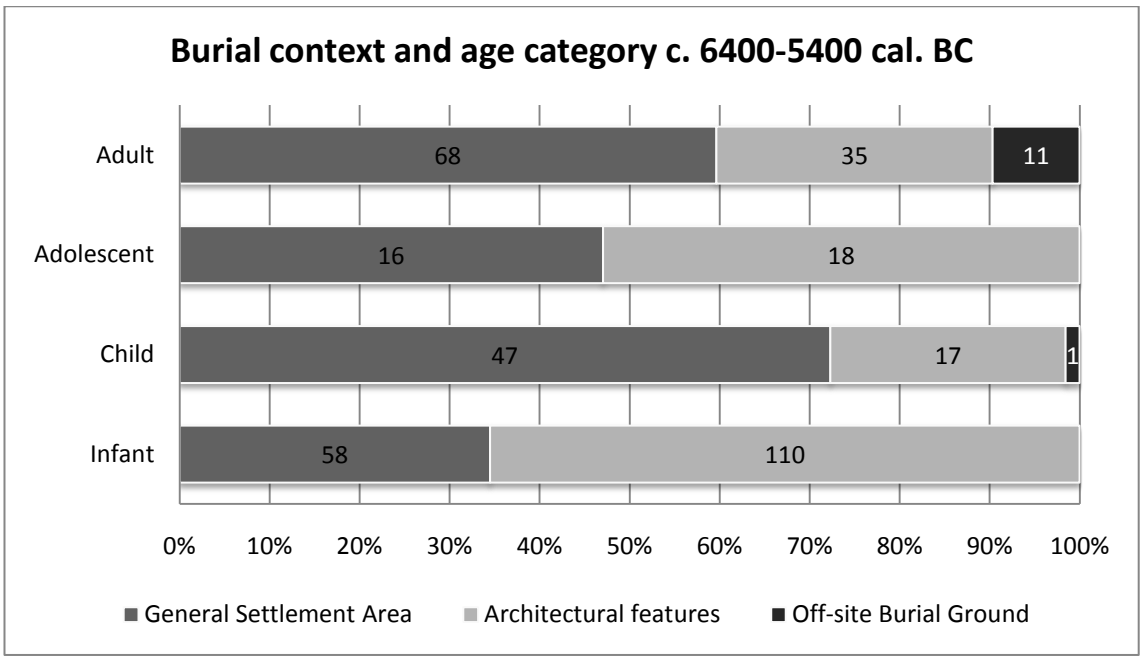


Chart 3.11 Chart showing general burial context types and age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

The data collected for the spatial context of Late Neolithic burials (Tables 3.14, 3.15; Chart 3.11) indicates that while all age groups were interred within areas of settlement, infant burials are found in association with architectural remains to a greater extent than other age categories. By way of contrast, adult burials occur in off-site burial grounds to a greater extent than other age categories. Notably, infant and adolescent burials are absent from off-site burial ground contexts. Again, the variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains means that any broad survey of age-orientated funerary contexts must be treated as an approximation, and with due caution. The nature and reliability of age-categories is outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.3.

3.3.5 Long-term trends in burial methods c. 6400-5400 cal. BC:

Burial Type c. 6400-5400 BC	Number of Burials	Percentage
Basin burial	1	0.2
Burial chamber	6	1.5
Catacomb burial	1	0.3
Cremation burial	11	2.7
Grain bin burial	1	0.2
Complex Funerary Pit	1	0.2
Lime mortar lined grave	13	3.2
Object burial	52	12.8
Oven burial	2	0.5
Pit burial	277	67.9
Pot burial	24	5.9

Pot fragment burial	4	1.0
Room fill burial	1	0.2
Secondary burial	13	3.2
Wall burial	1	0.3
Total	408	100.0

Table 3.16 Table showing burial types c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

An analysis of Late Neolithic burial methods between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC (Table 3.16) reveals that the predominant method of burial was interment in a simple pit (n=277; 67.9%), followed by object burials (n=52; 12.8%; discussed separately below) and interment within a ceramic vessels (n=24; 5.9%). What is striking from this analysis, however, is the diversity of funerary treatments afforded to the dead during this period. This may imply that the individuals selected to be interred within settlement contexts were also afforded special funerary treatments.

Burial Type	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Total
Basin burial	1	0	0	0	1
Burial chamber	0	0	0	5	5
Catacomb burial	1	0	0	0	1
Cremation burial	3	2	1	3	9
Complex funerary pit	5	3	9	19	36
Grain bin burial	0	0	0	2	2
Lime mortar lined grave	0	11	0	2	13
Oven burial	1	0	1	0	2
Pit burial	122	46	23	76	267
Pot burial	24	0	0	0	24
Pot fragment burial	4	0	0	0	4
Room fill burial	0	0	0	2	2
Secondary burial	2	1	0	3	6
Wall burial	1	0	0	0	1
Total	164	63	34	112	373

Table 3.17 Table showing burial types and age category c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

Broken down by age category, the data (Table 3.17) indicates that infant burials and adult burials were afforded a greater variety of burial methods during the Late Neolithic period. The data shows that interment in a simple pit was the predominant method of burial for all age groups during this period. Interment within a burial chamber appears to be limited to adults, whereas interments made within ceramic vessels or vessel fragments were principally restricted to infants.

3.3.5.1 ‘Object burials’ c. 6400-5400 cal. BC

It was noted above that of the 408 Late Neolithic burials where information on burial methods could be ascertained from published reports, 52 ‘burial types’ were broadly defined as ‘object burials’: - contexts where graves contained objects but lacked clear evidence for skeletal remains. It was decided that it would be worthwhile recording these contexts as part of the analysis in order to explore the relationship between object caching and funerary consumption during this period. Interestingly, when comparing the number of object burials to the number of burials where the approximate age of individuals are recorded (Table 3.18; Chart 3.12), there are nearly as many ‘object burials’ recorded as there are single child burials, and there are significantly more object burials recorded than single adolescent burials.

Age Category	Percentage of Sample
Infant	167
Child	65
Adolescent	34
Adult	115
‘Object burial’	52

Table 3.18 Table showing the of infants, children, adolescents and adults recorded compared to ‘object burials’ c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

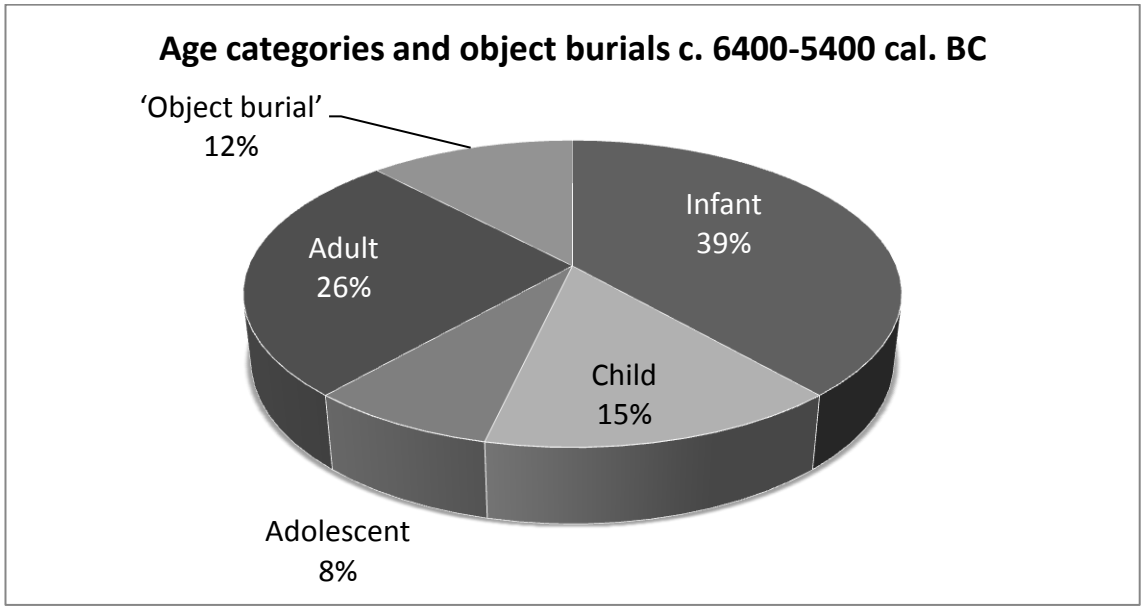


Chart 3.12 Chart showing the proportion of infants, children, adolescents and adults recorded compared to ‘object burials’ c. 6400-5400 cal. BC.

3.3.6 Concluding remarks and patterns to be addressed in Chapter 4

Pattern 1: The scale of funerary consumption over time

The data suggests that on average grave-good consumption was relatively low (Chart 3.2). Nevertheless, there is a marked phase of increased consumption between 6400-6200 cal. BC compared to later periods. In addition, the data demonstrates that on average, a higher number of grave-goods were consumed in adolescent burials than other age-categories, and there is greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded in adolescent burials. Over time, grave-good consumption is relatively high for all age categories between 6400-6200 cal. BC. The data suggests, therefore, that there the scale of funerary consumption was highest during this phase, which will be addressed in Chapter 4.

Pattern 2: Grave-good types

During all periods, the most common type of object recorded in grave-good assemblages are vessel forms. Within this category, alabaster vessels predominate over ceramic vessels between c. 6400-6200 cal. BC. From c. 6200-6000 cal. BC onwards, the number of ceramic vessels associated with burials increase significantly, and between c. 6200-5400 cal. BC ceramic vessels are the most frequent object type recorded from burial contexts. The analysis suggests, therefore, that vessel forms were an important aspect of mortuary rites during the Late Neolithic Period.

Pattern 3: Trends and deviations in the spatial context of burials through time

A review of the spatial context of burials between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC suggests that the significant majority of burials were located within areas of settlement or below the floors of architectural units. However, it is expected that both context types include burials that were interred in-between phases of occupation. The burial data also demonstrates that burials were recovered between phases of building construction, below the foundations of buildings, in building fills, directly on the floor of buildings,

within the walls of architectural units, below the threshold of buildings and placed within ovens and storage units. Although all age groups were interred within the general settlement area, a greater number of infant burials can be associated with architectural features than other age categories. In addition, a greater number of adult burials were interred in burial grounds located on the margins of habitation zones than other age categories. Notably, infant and adolescent burials are absent from burial grounds. The data therefore suggests that there was close contact between the living and the dead during the late Neolithic, since interments appear to have been routinely made within habitations zones and domestic contexts.

Pattern 4: Trends and deviations in burial methods

The data indicates that during the Late Neolithic period mortuary rites were highly diverse and complex. This may suggest that the individuals selected for on-site burial were also provided with exceptional funerary rites. An important aspect of the Late Neolithic burial data is the phenomena of 'object burials' - contexts where objects appear to have been afforded methods of burial or 'funerary' treatments. This evidence suggests that in several contexts, objects were removed from circulation in caches as well as mortuary rites, implying that both modes of deposition were complementary. Each of these four points, including the relationship between object caching and mortuary rites will be further explored in Chapter 4.

4 Moral economies and consumption strategies during the Late Neolithic

4.1 Personifying objects and objectifying the dead

> Human and artefact lives can be both analogous and coterminous, and the lives of things can end with the lives of people and so require forms of funerary treatment that mirror those afforded to people or that are specific to things.
>
> (Pollard 2008: 49).

The Late Neolithic burial data suggests that funerary rites during this period were diverse and highly complex (Chapter 3, section 3.3.5). I would suggest, however, that a recurrent feature of the Late Neolithic burial record is the remarkable correspondence between the treatment of persons and possessions, which suggests that people and objects were mutually constituted in a number of ways through funerary rites. The complex relationship between persons and things during the Late Neolithic period is further emphasised in the personification of material culture (figurines, vessels, sealing practices), and in the materialisation of human remains (fragmentation, circulation, storage, display). Taking into consideration the meaningful relationships that appear to have existed between persons and objects at this time, I will argue that calculated accumulation and ostentatious displays of wealth within Late Neolithic communities were subject to moral constraints. To be more precise, it is proposed here that the forms of exchange concerned with individual appropriation engender a separation between persons (positive social relations engendered through gifting/alliances formed through marriage) and are often perceived as a threat to wider social reproduction. It is therefore likely that acquisitive behaviour was constrained by moral obligations, or at least had to operate within wider systems of belief and values.

It will be suggested how these constraints could be temporarily overcome or mediated by two means of public display: the ritualised destruction and discard of wealth as part of funerary rites, and by the marking of collectively stored goods with a personal image

(sealing devices). These themes will be explored in detail below. In the immediate sections that follow, however, I endeavour to illustrate how the boundaries between persons and things were negotiated and displayed in a variety of ways through ritual in early village societies.

4.1.1 Bodies, vessels and container imagery

It has been recently argued by Ian Hodder (2006) that one of the most important transformations during the Neolithic period in the Near East is the greater engagement of people and society with the material world. Hodder describes this development as the growing objectification of the social process, whereby people were increasingly able to extend and manipulate social relations through material agency (2006: 239, 256). Increased investment in the material world in turn requires increasing social obligations, meaning that Neolithic society became progressively dependent on the long-term social commitments needed to sustain a particular understanding of materiality: 'The more that people became socially entangled in materials, the more they became materially entangled in social relations. So there was a dual process of social and material entrapment pushing entanglement forward in a positive feedback loop' (Hodder 2006: 240). Perhaps one of the more striking aspects of this growing entanglement with the material world is the widespread dissemination of ceramic vessels during the Ceramic Neolithic. By the Late Neolithic Period, vessel forms would eventually permeate most aspects of social life; from the preparation, storage and consumption of foodstuffs to the way people buried their dead.

The reason behind the initial adoption of pottery remains poorly understood, but is perhaps best explained by the materiality of ceramic forms (see Nieuwenhuyse *et al.* 2010). The plastic properties of clay as a material permit it to be modelled to more or less any desired form, allowing for a remarkable degree of freedom in design and decoration. The firing of clay then renders it extremely durable. By way of contrast, the production, form and decoration of vessels made of other materials, such as basketry or stone, are largely determined by the play of forces internal and external to the material from which it is produced (Ingold 2000: 342; Wengrow 1998: 783; 2001: 179). As such, the material properties of ceramic vessels provided Neolithic communities with an

unprecedented medium - in terms of aesthetic freedom and durability - with which to materialise social relationships.

The dissemination of Late Neolithic Standard Fine Ware assemblages throughout Upper Mesopotamia began towards the end of the seventh-millennium, c. 6200 cal. BC. Late Neolithic Standard Fine Wares were typically hand-made and elaborately painted with complex geometric design configurations, the distribution of which transcended different ecological zones as well as other regional differences in material culture and economy (Wengrow 2001: 173). The highly complex designs attested on Fine Ware ceramics during the Late Neolithic appear to replicate the decorative designs common to basketry (Mallowan and Rose 1935; Wengrow 2001; see Figs. 4.1 and 4.2 below), which may have provided a common stylistic language that could be understood across inter-regional cultural networks (Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 211). Knowledge of the restricted range of decorative designs imposed by the construction of basketry forms would have facilitated the reproduction and transmission of the highly complex decorative schemes on Fine Ware vessels across generations and between groups. This 'economy of transmission' may therefore account for the spatial and temporal distribution of Fine Wares throughout Upper Mesopotamia during the Late Neolithic (Wengrow 2001: 177, 179).

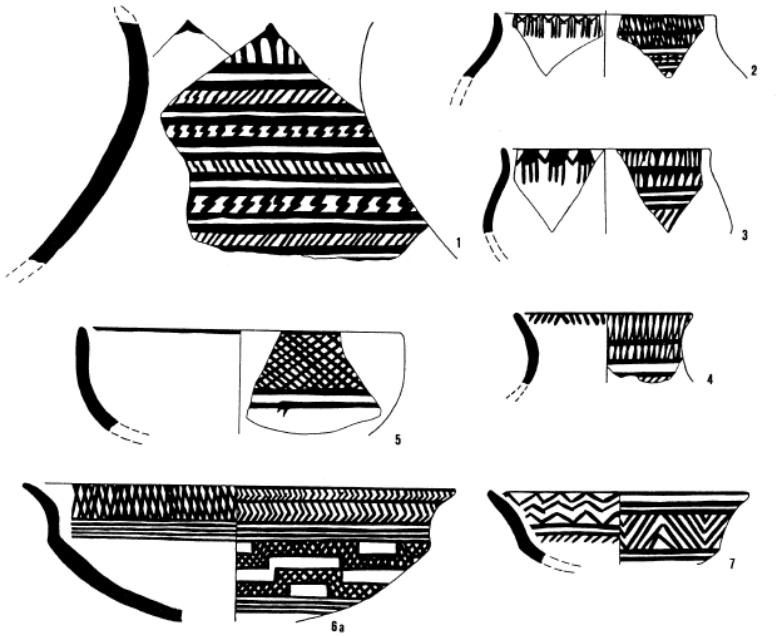


Figure 4.1 Samarra Fine Ware vessels from Tell Baghouz (reproduced from Nieuwenhuyse 1999: 11)

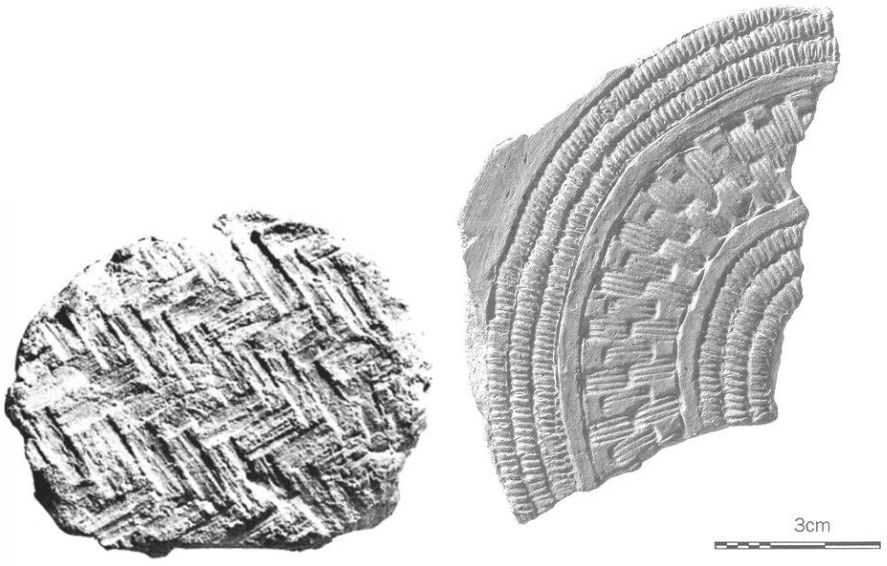


Figure 4.2 Basketry impression on ceramic sherd (from Jarmo) and the bottom of a vessel shaped to imitate basketry from Halaf period Domuztepe (reproduced from Adavasio 1977: 225; Kansa *et al.* 2009: 909).

Ceramic vessels would have been deeply embedded in most aspects of domestic life in Late Neolithic communities. That meaningful relationships existed between container imagery and human bodies is evident in the ways vessels were deposited alongside the dead (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3), and sometimes ceremonially smashed and scattered amongst human remains (discussed in detail below). Furthermore, human remains - predominantly those of infants and young children – were frequently placed in ceramic storage vessels or on vessel fragments (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.5; Fig. 4.3, 4.4 and Table 4.1 below). Unfortunately, there is often very little information in the published material concerning the types of vessels used to bury infants. At Tell Hassuna, however, it is evident that burial vessels included coarse wares, painted wares, painted and incised wares and large storage jars (Lloyd and Safar 1945: 268; Perkins 1949: 5). The variety of vessel forms used may indicate that vessels were not produced specifically for funerary contexts; rather, vessels were taken out of domestic use for funerary purposes, suggesting a close relationship between the life-trajectories of vessels and bodies.

Figure 4.3 Infant burial in ceramic vessel associated with house at Choga Mami (reproduced from Oates and Oates 1976b: 76).

Figure 4.4 Decorated Hassuna vessel from Tell Hassuna that contained the remains of an infant burial (reproduced from Lloyd and Safar 1945: plate XIII).

Site	Period	Phase	Date Cal BC	Burial Type	Burial Type Detail	Age
Tell Sotto	proto-Hassuna	Lower layers	6400	Pot fragment burial	Infant skeleton covered by vessel sherd	Infant
Tell Sotto	proto-Hassuna	Lower layers	6400	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Sotto	proto-Hassuna	Level 6 or 7	6400	Pot fragment burial	Infant skeleton covered by vessel sherd	Infant
Tell Halula	Halula III	Pre-Halaf levels	6200	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Halula	Halula III	Pre-Halaf levels	6200	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Telul eth-Thalathat	Proto-Hassuna	Level XVc	6200	Pot fragment burial	Infant placed on urn fragment	Infant
Tell Hazna	Proto-Hassuna	Proto-Hassuna Levels	6200	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Choga Mami	Samarra	Phase 4	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Level II	6000	Pot burial	Multiple infant pot burial	Infant x 2
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell Hassuna	Hassuna I-III	Hassuna levels	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Yarim Tepe I	Hassuna I-III	Level 8	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Yarim Tepe I	Hassuna I-III	Level 8	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Yarim Tepe I	Hassuna I-III	Level 11	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Yarim Tepe I	Hassuna I-III	Level 12	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell es-Sawwan	Classic Samarra	Level IV	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell es-Sawwan	Classic Samarra	Level IV or V?	6000	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Arpachiyah	Early Halaf	Level VII	5800	Pot burial	Secondary burial in ceramic vessel	Infant
Arpachiyah	Early Halaf	Level VII	5800	Pot burial	Secondary burial in ceramic vessel	Infant
Arpachiyah	Early Halaf	Level VII	5800	Pot burial	Secondary burial in ceramic vessel	Infant
Arpachiyah	Early Halaf	Level VII	5800	Pot burial	Secondary burial in ceramic vessel	Infant
Tell el-Kerkh	El-Rouj 2d	El-Rouj 2d	5800	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell el-Kerkh	El-Rouj 2d	El-Rouj 2d	5800	Pot burial	Infant pot burial	Infant
Tell el-Kerkh	El-Rouj 2d	El Rouj 2d Layer 3	5800	Pot fragment burial	Infant remains covered by a large body fragment of a DFB ware sherd	Infant

Table 4.1 Table showing Late Neolithic pot and pot fragment burials.

Ethnographic studies have demonstrated that various cultures acknowledge the similarities between the lives of pots and those of people, and explicit comparisons between vessels and human bodies are commonplace (Thomas 1999: 97). The production of pottery can provide powerful metaphors for many aspects of human experience, which can often structure certain rights of passage (David, Sterner and Guava 1988: 366; Gosselain 1999: 207; Barley 1994):

> Potting involves a number of changes. It takes formless matter and shapes it. It transforms, through the operation of heat, from wet to dry, soft to hard, raw to cooked, natural to cultural, impure to pure. Broken pot can be reground and incorporated into new pots to show the reversal of time. Pots lend themselves to abrupt fracture to mark isolation, destruction, 'a clean break'. They are above all vessels and so may be used to refer to all manner of bodily cavities – heads, wombs, bellies, rectums. They lend themselves readily to discussion of spirit, conception, essence and the like.
>
> (Barley 1984: 99).

A review of the meanings attached to the process of pottery manufacture in a number of African societies by Gosselain (1999) shows pots may be associated with human beings in a number of ways; by displaying decorative elements that parallel those on the body; by symbolizing human body parts on the vessel; and by designating parts of the vessel's shape to various parts of the body (Gosselain 1999: 212). Notably, conceptions of human creation and procreation are recurrent themes in potting societies. Gestation is often conceptually linked to the process of firing, and a newborn to a successfully fired vessel, whereas wombs can be compared to clay vessels, being perceived to 'cook' the foetus in the same way as foodstuffs. Newborns are also considered to being 'shaped', pressed and rubbed in a manner comparable to pottery manufacture (Gosselain 1999: 212; see also Barley 1994: 106-7).

It remains likely that particular decorative motifs found on Late Neolithic Fine Ware vessels represent gendered attributes (S. Campbell 2008: 65-8), and the relationship between container imagery and human bodies is explicit in vessel forms that display various anthropomorphic features, the designs of which were often analogous to contemporary figurines (Wengrow 2001: 174; see Fig 4.5 below). In addition, it is clear that in some cases the distinctions between vessels and figurines are not clear cut, as the

examples from the Halaf period occupation at Domuztepe and Yarim Tepe II demonstrate. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that the roles and meanings attached to figurines and anthropomorphized vessels may have differed significantly (see S. Campbell 2008: 62-4; see Fig 4.6 below).

Figure 4.5 Fragment of figurine from Choga Mami, decorated jar fragments from Tell Hassuna and Samarra and a vessel sherd with figurine head 'handle' from Tell es-Sawwan (reproduced from Oates 1966: Plate VII; Oates and Oates 1976: 43, 63; Lloyd and Safar 1945: Plate XLIII).

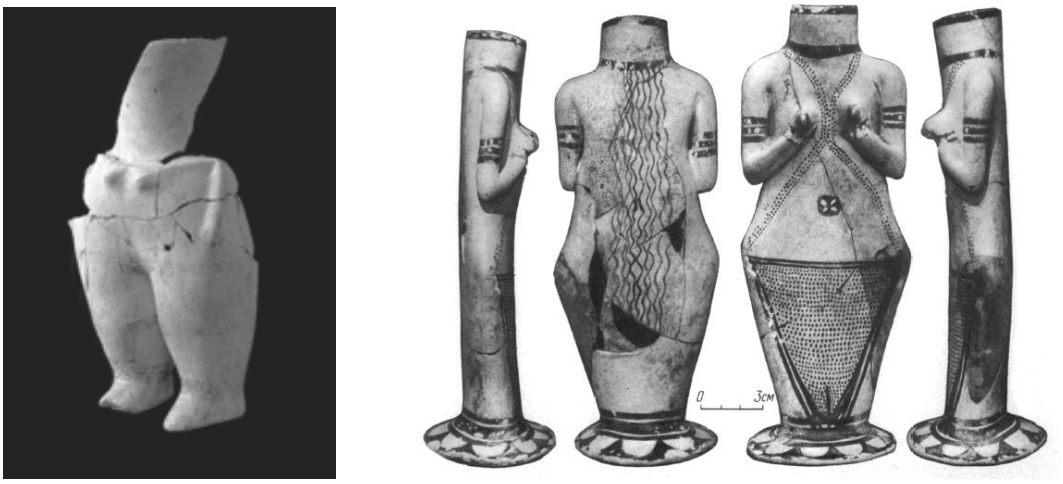


Figure 4.6 Ceramic figurine vessels from Halaf period Domuztepe (photograph courtesy of Stuart Campbell) and Yarim Tepe II (reproduced from Merpet and Munchaev 1987. Plate VII).

It is possible that storage jars and other vessel forms used to bury infants were associated with human body parts, such as wombs, or decorated with gendered attributes (c.f. Campbell 2008: 65-8). The use of certain vessel forms within the female realm of domestic production and the spatial association of vessel burials and infant remains with architectural features (interred within and under house floors, walls and hearths) hints suggestively at meaningful links with the reproductive capacity of households. The idea that infant pot-burials were in some way related to concepts of

female and household reproduction, and their spatial relationship with Late Neolithic domestic units, may stress the importance of children for the survival of household lineage and the transmission of certain rights across generations. These points will be developed throughout the thesis in chapters 6 and 8.

4.1.2 Fragmented bodies and broken objects

A recurring aspect of Late Neolithic mortuary practices is the fragmentation of human remains and their recovery from atypical mortuary contexts such as architectural features. The widespread fragmentation of material forms during the Late Neolithic has been addressed in recent research, much of which has drawn upon theoretical approaches to fragmentation in the archaeology of other regions as a means to interpret this phenomenon (S. Campbell 2007/8; Croucher 2010). The deliberate breaking and fragmenting of ceramic vessels, for example (which will be discussed in detail below) is evident at sites such Arpachiyah; Yarim Tepe II, Tell-el Kerkh and Domuztepe. The clearest correspondence between the treatment of bodies and objects through fragmentation, however, can be seen in the corpus of Late Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines, which are regularly recovered in a state of partial fragmentation.

Fragmented figurines, especially those broken at the neck, have been recovered from numerous Late Neolithic sites such Tell es-Sawwan (Oates 1966: 151), Matarrah (Braidwood *et al.* 1952: 18), Tell Hassuna (Lloyd and Safar 1945: Plate XI), Yarim Tepe I and II (Merpet and Munchaev 1973: Plate XLII; Merpet and Munchaev 1987: 24) Arpachiyah (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 80, figures 45-47), Domuztepe (Carter *et al.* 2003, Fig. 12; see Figs. 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 below). This recurring feature of figurine assemblages has led researchers to suggest that in some examples the breaking of figurines may have been systematic. Figurines from the Samarra Period site of Choga Mami, for example, appear to have been designed in a way that would allow them to be easily fragmented (Oates 1969a: 127, 129). In other cases it is clear that figurines were sometimes modelled without a head or the head was deemphasised, terminating in a stump or peg. Remarkably, a number of fragmented figurines were recovered from the 'sealing contexts' at the Level 6 Burnt Village at Tell Sabi Abyad (discussed below) that appear to have had detachable heads (Verhoeven 2007: 176).

It has been proposed that the figurines recovered from these contexts formed part of a wider administrative system that included the use of sealings, tokens and miniature vessels (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1997: 19; Verhoeven 2007), leading Wengrow (1998) to suggest that the breaking of forms in clay, such as vessels and figurines, provided a 'performative language of negotiation in which transactions could take place' (Wengrow 1998: 785; for a similar argument, see Verhoeven 2007). It is possible that the breaking of object forms into component pieces became progressively formalised, which may account for the high numbers of reworked/chipped pot-sherds (commonly referred to as or 'pot-disks' or ceramic 'jetons') found at Late Neolithic sites, especially during the Halaf period. The most convincing interpretation for these enigmatic objects is their function as some form of mnemonic device for social contracts or transactions (Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 53).

Figure 4.7 Clay 'peg-head' Halaf figurine from Arpachiyah. The figurine was broken down in antiquity and the head perforated horizontally allowing it to have been hung or worn (photograph courtesy of The British Museum, BM number 127707).

Figure 4.8 Headless figurine-amulet/seal from Domuztepe (photographs courtesy of Stuart Campbell).

Figure 4.9 Painted headless figurines and related figurine heads from Choga Mami (reproduced from Oates 1969. Plates XXV and XXVIII)

S. Campbell (2007/8) and Croucher (2010) have both drawn upon Chapman's (2000) sophisticated study of personhood and social relations in Balkan prehistory as a means to interpret the recurrent fragmentation of object forms in Late Neolithic assemblages. Chapman explores how the deliberate fragmentation and division of objects, such as the purposeful breaking of figurines or parts of ceramic vessels, played an important role in

the maintenance and definition of social relationships in early village communities. According to Chapman (2000), objects were fragmented and divided as tokens of social relationships or transactions between persons. As a materialisation of the social relationships forged in the initial act of fragmentation, the distribution and circulation of fragmented parts can engender a extensive chain of social relationships - a process which Chapman (2000) terms 'enchainment' (Chapman 2000: 5, 6; Fowler 2004: 66).

Chapman's concept of enchainment draws heavily Marilyn Strathern's (1988) research on personhood and exchange in Highland New Guinea. The concept of enchainment echoes Strathern's notion of 'mediated exchange', in which the objects that constitute the substance of exchange are simultaneously conceptualised as parts of persons, and as being extracted from out of persons for the purpose of exchange (Fowler 2004: 56, Strathern 1988: 178). Mediated exchange draws on the notion that people can detach part of themselves in their relationships with others, the effect of which is evinced in the 'flow' of objects. In this manner objects are inalienable as they cannot be detached from relationships between people - objects circulate as parts of persons and retain a historically constituted fragment of each person that was once bound in a mediated relationship (Fowler 2004: 57; Strathern 1988:178, 192).

It is important to recognise, however, that Chapman's (2000) interpretation of fragmentation as a mechanism for enchainment differs in many respects to the forms of mediated exchange described by Strathern (1988). The objects of exchange that Marilyn Strathern describes have the potential be passed on indefinitely, and often acquire additional parts as they move. Fragmented objects, by way of contrast, have a finite range of movement, since they cannot be halved indefinitely, and they may also be in the possession of more than one person at any time. It is possible, however, that the social relationships engendered through fragmentation were formed during the *event* in which an object was fragmented, rather than through the mediated exchange of objects along lines of reciprocity (Fowler 2004: 67-8). The social act of fragmentation through the breaking of object forms may have connected people by the sharing of each fragment of an object, representing a part-to-whole relationship. In such a scenario it is suggested that fragmented objects may have served as vehicles for memory, forming a tie to the past that would denote a shared perspective (Fowler 2004: 69). The systematic breaking of object forms, such as figurines and vessels, may therefore have provided a

material medium through which social contracts could be formed. The fragments kept may then have served as tokens of the social relationships created in the course of such transactions.

The perspectives outlined above form part of a wider theoretical standpoint in archaeology and related disciplines that perceives personhood as extending through material culture and not confined to the body. Such approaches have emphasised how objects can come to represent the totality of a person's agency, which can have effects at a considerable distance from that person's body, and may continue to have effects after death (Gell 1998: 222-3; Gosden and Marshall 1999: 173). That a person's agency - as mediated by material culture - can continue to influence and redefine social relationships after death is most explicit in the materiality of human remains. Chapman (2000), for example, emphasises that his concept of fragmentation as a mechanism for enchaining wider social relations also applies to the materiality of human bones:

> The removal of selected bones to specific domestic or mortuary contexts redefines key social relations between the living and the newly-become ancestors by keeping the essence of the dead alive through the materiality of their bones...In other words, the enchainment of social relations can take place through the medium of human bones just as readily as with manufactured objects.
>
> (Chapman 2000: 145).

A striking aspect of the funerary archaeology of the Late Neolithic period is the fragmentation of human remains and their deposition in unusual mortuary contexts (discarded in areas of habitation; placed on the floors of rooms; deposited in grains bins; placed within walls; see section 3.3.4 and below), which is suggestive of a prolonged interaction between the living and the dead in Late Neolithic communities (see recent discussion of this phenomenon in S. Campbell 2007-8: 136 and Croucher 2010: 9). The use of human bodies as a fractal resource during the Late Neolithic is evident from a number of contexts at sites such as Tell Sotto in north Iraq (proto-Hassuna period), where a number of infant burials were found to be dismembered. In one case (Burial 15), the body of an infant was cut across the chest and separated, the legs torn from the torso and the skull removed and crushed. The remains were then placed in a ceramic vessel (Merpet *et al.* 1977: 98). A further child/adolescent burial (Burial 19) recovered from a 'hearth pit' was found with the head and limbs separated from the body and placed on the torso. Each of the legs was cut off with half of the pelvic bone still

attached, and the arms were severed along with the shoulder blades (Merpet *et al.* 1978: 46-47).

At the early Hassuna period levels at Yarim Tepe I, three dismembered skeletons were recovered from the central Room of Complex 17(Level 7). Miscellaneous bones of two or three adults accompanied by sheep bones and fragments of more than four vessels were also recovered from inside Tholos 333 of level 12 (Merpet *et al.* 1977: 71-2; Merpet and Munchaev 1987: 9). A further three dismembered skeletons were found in Level 11, all of which were found associated directly beneath or upon the floors of rooms, and a dismembered infant skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel was recovered from Level 8 (Merpet *et al.* 1976: 31; 1977: 70). At Tell Hassuna itself, a postcranial skeleton was found deposited in a grain bin in Level 3, a crushed skull was found in a rubbish pit of Level 4, and two groups of postcranial bones belonging to the same skeleton were placed in cavities cut into the walls of a room (Lloyd and Safar 1945: 274).

At the Late Neolithic occupation of Matarrah (Hassuna III-V), the remains of four individuals (S-M-7) were dismembered - the bones having been broken up prior to interment - and thrown into a pit (Braidwood *et al.* 1952: 23-4). At Tell el-Kerkh (El-Rouj 2c, c. 6400 cal. BC), two concentrations of fragmented human remains have been excavated. The first (Concentration 1) comprised a complete adult male skeleton accompanied by the skulls of two adults, three adolescents and one child. The second concentration (Concentration 2) is broadly similar, in that it included a complete adult skeleton associated with 7-8 secondary burials interred within a small square surrounded by stone rows (Tsuneki 2010). The fragmentation of human remains continued well into the Halaf period at sites such as Tepe Gawra in northern Iraq, where 24 skeletons - 21 of which were dismembered - were thrown into a disused well alongside a number of smashed jars (Tobler 1950: 49). The dismembered remains of a child from the Halaf levels at Yarim Tepe II were found grouped in a pile with the skull lying on top. Moreover, a deposit of three skulls - two belonging to adults and one belonging to a child - were found in a pit from level 9, and two further isolated skulls were recovered from this level (Merpert *et al.* 1978: 41). At Arpachiyah, a number of isolated skulls were found placed in ceramic vessels (Hijara 1978:125), and at Tell

‘Azzo, numerous post-cranial skeletal elements were recovered in association with a tholos structure (Killick and Roaf 1983: 206).

Both S. Campbell (2007-8) and Croucher (2010) have recently discussed how the deliberate fragmentation, curation and circulation of human remains may have been an important means of redefining social relationships in Late Neolithic communities. Much like the breaking of object forms discussed above, the display and circulation of ancestral bones may have constituted a process whereby social relationships are separated and reconfigured as in other forms of exchange (S. Campbell 2007-8: 136; Chapman 2000: 145; Croucher 2010: 9; Fowler 2004: 90; see Fowler 2002 and Thomas 1999a; 2000; 2002 for similar applications in British and European prehistory). Helms’ (1998) has discussed how the bones of the dead, especially the skull and long bones, are commonly perceived as socially beneficial objects imbued with ancestral substances and energising properties. Ancestral bones are particularly suited to convey these properties since their material durability and permanence invoke notions of perpetuity and intransience, and it is partly for these reasons that ancestral bones are kept as heirlooms and circulate across generations (Helms 1998: 27-28). According to Helms (1998):

> Bones thus prefigure the concept of temporal ancestors and may also prefigure the value accorded a variety of other durable and ideologically potent tangible goods, such as metal objects, shells, seeds, and various other types of politically indispensible goods acquired through long-distance trade.
>
> (Helms 1998: 28).

As a fractal resource manipulated by the living, the fragmentation and circulation of valued or cosmologically potent body parts may have provided an important medium through which to maintain or reconfigure social relationships across kin-groups (S. Campbell 2007-8: 136; Croucher 2010: 9-10). Much like other valued objects, it is possible that the values attached to ancestral bones encouraged their acquisition, curation, circulation, and ritualised discard. It is also likely that this prolonged interaction between the living and the dead, as mediated by human remains, generated a rich source of metaphors for redefining concepts of personhood.

Taking these points into consideration, what may be minimally assumed from the evidence presented above is that a complex and meaningful relationship existed

between persons and things during the Late Neolithic, the boundaries between which were likely to have been negotiated in a number of ways through mortuary rites. I will now go on to suggest that the close correspondence between people and things in Late Neolithic communities necessitated a morally legitimate means with which to facilitate their temporary separation for purposes of calculated exchange and consumption.

4.2 Divergent consumption strategies during the Late Neolithic

It is clear from the data presented in Chapter 3 that, when taken as a whole, the scale of wealth consumption through burials was relatively low. Through time, however, the data suggest that funerary consumption peaked between c. 6400 - 6200 cal. BC, before declining significantly by c. 6200- 6000cal. BC. It is apparent that the sample of burials analysed between c. 6400 - 6200 cal. BC mainly derive from the site of Tell es-Sawwan (78.7% of the sample), which is located in central Iraq. In addition, the data indicates that a number of burials recorded for the phase c. 6400-6200 cal. BC contained objects only (no skeletal remains recorded), yet are broadly comparable to contemporary burials with skeletal remains. In certain contexts therefore, it is possible that the deposition of objects in 'graves' lacking human remains may relate in some way to funerary consumption. Again, such contexts are primarily restricted to the site of Tell es-Sawwan in central Iraq.

By c. 6200-6000 cal. BC, the marked decline in funerary consumption correlates with the introduction of sealing mechanisms in Northern Mesopotamia. This may indicate that the introduction of sealing systems significantly altered consumption strategies throughout Greater Mesopotamia at this time. Alternatively, the strategies of wealth removal that developed in central Iraq (funerary consumption, object caching, intramural burials) may have diverged from those that developed in regions of northern Mesopotamia (communal storage facilities, sealing mechanisms). To better comprehend the social and cultural factors behind the increased scale of funerary consumption during the earliest stages of the Late Neolithic period, the informative burial record from Tell es-Sawwan will be discussed in detail below.

4.2.1 Funerary consumption at Late Neolithic Tell es-Sawwan in central Iraq, c. 6350 cal. BC

The Late Neolithic settlement at Tell es-Sawwan (c. 6350-5500 cal. BC) is situated in north-central Iraq, and is noted for the hundreds of 'rich' burials attributed to the earliest occupation level. Detailed information on 129 of the Level I burials (of an estimated 400) was published in a report on the first season of excavations, and illustrations of a selection of Level I burials are also published in the second report (al-A'dami 1968; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965; Youkana 1997: 37). Almost all of the burials and objects recovered from Level I during the first season of excavation were found sunk into virgin soil below the floors of Building 1 (see Figs. 4.10 and 4.11 below). The excavators contend that the graves were strongly associated with Building 1 (as well as other buildings in the settlement) as it is claimed that not one burial extended beneath the walls of the structure, and that the floors of the building were re-plastered after interments were made (El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 20, 23; Youkana 1997: 37-38). The graves themselves were of an irregular oval form, measuring 25-50cm in depth, 75-100cm in length and 40-50cm in width. These pits were lined with a layer of pure clay and filled with yellow sand before being levelled with the floor of the building and plastered over (Youkana 1997: 37-38).

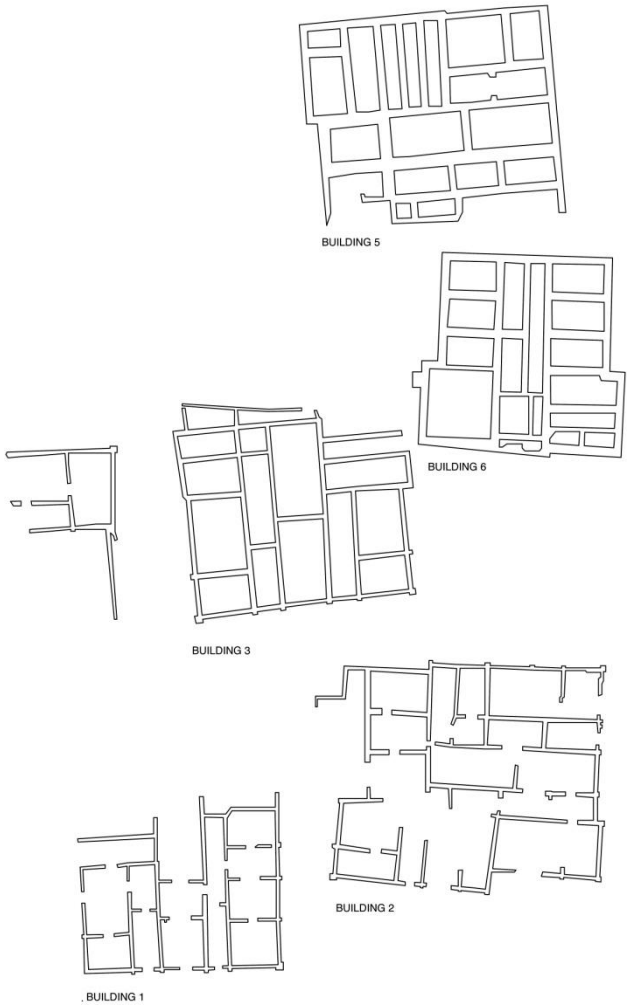


Figure 4.10 Plan of Tell es-Sawwan Level I (adapted from Youkana 1997. Plans 4, 5 and 6).

Building I was a large, multi-roomed mud-brick structure that measured approximately 20 x 18 m (see Fig 4.11 below). The building had walls one brick thick (21-30cm) with buttresses present on the exterior walls at junctions with interior partitions. Rooms were generally devoid of fittings such as ovens, hearths or storage facilities and contained very few finds normally associated with domestic dwellings. Room 13 is notable for having a niche in the centre of its northern wall, below which an alabaster statuette was found. In addition, a further alabaster statuette found in Room 7 and two headless clay figurines were found in Room 8. Room 12 showed clear signs of having been burnt and contained a deposit made up of ash and burnt animal remains (15-20cm thick) above the second floor (El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 20; Matthews 2000: 74; Oates 1966: 146-7).

Of the 129 burials reported from Level I (128 of which derived from Building 1), the majority were those of infants (43%), followed by graves containing objects only (35%), with fewer numbers of adolescent and adult burials (22%; S. Campbell 1995: 30; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 23; Hole 1989: 162). Reports indicate that a number of bodies were wrapped in matting and covered with a layer of bitumen (S. Campbell 1995: 30, El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965, Youkana 1997: 38). However, it is important to note that the skeletal remains were also described as being fragmentary in the first report (El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 23), and illustrations of burial contexts in the second report show graves with isolated skulls, long-bones, and skeletons without crania (al-A'dami 1968: 90-94; see Figs. 4.12 and 4.13 below). It is also clearly recorded in the first published report when the skeletons are complete, which may imply that the remainder (and majority) of the burials were in a state of disarticulation (see Table 4.2 below).

Although this is by no means certain, the incomplete nature of some of the skeletal remains may indicate that the burials represent instances of secondary mortuary rites. Youkana (1997) has also considered the possibility that the fragmentary remains represent secondary mortuary practices, and has commented that some burial contexts contained bones piled up in a heap and painted with red ochre. Perhaps more significant is his assertion that the contents of some graves appear to have been purposefully burnt (Youkana 1997: 38). An additional point to consider is that mortuary rites typically involve the temporary storage of human remains until enough material wealth can be accumulated to conduct the necessary rites (for ethnographic examples see Metcalf 1981). At Tell es-Sawwan, this may account for the fact that the graves do not overlap despite their large numbers below certain buildings. It remains possible, for example, that both human remains and objects were deposited over a relatively short period of time. Admittedly, due to the limitations of the published material, this interpretation remains entirely speculative.

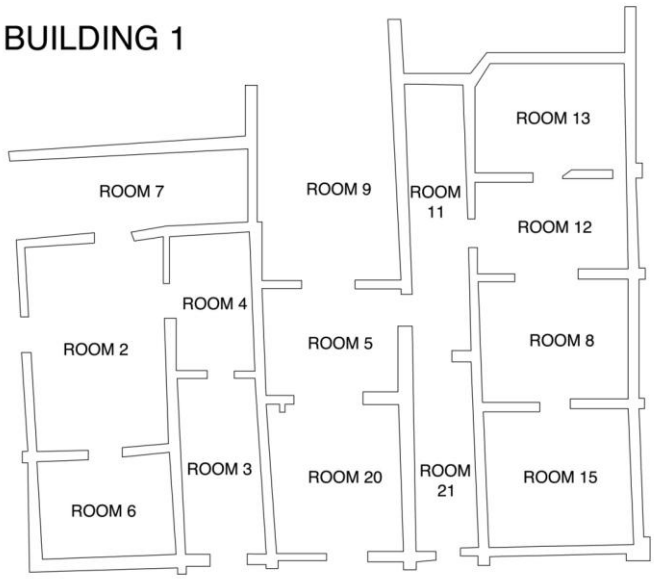


Figure 4.11 Plan of Building I at Tell es-Sawwan (adapted from Youkana 1997. Plan 4).

Room Number	Infant 'complete'	Infant	Adolescent 'complete'	Adolescent	Adult 'complete'	Adult	Objects Only	Total
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
2	3	9	1	3	-	3	4	**23**
3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	**2**
4	-	3	-	-	-	2	2	**7**
5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	**1**
6	1	4	1	-	-	1	2	**9**
7	2	1	-	2	-	1	4	**10**
8	2	3	1	-	-	-	5	**11**
9	1	2	-	2	-	-	4	**9**
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	**2**
11	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	**2**
12	1	3	-	-	-	2?	2	**8**
13	1	-	1	2	-	-	5	**9**
14	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	**4**
15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
18	-	5	-	2	-	-	7	**14**
19?	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	**5**
20	-	4	-	-	-	-	5	**9**
21	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	**3**
Total	**13**	**39**	**5**	**12**	**0**	**14**	**45**	**128**

Table 4.2 Table showing distribution of burials in Building I, Tell es-Sawwan Level I.

The objects recovered from both the graves with human remains, and those that contained objects only, include extraordinary quantities of alabaster vessels; stone 'phalluses'; stone figurines, celts and 'balls'; pendants; lithics; animal bones; as well as numerous beads made from a variety of materials. It has been noted that the stonework vessels are of a remarkable quality and would have required a considerable investment of labour, which may suggest that these were valued items. Interestingly, pottery is absent from these deposits (al-A'dami 1968: 60, S. Campbell 1995: 31; El-Wailly and Abu Es-Soof 1965: 22; Oates 1978: 118; see Fig 4.14 below). It is conceivable that these fine stone vessels were used in the conspicuous consumption of food and drink. This notion is supported to some degree by the burial record, as illustrations imply that vessel forms were often clasped in the hands of skeletons and placed opposite the face (see Figs. 4.12 and 4.13 below).

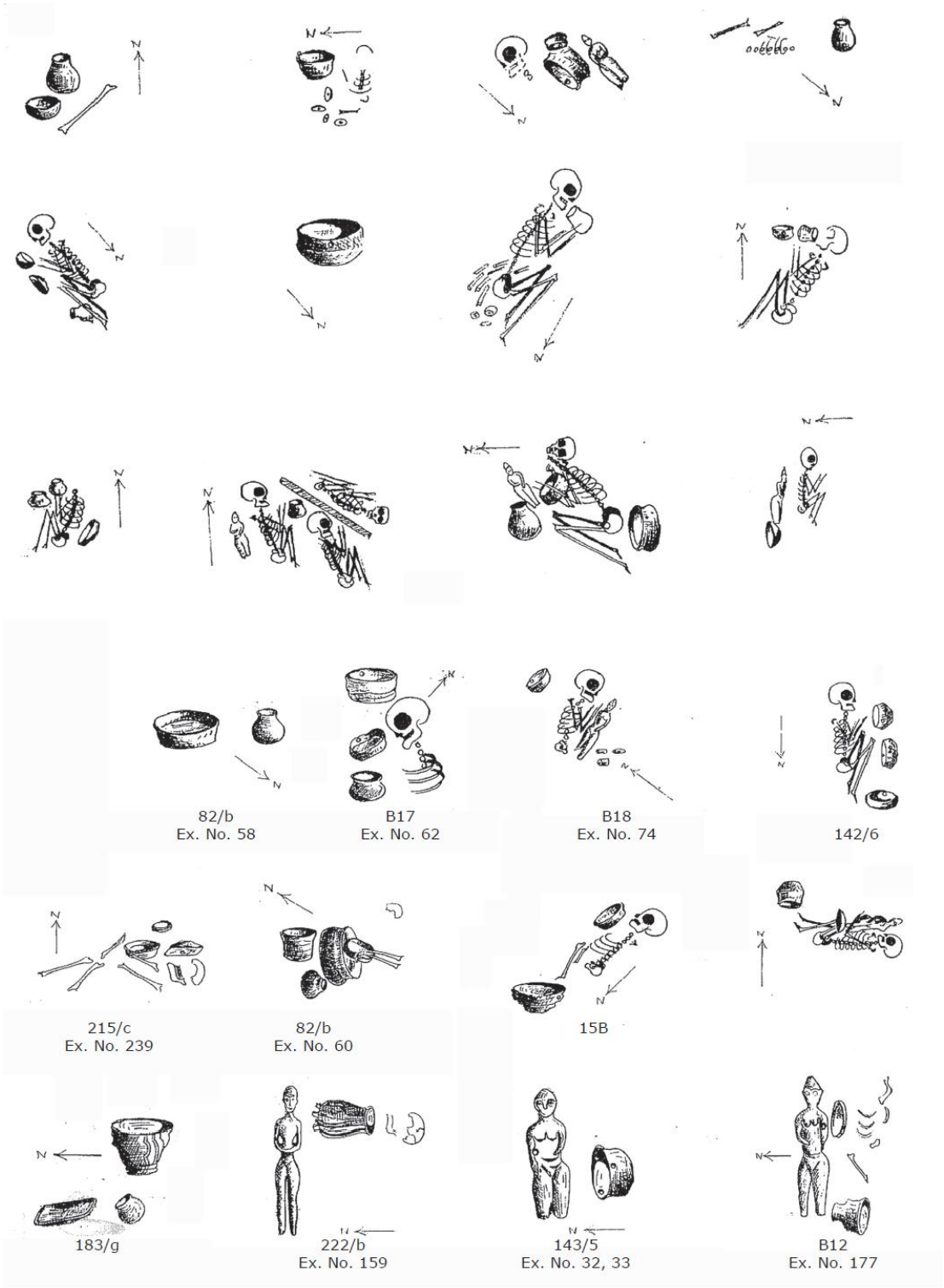


Figure 4.12 Selection of Level I burials from Tell es-Sawwan , Building III (adapted from al-A'dami 1968: 90-94).

Figure 4.13 Selection of Level I burials from Tell es-Sawwan (adapted from al-A'dami 1968: 90-94).

By analysing the number of objects per grave by age category, S. Campbell (1995) shows that although adult burials contain a slightly higher number of objects than adolescents, and adolescents slightly more that infants, the data suggests that these differences are not statistically significant i.e. they may be chance variations. However, he also demonstrates that the number of objects in deposits without human remains were significantly lower than those with human remains. The difference between the mean number of grave goods from the graves without human remains (60% of which only contained a single object), and the mean number of grave goods from other burial types (which contained significantly more objects) was statistically significant (probability greater than 99.9%).

This suggests that the graves without human remains form a distinct category of deposit, in that they do not simply represent a situation where skeletal elements have not preserved in the archaeological record (S. Campbell 1995: 32). The data suggests, therefore, that the discard of objects did not always involve human remains, the absence of which was perhaps attributable to the substitutability of human bodies with anthropomorphic figurines or vessels. Both funerary consumption and the intentional burial of objects appear to have formed an interrelated system of wealth removal at Tell es-Sawwan. Campbell points out that it is very plausible that the deposition of objects and human remains in such contexts may represent the competitive consumption of wealth in a gifts-to-gods system (Gregory 1980, see discussion in Chapter 1), where objects were removed from circulation in competitive gift transactions to attain prestige and status (S. Campbell 1995: 33-34). As such, funerary rites may have provided an appropriate moral context through which competitive displays of consumption concerned with individual appropriation and status enhancement could take place.

Building upon these observations, I would suggest that the close spatial association between burials and domestic units may indicate that funerary consumption at Tell es-Sawwan was an important strategy for withholding wealth within the household. It is notable, therefore, that a striking feature of Late Neolithic settlements located in central and southern Iraq is that domestic structures are spatially distinct, emphasising the importance of the family unit over the group. As was discussed in section 3.1.2, social distance between households at Samarran settlements is accentuated by the absence of communal storage facilities and production areas, suggesting that the production and storage of goods commenced within household units (Bernbeck 1995a: 15-16; Frangipane 2000: 226;2007a: 167). As such, the consumption of wealth in intramural funerary rites may have been an important means of preventing the disbursement of wealth beyond the household descent group, and a symbolic measure that reasserted the identity and reproductive capacity of the household. These points will be explored further over the course of the thesis.

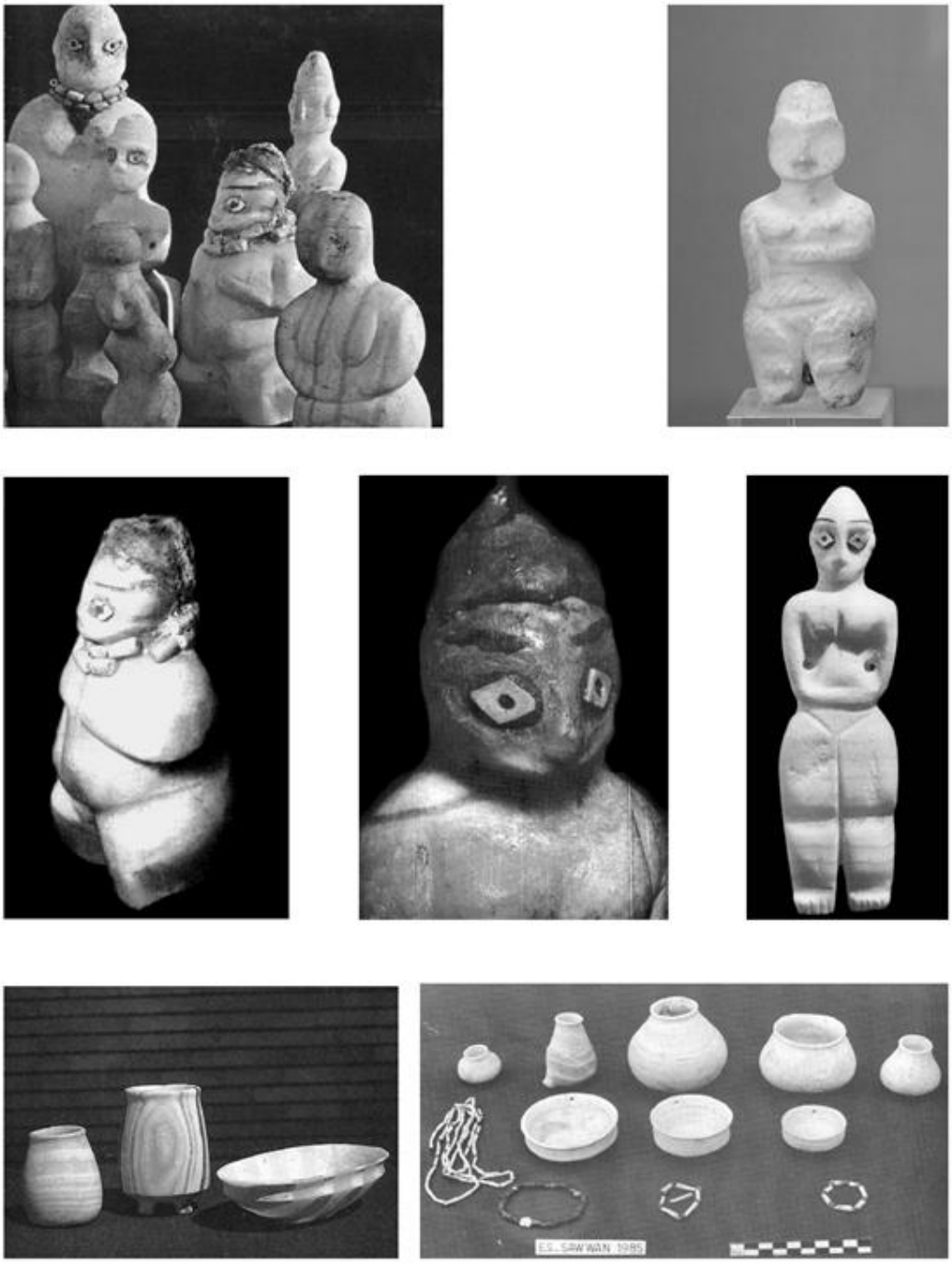


Figure 4.14 Selection of objects from the Level I burials at Tell es-Sawwan. Note how some of the figurines were pierced, implying that they were suspended, perhaps even worn (reproduced from Oates and Oates 1976b: 105; Youkana 1997. Plate 32 a, plate 35b; photograph top right courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)

4.2.2 Sealing practices and consumption strategies in northern Mesopotamia c. 6200 cal. BC

The marked decline in funerary consumption between c. 6200 and 6000 cal. BC can be correlated with the spread of sealing practices throughout northern Mesopotamia by at least 6000 BC. However, it must be emphasised that the increasing scale of funerary consumption c. 6400-6200 cal. BC is primarily associated with the burial record from Tell es-Sawwan, located in central Iraq. It should be noted, therefore, that while sealing mechanisms (clay sealings/stamp seals) are attested at Late Neolithic sites in northern Mesopotamia, they are virtually absent in contemporary settlements located in central and southern Iraq. The apparent decline in funerary consumption between c. 6400-6200 and 6200-6000 cal. BC may therefore represent regional divergences in consumption strategies; one that placed varying degrees of emphasis on the use of sealing mechanisms and/or the removal of wealth in mortuary rites and caches. Here, I will move beyond conventional economic definitions of sealings systems, and will attempt to highlight the social aspects of sealing practices with reference to the moral dimensions of storage. As essential contextual background for what follows, I will therefore provide a detailed discussion of the current archaeological evidence for Late Neolithic sealing practices, drawing in particular on the exceptionally informative site of Tell Sabi Abyad.

Prehistoric sealings generally comprise of lumps of clay or plaster that have been pressed on the fastening of a container such as a basket or a ceramic vessel, or more rarely applied over the container entirely (see Fig 4.15 below). Prehistoric seals usually take the form of a ground stone stamp or pendant bearing highly individualised and complex incised patterns on its surface (see Fig 4.16 below). Seals are usually perforated for suspension, indicating that they worn close to the body (Charvát 1994; 2002: 88; von Wickede 1990). In some cases, the distinctive designs inscribed upon the surface of seals were applied to the clay or plaster sealings of mobile containers, functioning to 'mark' the sealed object. In practical terms, it is hypothesised that this 'marking' of the sealed object served the dual purpose of protecting the container from

unauthorised opening, while simultaneously displaying information concerning its 'owner' (Duistermaat 1996: 342).

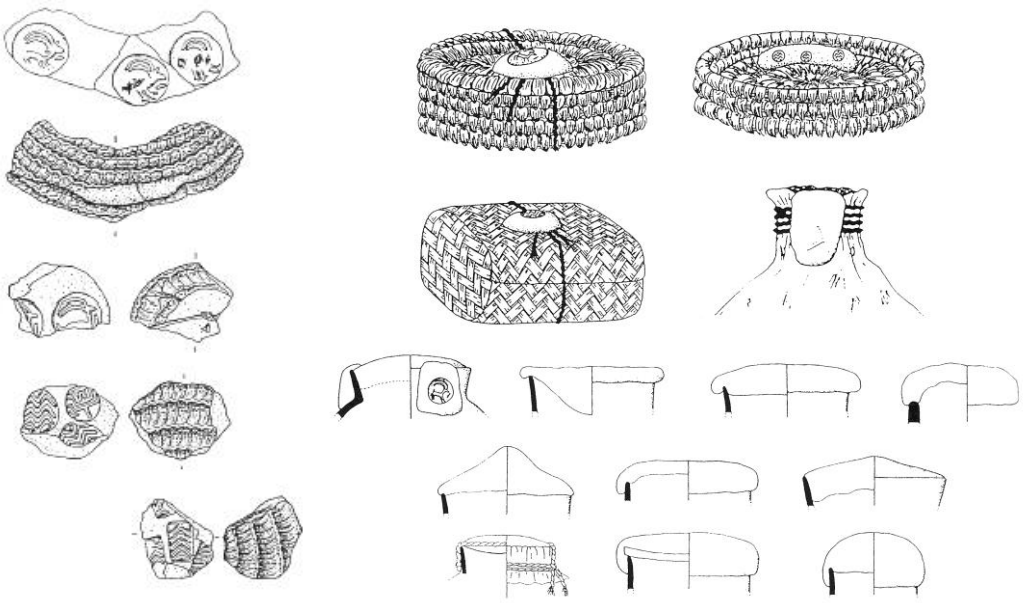


Figure 4.15 Seals and sealing methods at Tell Sabi Abyad (reproduced from Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 20, 21, 23. Figs. 2, 3 and 4).

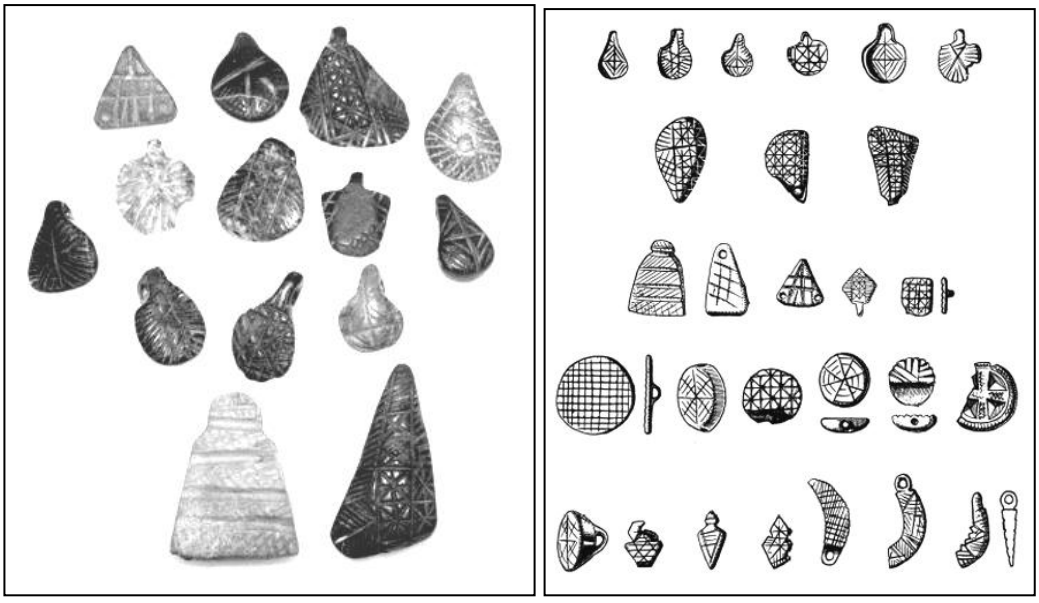


Figure 4.16 Stamp seal pendants from Arpachiyah (left: photograph courtesy of The British Museum; right: reproduced from Mallowan and Rose 1935. Fig. 50).

Sealing practices are first attested during the late 7th and 6th millennium BC in northern Mesopotamia, and are generally confined to settlements situated in the dry-farming zone since there is very little evidence for sealing mechanisms from Samarra related

settlements located in central Iraq. The earliest impressed sealings were made of plaster, and were found at Tell Bouqras and Tell al-Kown in Syria (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 19; Duistermaat 1996: 342). While stamp seals have been recovered from a number of Late Neolithic sites, clay sealings are relatively rare. However, certain unusual archaeological contexts, such as the Level 6 Burnt Village at Tell Sabi Abyad (c. 6000 cal. BC 'pre-Halaf/Transitional') and the TT6 Burnt House at Arpachiyah (Late Halaf) have revealed a significant quantity of *in situ* sealings.

4.2.2.1 Sealing mechanisms in context: the Level 6 'Burnt Village' at Tell Sabi Abyad

Located in the upper Balikh Valley of Northern Syria, the site of Tell Sabi Abyad has a continuous sequence of occupation dating between 6500-5800 cal. BC. Level 6 is the earliest of the pre-Halaf 'transitional' (or Balikh IIIA) levels at Tell Sabi Abyad, and can be dated to c.6000 cal. BC. The Level 6 settlement was destroyed by a violent fire, which has resulted in the remarkable preservation of a series of complexes yielding vast quantities of *in situ* finds, including an unprecedented amount of clay sealings with stamp-seal impressions (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 19; Duistermaat 1996: 365). The majority of sealings derived from Buildings II and V, both of which were large, multi-room structures associated with the storage of goods and foodstuffs. This is confirmed by the considerable quantity of charred grain found in Building II, and the presence of large ceramic storage vessels in both buildings (Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995: 12; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 49, 55). The finds of Room 6 in Building II included hundreds of objects, including ceramics; stone bowls; bone implements; axes; labrets; anthropomorphic and animal figurines; as well as 201 clay sealings and a number of clay tokens. Seeing that Room 6 was undoubtedly too small to hold the vast quantity of containers originally associated with the sealings, it has been suggested this space functioned as some form of archive (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 19; Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995: 12-13; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 49-50).

In Building V, a comparable accumulation of objects was also recovered from Rooms 6 and 7. Again, this assemblage included ceramics, stone tools and hundreds of clay objects such as jar stoppers, sling missiles, figurines, tokens and sealings. Whereas the

majority of the finds in Room 7 were found either on or just above the floor level, a quantity of the objects from Room 6 were located in the room fill, suggestive of their original suspension on some form of shelving, or perhaps even their placement on the roof of the building (Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 55-6). It has been suggested that the sealings recovered from these contexts may have formed part of a wider administrative system that included the use of tokens, miniature vessels and figurines (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 19). A similar assemblage of *in situ* objects was recovered from a large, buttressed, two-story building from the later Halaf occupation in Level III. These *in situ* finds included human and animal figurines, miniature vessels, balls, rectangular plaques, disks and cones and fragments of seven clay sealings (Akkermans and Le Mière 1992: 11-15; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 91-94; Duistermaat 1996: 375; see Fig 4.17 below).

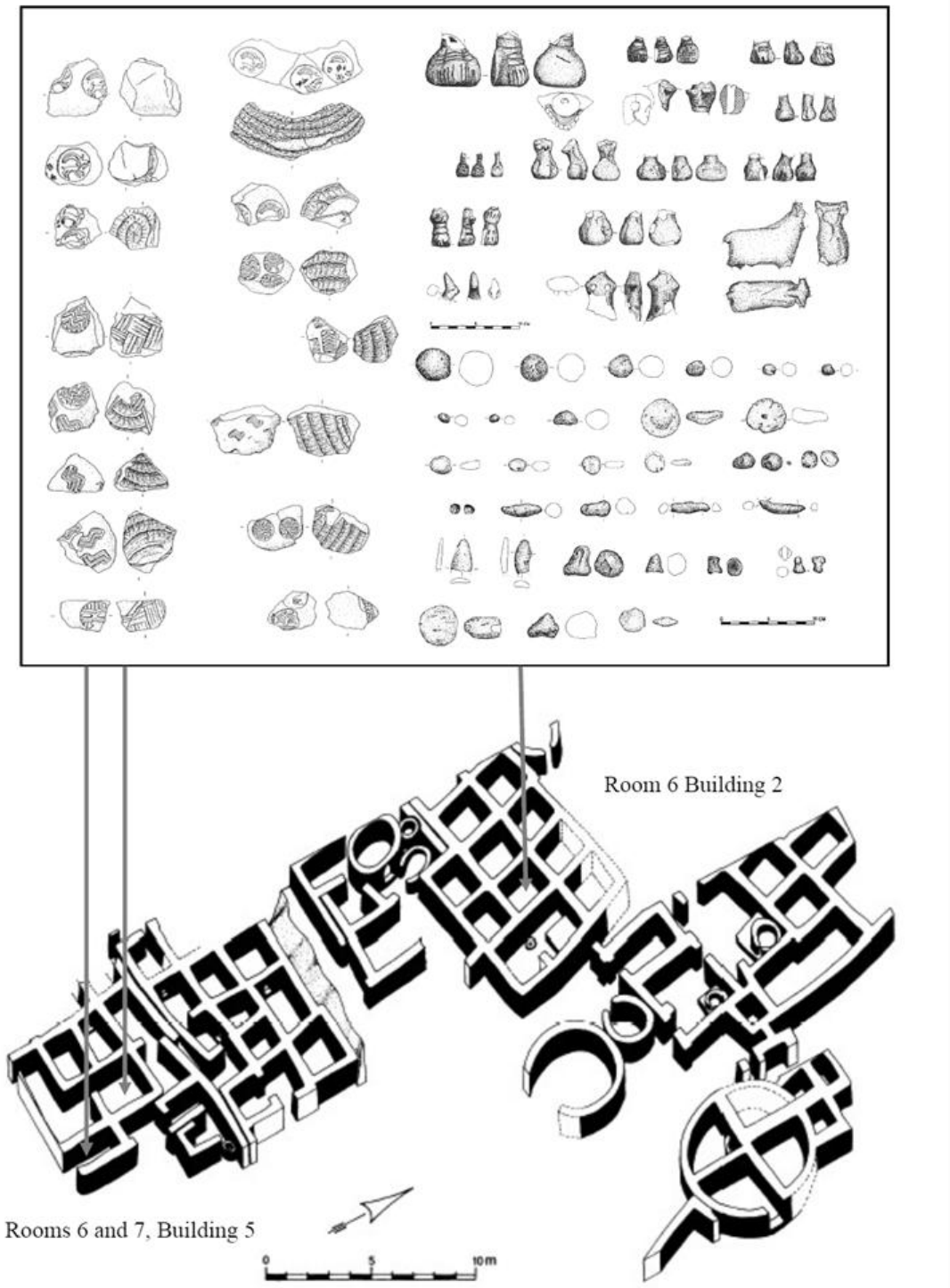


Figure 4.17 Sabi Abyad Level 6 'Archive Contexts' (adapted from Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995, Figs. 4; 11; 14 and 15).

4.2.2.2 Comparative contexts: the 'Burnt House' at Arpachiyah

A comparable non-domestic structure associated a remarkable assemblage of artefacts was also excavated at the Late Halaf period occupation at Tell Arpachiyah in northern Iraq. The excavation of Level TT6 at Tell Arpachiyah revealed a large rectangular building partly destroyed by a fire, which containing a wealth of *in situ* material (see Fig 4.9). The TT6 'Burnt House' was situated in a very prominent position at the summit of the mound, and a series of packed pebble paths may have lead up to the structure. The building itself was of a considerable size and was built directly above an earlier 'tholos' structure (TT7), which suggests that the Burnt House may have been the latest in a series of important buildings at the settlement (S. Campbell 2000: 6). This structure is notable for the vast accumulation of artefacts concentrated in the main rooms of the building, which include 20 highly decorative Fine Ware pottery plates (the quality of which is described as being 'unparalleled at any other Halaf site in terms of form, fabric and decoration'; S. Campbell 2000: 8; see Fig 4.18); a vast quantity of other ceramic vessels; nine stone vessels; six stone axes; a vast sum of flint and obsidian cores, blades, and flakes (the original excavator estimates the quantities being in the thousands); obsidian links; figurines, human and stone knuckle bones; a 'steatite' trough; bone tubes; a limestone palette; red ochre pigment, a conical lump of lead; stone objects; spindle whorls; pierced sherds; and at least 11 seals and 27 burnt clay sealings (for a full inventory of objects see S. Campbell 2000: 25-38; S. Campbell 2000: 7-23; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 90-99; Matthews 2000: 86; Von Wickede 1991; see Figs. 4.19 and 4.20 below).

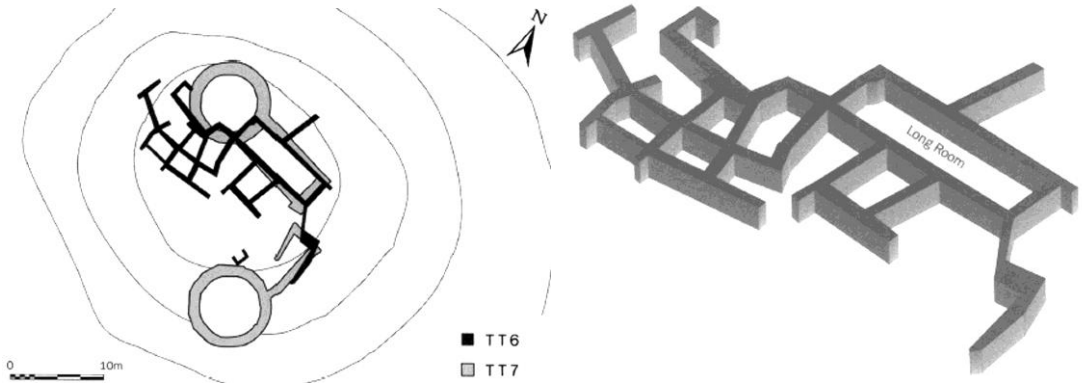


Figure 4.18 Plans of the Arpachiyah Level 6 Burnt House (reproduced from S. Campbell 2000: 5, 7. Figs. 3 and 4).

The eleven seals recovered from the Burnt House are considered typical for the Halaf period, with almost all of them pierced for suspension and incised with linear designs. The seals seem to have been in use for a considerable amount of time, as indicated by the high polish visible on the raised areas of some seals. Of particular interest is the apparent deliberate defacing of a seal, the surface of which had been ground down in an attempt to erase its original design, suggesting that in some instances seals were purposefully taken out of use (Campbell 2000: 14). The 27 sealings found in the structure do not seem to have been used to seal any of the artefacts found in the Burnt House, which suggest that either the sealings were discarded after use and kept as a reference or archive (as was suggested for the Sabi Abyad sealings), or that they originally sealed objects that had perished in the fire that destroyed the structure (S. Campbell 2000: 17). Interestingly, the seal designs impressed on the sealings do not match the designs found on the TT6 stamp seals (S. Campbell 2000: 17). What remains significant, however, is that the rectangular structures at both Sabi Abyad and Arpachiyah, in terms of their form, function and spatial location, are distinct from surrounding domestic structures, and appear to have played some supra-domestic role in the acquisition and crafting of materials, the collective storage of goods, and the regulation of exchange transactions (S. Campbell 2000: 17; 24-5; Frangipane 2007a: 157; Wengrow 1998: 787).

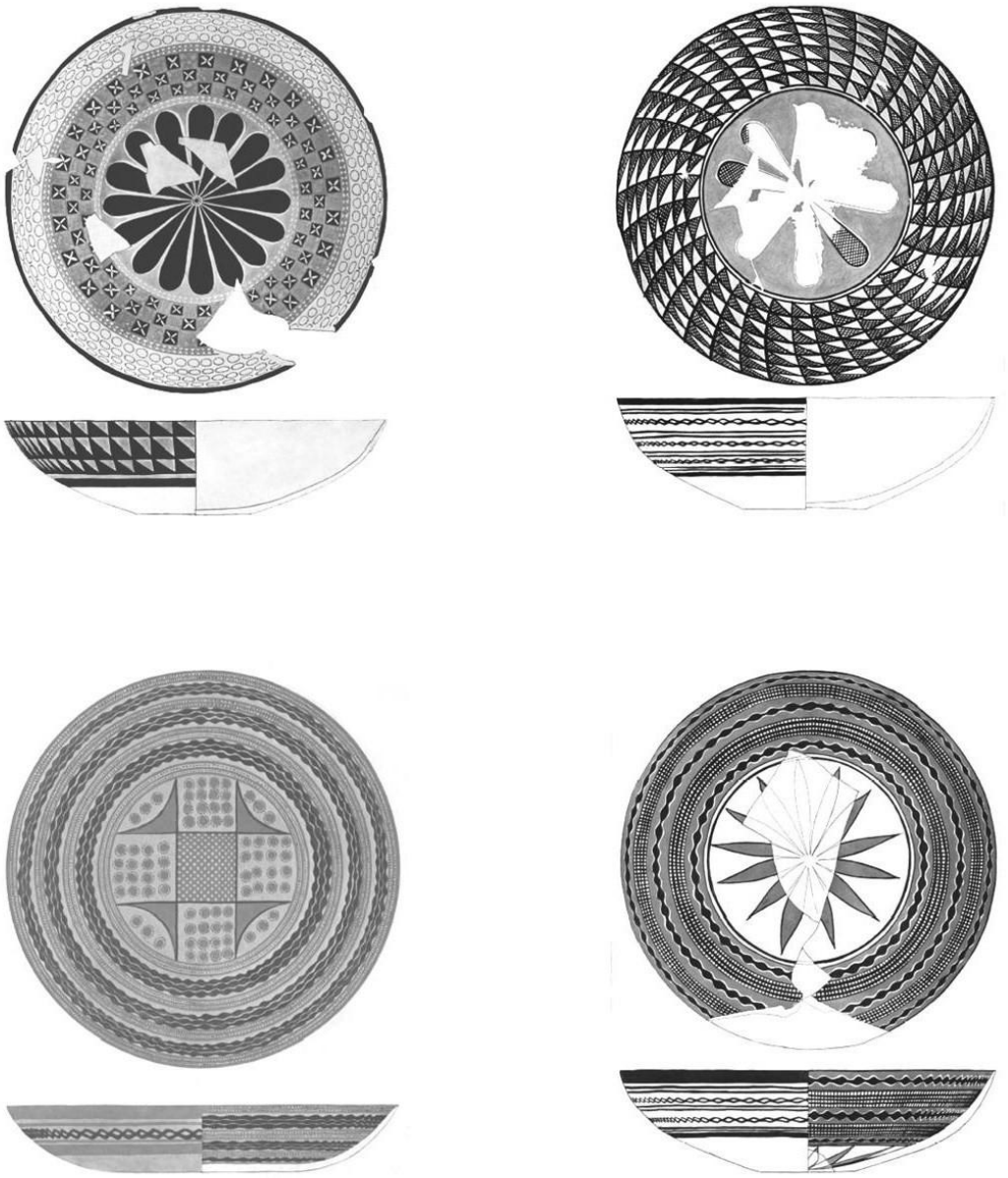


Figure 4.19 Selection of fine Halaf decorated plates recovered from the TT6 Burnt House at Arpachiyah (reproduced from Mallowan and Rose 193. Plates XIII, XIV, XV and XVIII).

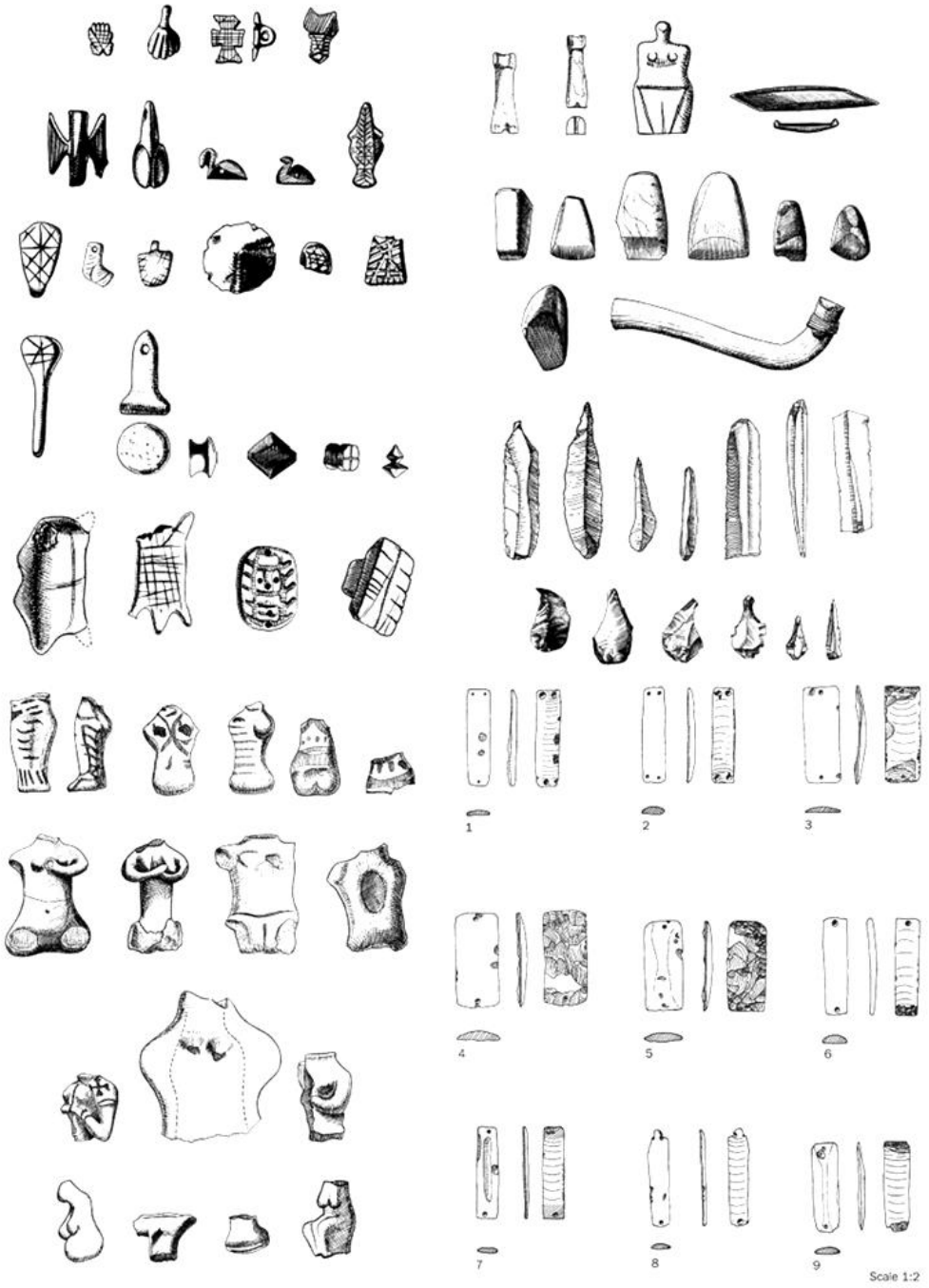


Figure 4.20 Selection of objects recovered from the TT6 Burnt House at Arpachiyah (not to scale) (reproduced from S. Campbell 2000. Fig. 10; Mallowan and Rose 1935. Figs. 45, 51 and 52).

4.2.2.3 Sealing mechanisms: function and interpretation

Sealing practices have been described as a 'technology of control' (Rothman 1994: 103) and a form of 'information technology' (Oates 1996: 165), and are variously associated with increasingly complex forms of exchange relationships, changing concepts of property ownership and the administration of collectively stored goods (Duistermaat 1996: 370). It is generally agreed that sealing mechanisms operated in situations where the circulation or storage of goods lay outside the domestic sphere of storage, exchange and reciprocity. However, positions differ in regard to the extent sealing mechanisms should be understood as being predominantly economic in nature (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 24; S. Campbell 2000: 24-25; Duistermaat and Schneider 1998: 90; Wengrow 2008: 15).

The various scenarios in which sealing mechanisms may have operated have for the most part been discussed in practical and economic terms. Prehistoric seals and sealings are generally interpreted as forming components of an administrative system that served to define the property of a person or group of persons, and therefore functioned to restrict access to this property (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 24). On a practical level, it is suggested that responsibility over sealed goods may have lay in the hands of custodians who acted as intermediaries in storage or exchange situations. According to current interpretations, sealings worked to authenticate and secure this arrangement (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996: 24-5). Analyses of the clays used to manufacture the sealings at Tell Sabi Abyad indicate that they were of local origin, suggesting that sealing of goods commenced within the settlement (Duistermaat and Schneider 1998: 96). On the basis of this evidence, it has been proposed that sealing mechanisms functioned to administer the collective storage of goods within Late Neolithic villages.

It has been argued that such a system is only necessary when specific social groups within the community were unable to take care of the property themselves, such as a mobile component of society practicing transhumant pastoralism (Akkermans and Duistermaat 1997: 26). Frangipane (2000: 224; 2007: 157), on the other hand, views the sealing and storage of goods in such structures simply as an efficient means to guarantee the egalitarian redistribution of collectively stored goods to their rightful owners. However, such a one-dimensional view of sealing mechanisms conceals their

likely role in mediating exchange relationships and facilitating consumption strategies as part of a wider moral economy. S. Campbell (2000) points out that the activities surrounding the sealing, storage and circulation of goods were likely to have been embedded in wider social settings, where relationships between persons and groups were continuously being negotiated and redefined (S. Campbell 2000: 24).

The moral dimension of storage practices has recently been explored by Julia Hendon (2000) in comparative contexts such as Neolithic Europe, Mesoamerica and Oceania. Hendon (2000) demonstrates how storage practices form part of wider social strategies for withholding objects from circulation, and can therefore play an important role in the establishment and maintenance of wider societal values. According to Hendon (2000), storage practices have a moral dimension 'because it is part of the process connecting resources with people's needs and desires' (Hendon 2000: 45). As spaces where objects and persons are withheld from circulation, Hendon (2000) has emphasised the interrelationship between storage, burials and caches:

> As a form of storage, burials and caches combine the material with the moral. They are like storehouses in that they are loci where items, and sometimes people, of material and symbolic value are deposited and guarded.
>
> (Hendon 2000: 47).

Storage practices, caching and burials can become a locus for remembering, and knowledge of such deposits and what they conceal can become a resource in itself - a form of symbolic capital. In this sense, individuals and groups may be evaluated on the basis of their knowledge of, and connection to, such resources. As repositories of material and intellectual property, storage can therefore be conceived as an important means through which to construct and challenge a moral order, one that is essentially a basis for power and authority (Hendon 2000: 42, 45).

The moral implications of storage practices in Late Neolithic contexts is suggested by the unusual circumstances in which storage structures were taken out of use at both Tell Sabi Abyad and Arpachiyah. At both of these sites, supra-domestic buildings associated with accumulated resources appear to have been deliberately destroyed by fire (S. Campbell 2000; Verhoeven 2000, 2002). It is clear at Tell Sabi Abyad that funerary rites were implicated in the foundation and abandonment of storage structures

(Verhoeven 2000: 46, 2002: 33). While infant burials were interred below rectangular storage structures at Sabi Abyad, perhaps as some form of foundation deposit (Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995: 13; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 52-3), the remains of two adult skeletons were also recovered high in the fill of Room 7 of Building V, their bones crushed and heavily burnt. In light of their unusual position within the room, it has been proposed that the bodies fell from the roof of Building V when the structure collapsed (Verhoeven 2000: 48; Verhoeven 2002: 49; Verhoeven and Kranendonk 1996: 55-6). It may also be significant that a recurrent feature of the Sabi Abyad 'archive contexts' discussed above, is the large number of vessel sherds recovered. Nieuwenhuyse (2007: 63) considers the possibility that some of the rooms were deliberately filled with such 'broken' objects prior the ritual conflagration of the settlement. Recent excavations at Sabi Abyad have uncovered a further building (Operation I, c. 6200-6100 cal. BC) packed with artefacts (lithics, ground-stone tools, impressed clay sealings, clay tokens), which also appears to have been deliberately set on fire. Drawing close comparison with Building V, this structure held the remains of two adults that had been purposefully interred upon the floor of the buildings prior to its conflagration (Akkermans 2008: 628-9).

It has been similarly suggested that the burning and destruction of TT6 Burnt house at Arpachiyah was deliberate. S. Campbell (2000) has noted that the vast collection of objects amassed in the building was of an exceptionally fine quality, and there was seemingly no attempt to recover any items after the structure burnt down. In addition, the evidence suggests that some of the finest ceramic plates were deliberately smashed and scattered throughout the building (S. Campbell 2000: 23; 2007/8: 134; see also Oates 1978: 119; Verhoeven 2000: 55). The fact that the settlement lay unoccupied for a significant period of time following the destruction of the burnt house lends further support to the notion that the ritual destruction of the TT6 Building marked the end of the institution it may have represented, and that the performances surrounding its closure was related to the deliberate abandonment of the site (S. Campbell 2000: 23). Taking these points into consideration, I suggest that the practical aspects of storage and sealing practices were embedded in wider social and moral contexts that involved the amassing of wealth, the human dead, and processes of destruction and riddance involving fire. In particular, I hope to demonstrate that such practices were one means

of resolving the moral predicaments surrounding wealth accumulation in Late Neolithic village communities.

It has been suggested that the social meanings of Neolithic sealing practices should be considered in terms of wider symbolic equivalences between container imagery and human bodies, a notion that was highlighted in section 4.1.1 (see also Wengrow 1998: 786; 2001: 174). Compared to the significant numbers of seals recovered from Late Neolithic settlements, very few impressed sealings have been found, suggesting that seals had important symbolic or decorative function beyond their supposed utility for controlling access to goods (Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 56-57). Charvát (1994; 2002) has argued that the personal attributes of seals as protective amulets worn close to the body made them a particularly suitable medium for conferring aspects of personhood upon sealed goods (Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 57; S. Campbell 2000: 17; Charvát 1994: 11; Charvát 2002: 88; Wengrow 2008: 14). This notion is supported by the occurrence of sealings with seal impressions that represent human body parts and anthropomorphic figures (Campbell 2000: 17; Carter *et al.* 2003: 13; Duistermaat 1996: 356). The body-orientated nature of sealing practices is also demonstrated by a sealing that was impressed with a series of cowrie-shells, which must have originally derived from a string of shell beads worn upon the body (Charvát 2002: 88; Duistermaat 1996: 355; see Fig 4.21 below). The inalienable quality of personal seals is further suggested by their prolonged use, even after they were heavily worn or broken, while additional evidence indicates that the surface of seals were purposefully defaced and rendered obsolete (Bernbeck and Pollock 2003: 56; S. Campbell 2000: 14).

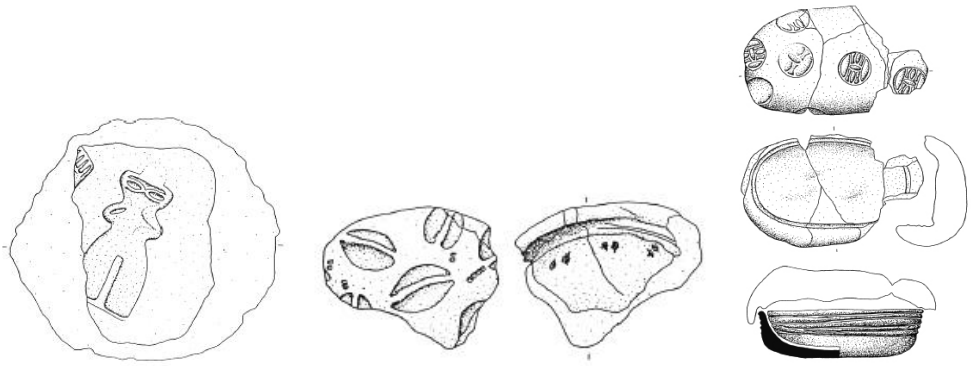


Figure 4.21 Selected sealings and sealed vessel from Tell Sabi Abyad (reproduced from Akkermans and Duistermaat 1996. Fig. 5 and 6).

It was argued in section 4.1 that concepts of personhood were likely to have been highly complex during the Late Neolithic Period, and that the boundaries between persons and things were negotiated and redefined through ritual practices, such as mortuary rites. Taking these points into consideration, it is likely that by withholding goods from circulation, storage practices were seen to jeopardize the social ties formed through exchange. I would suggest that sealing mechanisms were essentially a means to engender a separation between persons and goods for the purpose of individual gain and accumulation. Inviting comparisons with the withdrawal of material wealth in mortuary rites, Wengrow (2008: 15) points out that the sealed goods passing into storage buildings were separated from the sphere of domestic activity yet marked with a personal image, evoking a 'transitional state as neither used nor abandoned, neither fully given nor fully received - a moral status perhaps akin to that of things placed with the gods or with the dead'. By facilitating a temporary separation between persons and objects, sealing practices would have given prehistoric village institutions 'unprecedented control over the timing of exchange and consumption and hence over the strategic dispensation of resources' (Wengrow 2008: 15). As such, it can be argued that funerary consumption and sealing practices are comparable in that they both provide moral contexts whereby material wealth or resources can be legitimately withdrawn from circulation. It addition, Late Neolithic storage structures were intentionally taken out of use through a ritual process that involved mortuary rites, the amassing and discard of wealth, and acts of deliberate destruction through the use of fire. It will be demonstrated below how such events show a remarkable correspondence with contemporary mortuary rites, which will be addressed below.

4.2.3 Death, discard and riddance in the Late Neolithic

> It is necessary to ask what these deposits were considered to have become – stripped of their original connections by a process of defleshing and disarticulation, then re-assembled, were they still 'of people', 'of animals' or a mixture of the two, so something ontologically quite different?
>
> (Pollard 2004: 59)

Building upon the points outlined in sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.1, where instances of fragmentation and caching were observed, an interrelated feature of the Halaf period burial record will now be addressed: the ritualised destruction and discard of objects, animal remains and the human dead. In light of current interpretations of the burial record, it will be considered whether mortuary rites were important ritual occasions where the status of persons and things were reconfigured, thereby constituting a process of transformation orientated towards the making of collective ancestors. Ritualised depositional practices may therefore have afforded Late Neolithic communities with an appropriate moral context for period displays of wealth. In relating these observations, the following sections will discuss how moral constraints restricting the accumulation and display of wealth may have been temporarily surmounted by public performances of discard and riddance as part of mortuary rituals. I will begin by discussing a striking funerary context recovered from the site of Domuztepe in south-central Turkey, and will then draw on a number of related Late Neolithic mortuary contexts for comparison.

4.2.3.1 The 'Death Pit' at Domuztepe

Domuztepe is one of the largest settlements dating to the 6th millennium BC, and has so far revealed three main cultural phases that date to the latter part of the Halaf tradition (c.5,800-5,450 cal. BC; S. Campbell *et al.* 1999: 396; Carter *et al.* 2003: 118-9, Kansa *et al.* 2009: 160). A unique feature of the site is the presence of a complex funerary deposit (the so called 'Death Pit') from the Phase A-2 occupation, which dates to around 5575 cal. BC. The 'Death Pit refers to a feature recovered from Operation 1 that was approximately 5 x 4m in area and 1m in depth (see Fig 4.22 below). The Death Pit, as the name suggests, was the site of a mass burial comprising of layers of disarticulated and processed bone from at least 40 individuals and a large number of animals, mixed with ash, broken pottery and other artefacts (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 161). The vast quantities of processed bone evident at the Death Pit, coupled with the fact that the pit was created and filled within a short period, suggests that the events surrounding its creation involved hundreds of people, and took place in a series of carefully structured stages. It is notable that following the Death Pit's creation, an extensive area surrounding the pit was left open, free of domestic occupation (Campbell 2007/8: 129; Carter *et al.* 2003: 121-2; Kansa and Campbell 2002: 5; Kansa *et al.* 2009: 163).

The human skeletal material from the Death Pit indicates that the individuals were dismembered and broken up while the corpses were fresh, and the treatment and processing of post-cranial human bone parallels the processing of animal remains recovered from the Death Pit, as analyses indicate that human skeletal material suffered substantial peri- and post-mortem trauma (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 168). A sample of 36 individuals from the pit reveals that both sexes are represented, ranging from neonates to adults. Furthermore, it appears that the heads of some individuals were disarticulated from the body prior to burial, and that the skulls display the effects of blunt force trauma (Carter *et al.* 2003: 123-4). A number of smaller pits that seem to post-date the Death Pit were also identified to the northwest of this feature. Pit F942 contained distinct deposits similar to those of the Death Pit, while Pit F868, which cut into Pit F942, contained a human jaw. To the south of the Death Pit, the remains of an almost complete skeleton of a child, aged 6 years, was recovered, as well as an isolated skull and a complex secondary interment. Interestingly, all of these individuals display blunt force trauma to the side of the skull as well as decapitation (Carter *et al.* 2003: 124-5). Further deposits made to the southwest of the Death Pit contained a child's skull, a pig's skull and a pot containing a fragment of human skull (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 163; S. Campbell 2007/8: 131).

The very large number of animal bones recovered from the pit (which represent at least 11 cattle, 21 sheep/goats, 8 pigs and 6 dogs), and the special selection of prime age animals (adult female cattle and caprids), suggests that Death Pit contained the remains of conspicuous feasting activities (Kansa and Campbell 2002: 12; Kansa *et al.* 2009: 170). Artefacts directly associated with the Death Pit include a number of coarse ware jars that seemed to lie directly above the pit, and at least two finer painted vessels, which were smashed with the sherds scattered amongst the bones, inviting comparisons with the funerary deposits at Yarim Tepe II and Tepe Gawra discussed below (S. Campbell 2007/8: 134). Furthermore, pieces of worked bone were found within the deposits, while several stone seals and a headless-figurine were found in, or close, to this feature (Carter *et al.* 2003: 122). The area to the west of the pit revealed a concentration of artefacts (Feature 1123) that sloped down towards the Death Pit edge, which included a significant number of beads, one of which was made of silver, and a stone pendant in the shape of a bird. The area at the edge of the death pit also revealed a

phallic shaped piece of sandstone (or possibly a figurine – or both?) incised with a series of lines (Carter *et al.* 2003: 125). The remains of a series of plaster coated baskets (as indicated from the basketry impressions on the plasterwork) containing animal remains have also been found around the Death Pit (Carter *et al.* 2003: 128).

The series of deposits recovered from the Death Pit certainly highlight the complex relationships that existed between persons, animals and objects. Both human and animal remains were subject to systematic disarticulation and further processing, and objects were similarly fragmented and placed within these deposits. That parts of bodies and artefacts were of some social importance is indicated by the lack of complete skeletons in these deposits and the deliberate fragmentation of objects. In one unique case, a fragment of a pot recovered from the deposits had been deliberately cut prior to it being fired, while sherds originating from the same vessels have been found in different depositional contexts (S. Campbell 2007/8: 129; Croucher 2010: 9). The parallel treatment of bodies and artefacts is also illustrated by the decapitated figurine pendant found in association with the deposits and the numbers of skulls that were recovered from within, and deposited around, the Death Pit.

Pollard (2001: 316; 2008: 49) has recently emphasised the aesthetic and performative attributes of depositional events, and considers how such practices work to redefine the ontological status of persons and objects. According to Pollard, such displays are often played out in symbolically charged and emotive social contexts such as communal feasts or funerary rites. S. Campbell (2007/8) has pointed out that the events surrounding the Death Pit's formation would have fashioned a highly dramatic and emotive environment; where a significant number of people would have experienced the sights, sounds, tastes and smells associated with communal feasting and the processing and display of human remains. The processing and mixing of human, animal and object forms may therefore have provided a transformative context whereby 'the status and roles of its human and material participants could be highlighted and brought to the fore, where contemplation of their character was very much in evidence' (Pollard 2008: 49). By engaging with the transformative properties of human and object forms through processes of destruction and discard, such practices allow for their recombination into hybrid forms and can engender previously unimagined relationships between them (Gosden 2004: 39; Pollard 2004: 59-60). Indeed, both S. Campbell (2007/8) and

Croucher (2008: 40; 2010: 10) have suggested that the Death Pit may be usefully understood as a transformative context through which the nature of personhood and identity was reworked - 'a process in which the specific dead became the more generic ancestors' (S. Campbell 2007/8: 130).

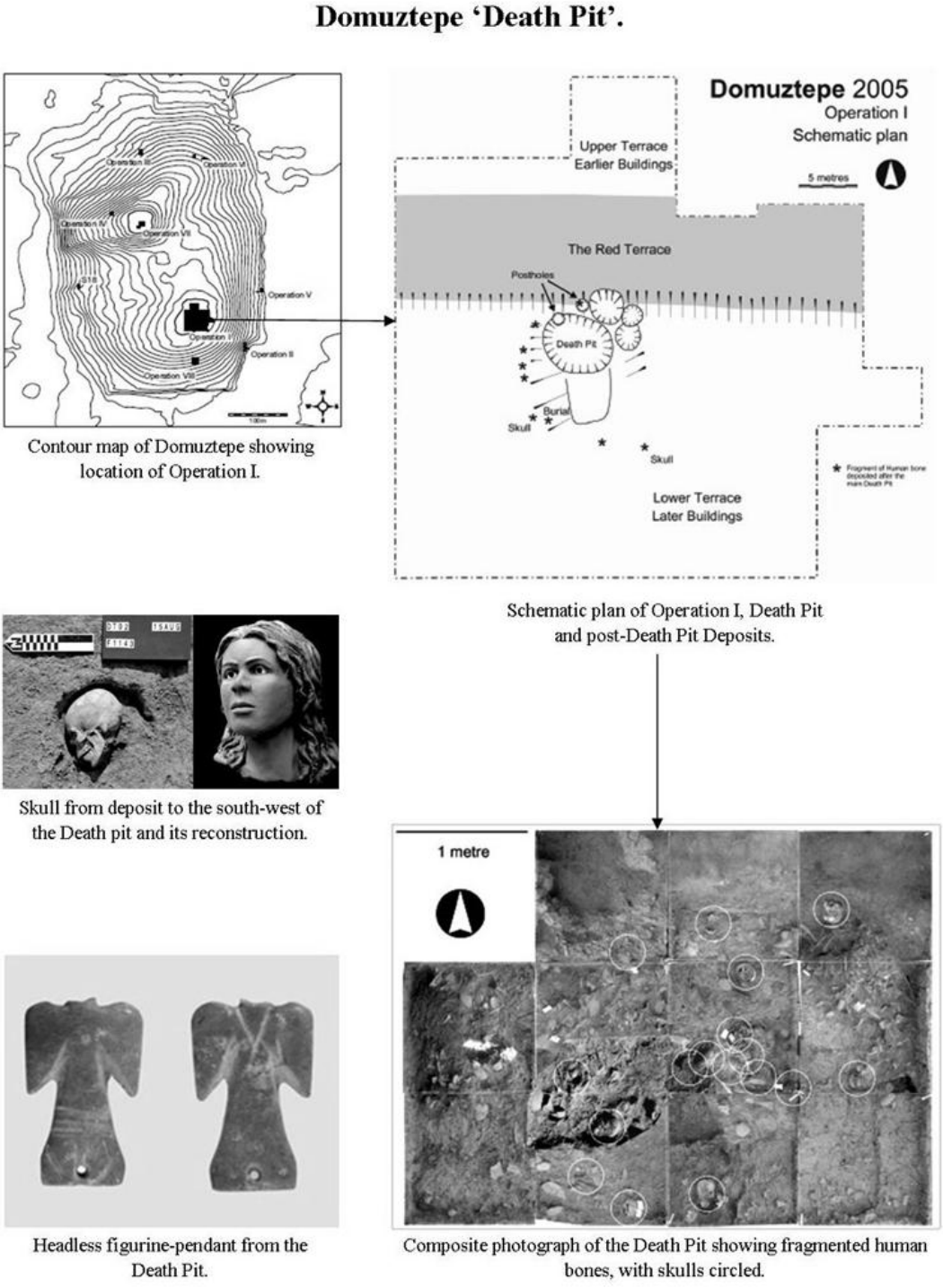


Figure 4.22 The 'Death Pit' at Domuztepe (reproduced from S. Campbell 2007/8. Figs. 2, 3, 4 and 5; photograph of figurine-pendant courtesy of Stuart Campbell).

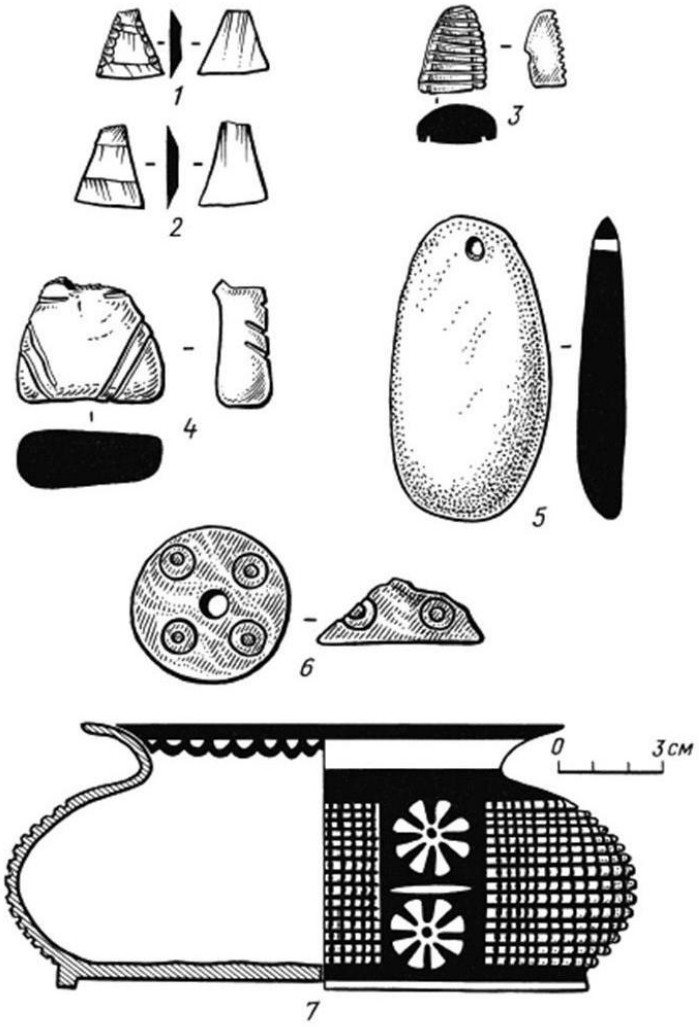
4.2.3.2 Death and discard at Yarim Tepe II

The practice of fragmenting and discarding human bodies, animal remains and object forms is replicated at a number of other Halaf contexts. Excavations at the Halaf period occupation at Yarim Tepe II, located in northern Iraq, have exposed a series funerary contexts that further illustrate the interplay between the treatment of objects and human remains during the Late Neolithic. Nine levels of Halaf period settlement are recorded at Yarim Tepe II, and the contexts to be discussed below derive from the earliest phases of occupation at the site (Levels 7-9, c. 5,500 cal. BC). Taken as a whole, the burial record from Yarim Tepe II is remarkably diverse. However, this discussion will focus on a series of deposits that contained burnt human remains, deliberately broken vessels, figurines, bodily ornaments and animal bones (Akkermans 1989: 85, 1993: 316; S. Campbell 1995: 33, 2000: 23; 2008: 62-3; Oates 1978: 119).

A series of ritual caches were recovered from the earlier levels of occupation that contained deposits of deliberately broken vessels, pendants and animal bones associated with ash and charcoal. One such deposit was recovered from a pit cut into the foundations of Tholos 67 from Level 9. The pit itself was filled with animal bones; obsidian microblades; a copper seal pendant; a fragment of a clay figurine; an oval stone pendant; two stone spindle whorls; five clay spindle whorls and fragments of a fine painted ceramic vessel. It is also noted by the excavators that the objects were covered with a layer of ash and charcoal suggestive of burning (Merpert, Munchaev and Bader 1979: 39, 1981: 26, Merpert and Munchaev 1993c: 142,b145; see fig. 4.23 below). A similar cache recovered from Square 28c in Level 8 contained several intentionally broken ceramic vessels and was in-filled with a mixture of earth, ash and charcoal (Merpert *et al.* 1981: 26).

A further cache was recovered from the southern corner of Square 28a which featured burnt fragments of a painted ceramic bowl, a large painted zoomorphic vessel in the form of a pig, a crude ceramic cooking vessel and a whole alabaster bowl. Again, the pit

fill consisted of earth, ash and charcoal (Merpert *et al.* 1981: 26 Merpert and Munchaev 1993c: 145; see fig. 4.24 below). A deposit from Square 19a consisted of a pit containing the fragmented remains of an anthropomorphic vessel in the form of a female figure. The figurine was deliberately smashed and deposited alongside fragmented clay bowls, an alabaster cup and a decorated stone stamp seal, all of which were then covered with a mixture of earth, ash, and charcoal indicating that the deposit was set on fire (Hijara 1997: 76; Merpet *et al.* 1981: 26; Merpert and Munchaev 1993c: 144-5; see fig. 4.24 below).



1-2. Obsidian tools; 3. Copper stamp-seal; 4. Fragment of a clay figurine; 5. Stone pendant; 6. Stone spindle-whorl; 7. Painted ceramic vessel. Deposited in a pit mixed with ash and charcoal below the foundations of Tholos 67. Level 9.

Figure 4.23 Selected objects from ritual deposit placed below Tholos 67 at Yarim Tepe II (adapted from Merpet and Munchaev 1987: 24. Fig.11.)

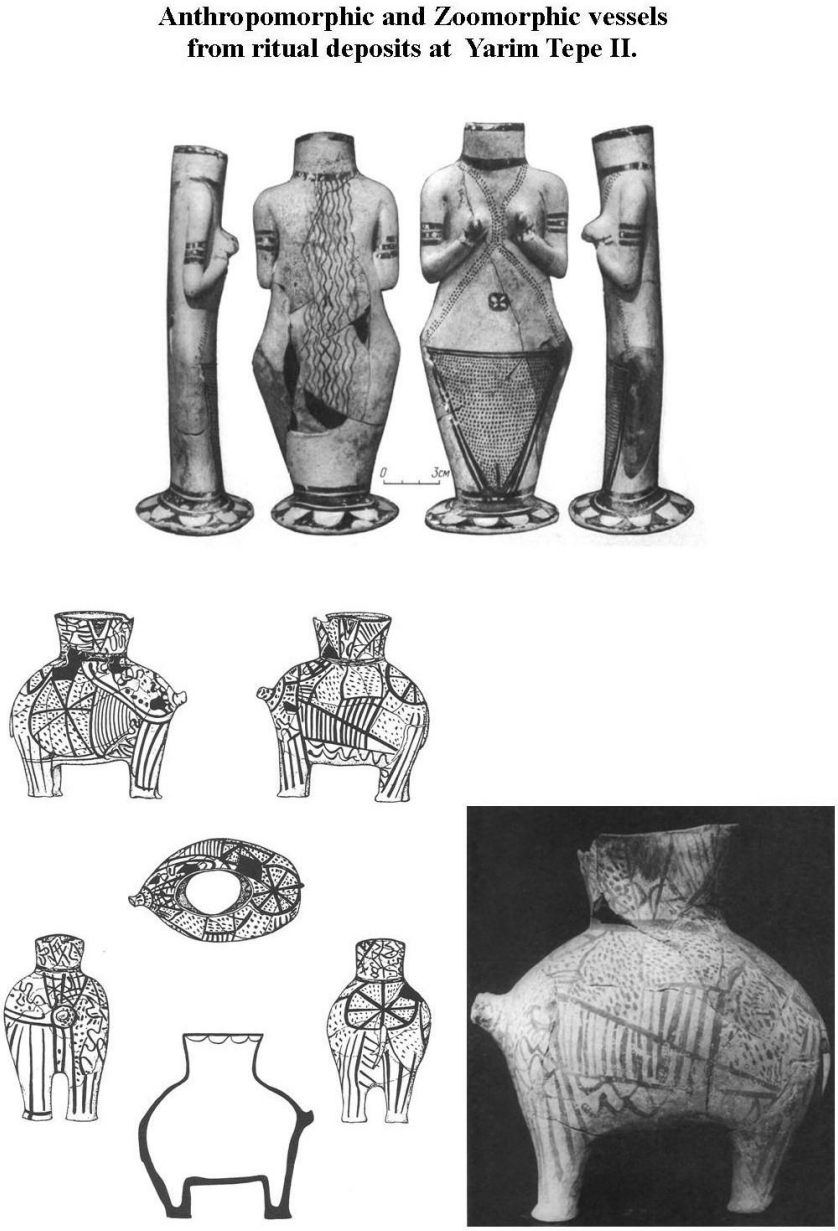


Figure 4.24 Deliberately broken anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels recovered from ritual deposits at Yarim Tepe II (adapted from Merpert, Munchaev and Bader 1981: 41; Merpert and Munchaev 1993b: 147)

While these depositional features appear to represent instances of object sacrifice, they are remarkably similar to a series of funerary contexts found in the same area of the settlement that contained fragmented and heavily burnt human remains alongside deliberately broken vessels (Akkermans 1989: 85, 1993: 316; Hijara 1997: 78; Merpet *et al.* 1978: 40-41; Merpert and Munchaev 1993a: 212-7; Oates 1978: 119; see Figs.

4.25 and 4. 26 below). In one case from Level 7 (Burial 40) the burnt remains of an adolescent associated with what the excavators have interpreted as a cremation oven. In the western half of the oven, burnt human remains were found within a decorated vessel containing twenty obsidian beads alongside a fragmented coarse bowl; two more ceramic vessels; a stone stamp seal pendant; a plate made of horn and a fragment of a bone pendant. In the eastern half of the oven, two miniature jars; a stone vessel; half a clay spindle whorl; and a vast quantity of beads made from shell, gypsum, obsidian, rock crystal and clay were recovered. In addition to these objects, three stone and two clay vessels were smashed and scattered over the oven area (Akkermans 1989: 78; 1993: 310; Hole 1989: 159; Merpert *et al.* 1976: 52).

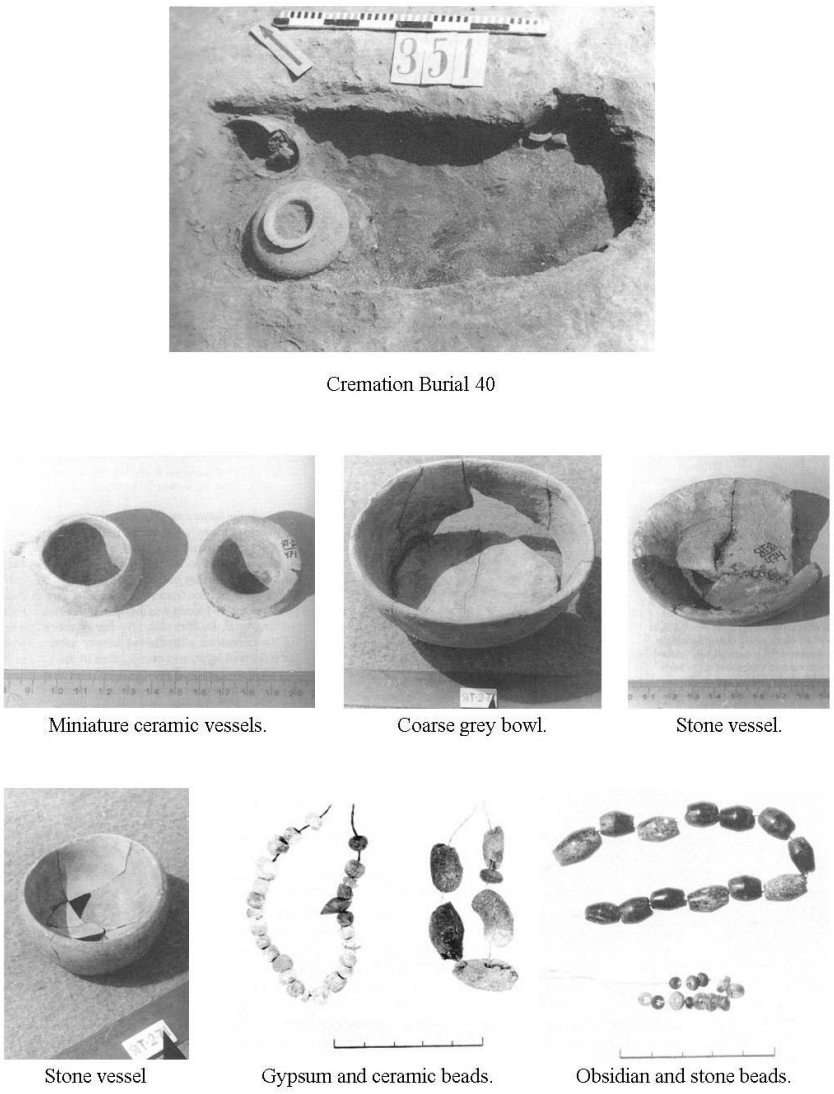
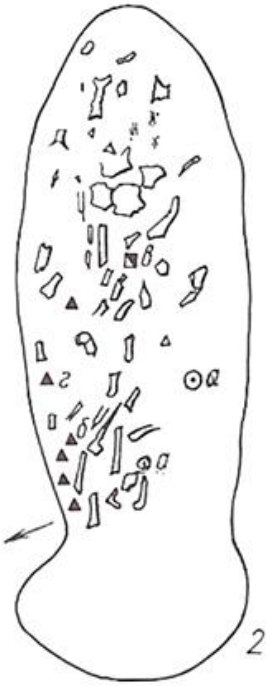


Figure 4.25 Cremation burial 40 at Yarim Tepe II (adapted from Merpert and Munchaev 1993a. Fig. 10.6:1-5 and 10.7:1-4)

Cremation Burial 50. Levels 8-9. Adult. Parts of two decorated vessels were broken and thrown into the burial pit, alongside the burnt bones and charcoal.



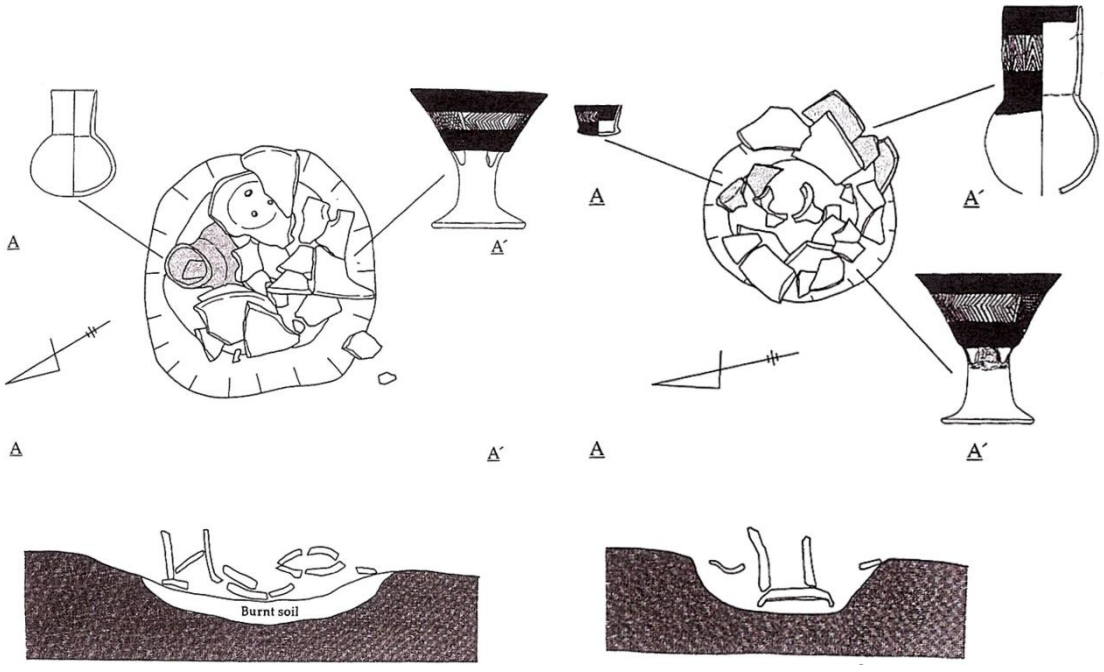
Cremation Burial 54. Levels 8-9. Adult. Fragments of one decorated and three undecorated ceramic vessels in the northern edge of the pit. One bone awl, two spindle whorls and a red stone fragment were associated with the skeletal remains.

Cremation Burial 51. Levels 8-9. Adult. Two deliberately broken decorated clay vessels with traces of burning in the western half of the burial area.

Cremation Burial 53. Levels 8-9. Burnt remains of an infant skeleton.

Figure 4.26 Cremations 50, 54, 51 and 53 from Yarim Tepe II (adapted from Merpert and Munchaev 1993c: 212).

A comparable series of contexts dating to the Early Halaf period (c. 5800 cal. BC) have been found at the site of Tell el-Kerkh in Western Syria. Three unusual features (Structures 21, 22 and 38) in the form of small shallow pits have been recovered from the site, which were filled with broken pottery, carbonized ash and burnt clay. In one instance, a pit contained burnt infant bones. The ceramics recovered were all restorable pieces from high quality, elaborate vessels, which appear to have been intentionally broken and carefully placed in the pits. Notably, these deposits were found in close proximity to a contemporary infant burial (Structure 23; Tsuneki *et al.* 1997: 9-10; see fig. 4.27 below). Evidence for the ritualised deposition of objects has also been recorded at Tell Tawila in Northeast Syria. An ashy pit from the Halaf level B2 was found to contain the fragmented and burnt remains of a stone mace head and a set of obsidian tools. This assemblage of objects, which have been interpreted as a complete hunters kit, appears to have been deliberately smashed and burnt as part of a ritual deposit (Becker *et al.* 2007: 231; see fig. 4.28 below).



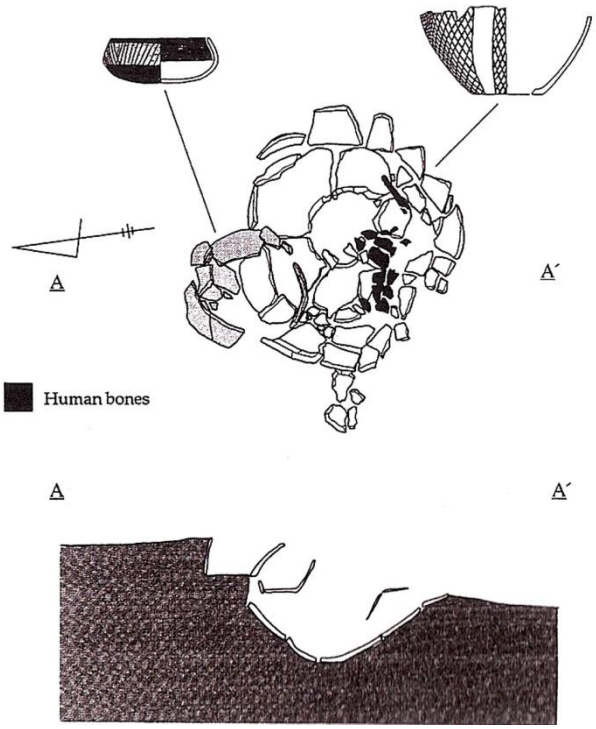


Figure 4.27 Structures 38 (top left) 21 (top right) and 22 (bottom) from Tell el-Kerkh (reproduced from Tsuneki *et al.* 1997. Fig. 10).

At the Amuq C (Middle Halaf Period) levels at Tell Kurdu in the Amuq plain, a small pit dug into the corner of a room was found to contain the heavily burnt fragments of a human cranium and other bones alongside a smashed ceramic jar. The charred remains of a female were also found inside a jar and placed, alongside two other vessels, inside the wall of a room (Yener *et al*. 2000a: 209; Özbal 2004: 46-7). The burning of human remains is also apparent from the Halaf levels at Chagar Bazar in north-western Syria, where burnt skeletal remains were found within a fine decorated vessel (Mallowan 1936: 44). An extensive deposit of burnt skeletal remains were recovered alongside two vases and a few sherds in the Halaf related levels at Yümüktepe (Mersin) in Cilicia (Garstang 1953: 111). The breaking of objects alongside the dead is also evident at the Halaf occupation of Tepe Gawra in northern Iraq, where the dismembered bodies of over twenty individuals were discarded in a disused well alongside a number of smashed jars and other objects (Tobler 1950: 49).

Figure 4.28 Mace head and lithic assemblage from the Area B ritual deposit at Tell Tawila (reproduced from Becker *et al.* Abb. 27)

The contexts discussed above clearly demonstrate that both human remains and artefacts underwent ritualised processes of fragmenting, smashing and burning prior to their removal from circulation. Furthermore, it is also apparent that such practices were carefully performed at particular locations and at specific points in time, most notably in relation to the foundation and abandonment of buildings and areas of settlement (see extended discussion of this topic in S. Campbell 2007/8). Drawing on the evidence discussed above, I suggest that in certain - and certainly not all - Late Neolithic burial contexts, the destruction of objects alongside the dead may be related to the ritualised display and discard of wealth at funerary rites. Support for this argument derives from a recent study by Nieuwenhuyse (2007), who suggests that the progressive stylistic and technological innovation seen in the development and spread of Fine Wares that began around 6200 BC can be explained by changing patterns of consumption and emulation (see discussion in section 4.1.1; Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 221-3). Nieuwenhuyse suggests that one of the main functions of these vessels was to distinguish those who used them, and ceramic innovation during the Late Neolithic was therefore driven by the need to maintain a degree of exclusivity for these vessels. In particular, it is argued that the conspicuous use of Fine Ware vessels in the serving and consumption of food and drink

points to the importance of feasts as a setting for much ceramic innovation throughout the later Neolithic (Nieuwenhuyse 2007: 223-5; 2008: 698-699).

As a probable environment for ceramic emulation, it is likely that communal feasting events facilitated access to non-local goods, and provided a social context where local surpluses could be converted into symbolic capital through displays of conspicuous consumption (Nieuwenhuyse 2007:225; 2008: 699-8). As I have outlined in section 4.2.2, the development of sealing mechanisms afforded Late Neolithic communities greater control over the timing of exchange and consumption, allowing for the strategic mobilization of resources in periodic social occasions such as feasts and funerary rites (Wengrow 2008: 15). This may be supported by the evidence from Domuztepe, where large-scale conspicuous feasting activities were clearly implicated in funerary rites (see section 4.2.3.1 above). Nieuwenhuyse (2007: 221) has further suggested that the deliberate destruction of Fine Ware ceramics at funerary and feasting contexts can be understood as a strategy to counter the 'inflation' or 'devaluation' of Fine Ware vessels. Nevertheless, it is likely that the deliberate breaking and deposition of object forms should also be considered in terms of wider symbolic equivalences between container imagery and human bodies, which was highlighted in section 4.1.1.

4.3 Concluding remarks

Notwithstanding the complex and remarkably diverse character of the Late Neolithic burial record, I endeavoured to illustrate how people and objects were mutually constituted in a number of ways through funerary rites. It was suggested that both artefacts and human remains can retain aspects of the life-history, identity, or substance of persons, ancestral powers and other agencies as they circulated within communities and withheld across generations (cf. Chapman 2000; Gell 1998: 222-3; Gosden and Marshall 1999: 173; Knappett 2002: 100-1; Pollard 2008: 46). It was argued in section 4.1 that complex and meaningful relationships existed between persons and things during the Late Neolithic, which is indicated archaeologically by the personification of material culture (figurines, vessels, sealing practices), and the materialisation of human remains (fragmentation, circulation, storage, display). The curation, circulation, and deposition of both human remains and objects clearly demonstrate how the social

characteristics of artefacts and people can blur and shift, transcending processes of objectification and personification (Thomas 1999a: 137-8, 162; 2002: 41; Fowler 2001: 50).

In societies where a measure of equivalence exist between persons and things, and the circulation of objects (as parts of persons) mediate social relationships, acquisitive behaviour concerned with individual appropriation and competition is often perceived to cause considerable harm to group identity and collective social order. Acquisitive behaviour must therefore operate within a socially permitted moral context whereby short-term cycles of individual appropriation and gain can be 'converted' into restorative and socially beneficial long-term transactional orders (Parry and Bloch 1989: 26-7; Rowlands 1998: 229-230). I would suggest that the moral constraints restricting the accumulation and display of 'wealth' in Late Neolithic communities may have been temporarily overcome or mediated by two means of public display: sealing devices and funerary rituals. It is also clear that in the absence of human remains, this could also be extended to the careful destruction and discard of object forms.

During the earlier stages of the Late Neolithic (c. 6400-6200 cal. BC), funerary rites appear to have provided the moral context for ostentatious displays of wealth consumption at sites located in central Iraq (Tell es-Sawwan). The marked decline in funerary consumption by the Transitional period (c. 6200-6000 cal. BC) coincides with the development of sealing practices in Northern Mesopotamia. The relative absence of sealing mechanisms at sites located in central and southern Iraq may in fact suggest that divergent strategies of wealth removal developed in central Mesopotamia (funerary consumption, object caching, intramural burials in extended family dwellings, domestic storage) compared to regions of northern Mesopotamia (communal storage facilities, sealing mechanisms). This regional divergence (or varying emphasis) in consumption strategies can then be linked to regional differences in social organization discussed in section 3.1. The introduction of sealing mechanisms in regions of northern Mesopotamia now enabled the temporary separation of objects from persons through the marking of collectively stored goods with a personal image. By facilitating this separation, sealing practices allowed for greater control over the accumulation, exchange and consumption of goods in early village communities. It is also evident that

storage structures underwent ritualized processes of destruction prior to abandonment, which evidently involved human remains, the amassing of wealth, and the use of fire.

While the consumption of material wealth through burials at sites located in northern Mesopotamia was to some extent restricted from this point forward, it is remarkable that in some instances both human remains and objects underwent comparable processes of destruction and discard (fragmenting, smashing, and burning) prior to their withdrawal from circulation. It is likely that such public performances of discard and riddance were also an effective means of converting material wealth into a form of 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1977: 178) or intellectual property (Harrison 1992; 1995). Rendered absent, sacrificial objects no longer function in a manner similar to the inalienable possessions that circulate as gifts or as parts of persons (i.e. mediated exchange). Unlike heirlooms or other biographical objects that evoke past experiences and embody memories of past events (Kopytoff 1986; Lillios 1999: 244; Weiner 1985; 1992; 1994), sacrificial objects do not stand for something to be remembered, but are embodied memories, and are thus remembered for themselves (Rowlands 1993: 144, 147).

> In contexts where objects are destroyed or taken out of circulation through burial or some other form of intentional symbolism, such objects become a memory in their absence, and therefore the essence of what has to be remembered.
>
> (Rowlands 1993: 146).

As such, sacrificial economies facilitate the production and circulation of memories, mental images and intellectual assets that provide the basis for an information-based economy, albeit one that is often managed as a tangible resource (Harrison 1992: 233-4; 1995: 11; Küchler 1988: 626; 1997: 43; 2001: 68; see also Roth 2002: 124).

As Parry and Bloch make clear (1989: 25), such instances of individual appropriation should not be understood as an 'ill-gotten gain which can be 'laundered' by being converted into socially approved channels of expenditure and consumption'. Rather, they make the important point that some ideological space is necessary to permit and even motivate cumulative practices, since the maintenance of long-term social and cosmic order is often both practically and cosmologically dependent on the acquisition of goods and resources (see section 1.3.2; Parry and Bloch 1989: 26). In Late Neolithic village societies, goods were withdrawal from circulation and marked with a personal

image to conceal their ambiguous moral status as objects accumulated for purposes of calculated exchange. Locally pooled resources could then be strategically mobilised to gain access to non-local goods or to unlock wider spheres of exchange. Displays of discard and riddance surrounding funerary rites, on the other hand, were a means of converting material wealth into 'intellectual property' – mentally owned assets that serve to reinforce social roles and define positions of authority. By provisioning the dead with votive offerings, such displays were deemed morally acceptable so long as they remained subordinate to long-term social transactions with the collective ancestors. In both instances, sealing practices and funerary rites worked to alter the status of persons and things to facilitate the exchange and consumption of goods in early village communities.

5 Greater Mesopotamia c. 5400 - 4400 BC

5.1 The 'Ubaid' period in Greater Mesopotamia: problems of definition

Occupying the transition between the development of sedentary agricultural villages and the rise of complex urban societies, the fifth millennium BC - commonly referred to as the Ubaid period - represents an important, yet poorly understood, phase of social change in Greater Mesopotamia. Simultaneously conceived as a pottery style, an archaeological period and a culture-type, the applicability of the term 'Ubaid' has been the subject of much recent debate (Carter and Phillip 2010: 2-3). Perhaps the least understood aspect of this decisive phase, and of the terminology used to describe it, is the extent to which the Ubaid can be conceived as a homogenous cultural entity. This issue has even led researchers to suggestion that the term Ubaid should be stripped of its culture-historical associations, and may be better understood as describing the distinctive black-on-buff ware ceramic horizon that becomes widespread during this period (see Carter and Philip 2010: 3-4).

The Ubaid is traditionally thought to have its origins in the alluvial lowlands of southern Mesopotamia. The earliest phases of the Ubaid (Ubaid 0) were identified at the site of Tell el-Oueili in southern Iraq, which dates to around c. 5800 BC (Huot 1978; 1983; 1989; 1991; 1992; 1994). During the early to mid-fifth millennium BC (Ubaid 3-4), certain aspects of material culture deemed characteristic of early southern Ubaid settlements begin to appear in regions far from the supposed Ubaid 'heartland' of the southern alluvium. The 'spread' of Ubaid related material culture assemblages permeated an area unprecedented in its extent, which encompassed regions of southeast and south-central Turkey, the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh, southwest Iran, and the western shores of the Persian Gulf (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 154; Stein 2010: 24; Stein and Özbal 2007: 331). The cultural assemblages commonly attributed to the Ubaid cultural 'horizon' include particular ceramic styles; tripartite architectural forms; shared forms

of bodily display (head shaping and the use of labrets); the manufacture and use of clay sickles and mullers; the appearance of 'ophidian' figurines; and the use of communal burial grounds (Carter and Philip 2010: 4-5; Stein 2010: 23, 33).

The stylistic similarities between Ubaid ceramics, architectural forms and other aspects of material culture at sites across the Greater Mesopotamian region has stimulated a common narrative that accounts for the spread Ubaid cultural assemblages from the south to the north, replacing local cultural traditions in the process (see critical discussions in Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 154; Campbell and Fletcher 2010; Carter and Philip 2010: 4; Karsgaard 2010: 52-3; Stein and Özbal 2007: 332). Originally, this process was interpreted as a hostile encounter between indigenous Halaf communities and invading Ubaid groups of a south Mesopotamian origin (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 13-14; see critical discussion in Campbell and Fletcher 2010: 70; Irving 2001: 48-50; Karsgaard 2010: 52). While such 'invasion' theories are now largely discarded, population movement is still regarded by a number of scholars as having played an important role in the spread of Ubaid material culture (Esin 1989; Frangipane 2009: 136; Hole 1997: 43; McGuire Gibson 2010: 88; Oates 1993: 409; Oates and Oates 2004: 184). The diffusion of Ubaid material culture into northern Mesopotamia has also been attributed to continuing interactions between settled communities and mobile or semi-sedentary elements of the population (Amiet 1981: 73; Breniquet 1996: 30; Cauvin 1985: 201–05; see critical discussion in Irving 2001: 61-63).

Alternative views of this transitional period conceive the 'spread' of Ubaid material culture in northern Mesopotamia as part of a long, gradual process of indigenous development. Although these accounts continue to accord some significance to the role of population movement as a mechanism for social change, greater emphasis is placed on acculturation as a driving factor behind the spread of Ubaid material culture (Breniquet 1987; 1989; 1996; Forest 1996: 55; Stein and Özbal 2007: 342; see critical discussions in Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 157; Campbell and Fletcher 2010: 71; Irving 2001: 54, 74-79; Karsgaard 2010: 52). Nevertheless, a recurrent theme inherent in these interpretations is that they tend to conceptualise the Halaf-Ubaid transition as involving a single direction of cultural influence from south to north, and less explicitly, as being a transition between two larger and homogenous cultural entities that are likely to have no basis in past reality (Campbell and Fletcher 2010; Karsgaard 2010: 52-3).

On closer inspection, it is possible to distinguish a number of subtle, yet clearly distinct, local manifestations of the Ubaid cultural horizon, suggesting that the direction of influence may be far more complex than was once thought. Although it is clear that certain cultural assemblages were indeed transmitted on an unprecedented inter-regional scale, these assemblages merged and transformed in accordance with regional trajectories of change (Campbell and Fletcher 2010: 76; Stein 2010: 24-5). As Carter and Philip suggest, the Ubaid horizon is likely to have had 'hybrid regional origins', and should perhaps be conceived as arising from 'a vast inter-regional melting pot of influences rather than a single core' (Carter and Philip 2010: 6). Moreover, Campbell and Fletcher (2010) point out that the 'Halaf-Ubaid-Transitional' spanned a duration comparable in length to the two periods in which it supposedly bridged. It may therefore be misleading to typify the 'Halaf-Ubaid-Transitional' simply in terms of an intermediary phase of socio-cultural change (see Fig 5.1 below).

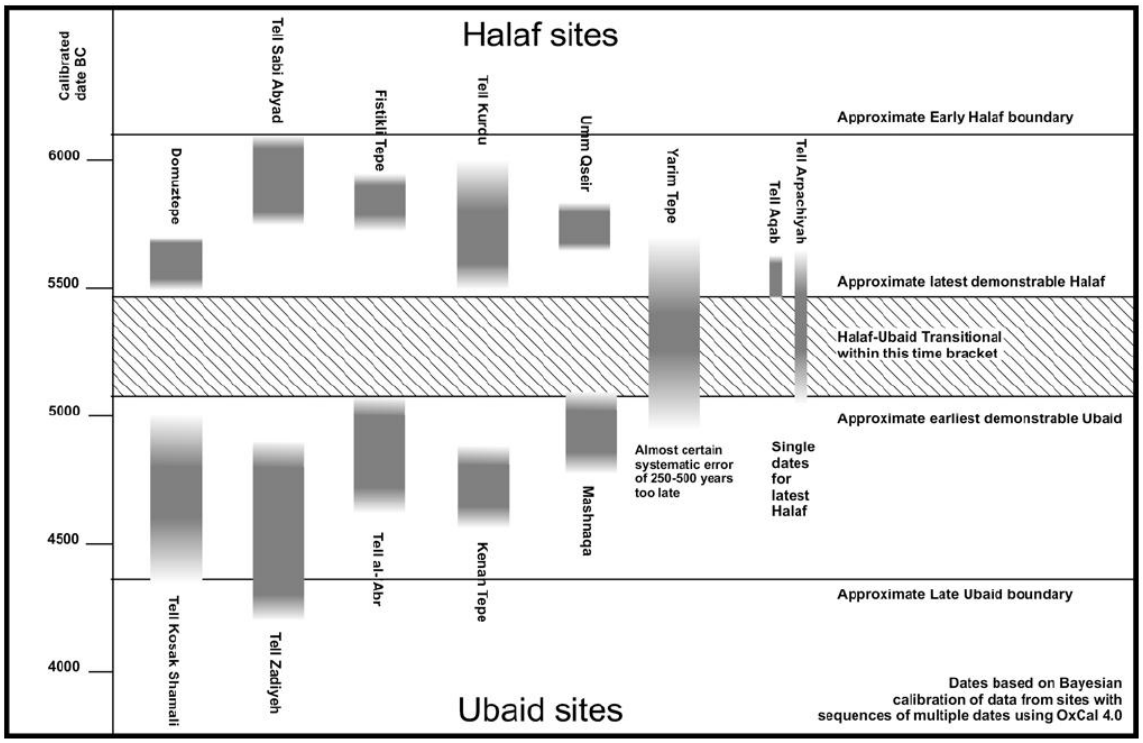


Figure 5.1 Chronological model showing the duration of the Halaf-Ubaid-Transition (reproduced from Campbell and Fletcher 2010:77. Fig. 5. 5.)

5.2 The Ubaid archaeological record

5.2.1 Settlement and subsistence

Settlement patterns on the alluvial plains of southern Mesopotamia and Khuzistan during the Ubaid (sub-periods were not distinguished in original surveys) show that while these regions had two-tiered settlement hierarchies, the overall density of settlement was generally low. Settlements were usually small, with few sites exceeding 10 hectares, and were widely dispersed (one site for every 59 to 157 sq km in southern Iraq, and one site for every 16 to 19 sq km in the Deh Luran Plain ; Adams 1981: 55-58; Hole 1994: 131; Stein 2010: 25; Wilkinson 2000: 244). In the Hamrin region, east of modern Baghdad, settlement density peaked in the early fifth millennium BC, and declined significantly by the Late Ubaid. A similar pattern was observed in the Susiana plain, where a large number of small settlements existed until the Terminal Ubaid, when population density declined dramatically, reaching only twenty percent of that recorded for earlier periods (Hole 1994: 132).

Ubaid communities in southern Mesopotamia, being far south of the 200mm isohyet required for dry-farming, cultivated salt tolerant crops such as barley with the aid of irrigation agriculture and the use of draught animals (Charvát 2002: 59; Stein 1994: 36). Paleobotanical data from the earlier occupation levels at Tell el Oueili (Ubaid 0-3) indicates that barley, einkorn, wheat, flax as well as the date palm were cultivated at the site (the latter representing the first evidence for horticulture during this period; Huot 1989: 26; Huot 1992: 193). Faunal remains from Oueili show a predominance of cattle and pigs (animals that prefer moist conditions) over ovi-caprids, a pattern consistent with data from both Eridu and Ras al ‘Amiya, demonstrating the importance of cattle breeding in irrigated zones (Charvát 2002: 53; Flannery and Wright 1966; Flannery and Cornwall 1969; Huot 1989: 27; Huot 1992: 193; Oates 1973: 174; Stein 2010: 28). In the Deh Luran plain, sheep, goat and gazelle made up ninety percent of the faunal assemblage, reflecting the proximity of sites in this region to suitable mountain pastures, while in the Hamrin gazelle and wild equids made up almost half of the faunal assemblage, indicating the importance of game as a major source of subsistence in that region. Overall the faunal data suggests that southern Mesopotamian communities

pursued regionally diverse subsistence strategies during this period, which relied primarily upon the management of local resources (Pollock 1999: 82).

In the dry-farming regions of northern Mesopotamia, the material culture assemblages deemed typical of south Mesopotamian settlements begin to appear in a late form during the latter half of the fifth millennium BC (Ubaid 3-4). As discussed above, the widespread distribution of Ubaid material culture during this period remains poorly understood. Settlement density was significantly higher in northern Mesopotamia compared to that recorded for southern Mesopotamia (one site for every 7–10 sq km in northern Iraq compared to one site for every 59 to 157 sq km in southern Iraq and one site for every 16 to 19 sq km in the Deh Luran Plain; Wilkinson 2000: 244). While the majority of settlements during this period were small (1-3 ha), the occasional clustering of smaller sites around larger settlements may suggest that a two or even three-tier settlement hierarchy existed for some areas (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 160; Trentin 2010; Wilkinson 2003b: 49; Wilkinson and Tucker 1995: 40). In comparison to earlier Late Neolithic settlements, which were often short-lived, settlements in the fifth millennium BC were relatively continuous and occupied for several centuries (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 159-160; Trentin 2010: 336). Permanence of settlement during the fifth millennium BC may point to a decline in mobility compared to earlier periods, with greater emphasis being placed on circumscribed territories for agriculture, pastoralism and hunting (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 159-160).

In the dry-farming zones of Syria, while the standard suite of domestic crops (wheat, barley, flax, legumes) were exploited, there is little data concerning the relative proportions of each species (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 173). At Kenan Tepe in Southeast Turkey, the main crops exploited during the Ubaid period included einkorn, emmer, durum wheat, barley, and legumes (Parker *et al.* 2009: 121). Faunal remains from sites in north Syria and Southeast Turkey (Kosak Shomali and Kenan Tepe) reveal a predominance of sheep and goats compared to cattle and pigs, and it is also evident that domestic resources were supplemented with game (Gourichon and Helmer 2003: 276; Stein 2010: 28; Parker *et al.* 2008: 117).

5.2.2 Settlement organisation and architecture

Continuing the earlier sixth-millennium architectural traditions of central and southern Iraq (Tell-es-Sawwan, Choga Mami, Tell el-Oueili), southern settlements during the later Ubaid (Ubaid 3-4) were made up of structurally uniform and spatially distinct rectangular units that probably accommodated extended families (Bernbeck 1995a: 20; 1995b: 45). Comprising a large centrally located hall surrounded by a suite of smaller rectilinear rooms, these 'tripartite' structures were made of mud-brick and often featured buttresses, niched walls and slit windows (Kubba 1998: 3). It is generally agreed that the central rooms of these structures were roofed (as opposed to functioning as courtyards), and it is assumed that roofs were flat and accessible via a staircase or ladder (Roaf 1989: 92). The increasing compartmentalization of space in the architectural units of this period reflects the unprecedented range of activities now carried out in the domestic realm (see Fig 5.2), and control over the use of space and movement in such structures emphasise an increasing concern with privacy and segregation (Wengrow 1998: 791).

The large central halls of these buildings often contained a hearth, implying their role as spaces where family members could congregate and participate in the preparation and consumption of foodstuffs (Helwing 2003: 73; Pollock 2010: 98). *In situ* materials recovered from smaller rooms flanking the central hall imply their varied use for the storage of goods (large numbers of ceramic vessels in specific rooms and charred cereal remains; Roaf 1989; Pollock 2010: 89-102), weaving (spindle whorls, bone awls; Gurdil 2005: 327-329, 343-346; 2010: 370; Jasim 1985: 58-61), food production (pestles, mortars, grinders; Roaf 1989), administration (proto-tablets, tokens, seals, sealings; Esin 1985; Gurdil 2005: 224; 2010; Jasim 1985: 69-73; Jasim and Oates 1986); and also for burying the dead. It is this striking incorporation of the dead into an increasingly complex and segregated domestic world that I propose to investigate in Chapter 6.

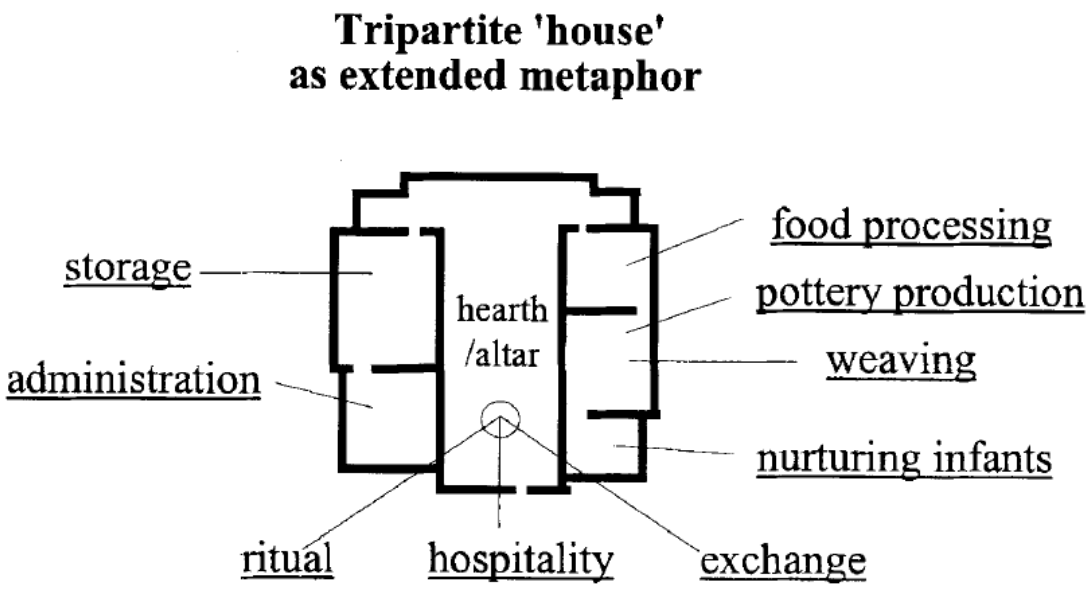


Figure 5.2 Hypothetical model depicting the practical and symbolic use of domestic space (reproduced from Wengrow 1998. Fig.3)

The spatial organisation of Ubaid settlements is primarily known through horizontal exposures excavated at Tell Abada in the Hamrin, which revealed a settlement composed of spatially distinct architectural units that varied both in terms of their size and function, pointing to differential economic and social statuses within the community (Bernbeck 1995a: 20; Sievertson 2010: 216; Stein 2010: 25; see Fig 5.3 below). The storage of goods in southern Ubaid settlements appear to have been predominantly restricted to domestic structures, although possible communal storehouses were identified Tell Abada and Tell el-Oueili (it has been suggested, however, that the building at Oueili was in fact attached to a residential unit; Frangipane 2007a: 167; Huot 1989: 31–3, 1992: 192). Notably, in comparison to fifth millennium sites in northern Mesopotamia and Khuzistan, where evidence for sealing mechanisms are relatively widespread, there is little evidence for sealing practices from settlements located in the Southern Alluvium or the Hamrin (Frangipane 2007a: 167; Karsgaard 2010: 58; Oates 1993: 408; Stein 2010: 28; Stein and Özbal 2007: 334)

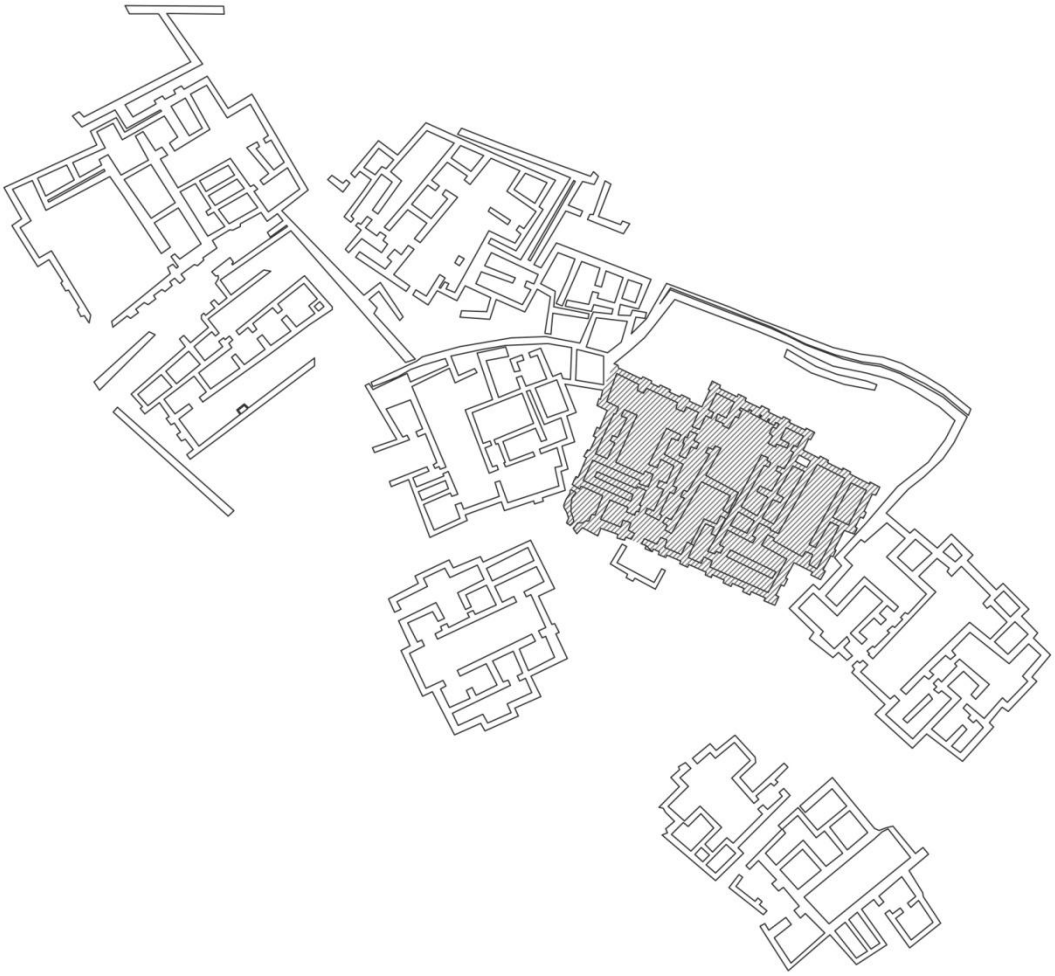


Figure 5.3 Pre-eminent tripartite dwelling at Tell Abada (highlighted; adapted from Frangipane 2007a. Fig. 6).

Public structures are attested in southern Mesopotamia in the form of 'shrines' or 'temples'; the development of which is clearly illustrated at the site of Eridu, which revealed a building sequence spanning the development of temple architecture from small shrines enclosing altars, to large tripartite structures situated on monumental platforms. These later structures typically featured niched facades, buttresses, altars and offering tables (Kubba 1998: 16-20; Safar 1981: 86-114; Sievertson 2010: 214). The appearance of standardised ritual architecture during this period is also attested at the Ubaid occupation of Uruk (Schmidt 1974), and monumental architecture is also evident at the fifth millennium levels at Susa in the form of a huge step platform some 15 hectares in extent (the 'Haute Terrasse'; Hole 1983; 2010; Pollock 1989). The development of monumental public architecture associated with religious or ritual

activities marks a significant departure from earlier Late Neolithic traditions, where there is little evidence for religious public architecture.

In northern Mesopotamia, the circular tholoi characteristic of the Halaf survive into the earlier Ubaid-related phases of settlements such as Tepe Gawra in northern Iraq, and Tell Kurdu in western Syria (Stein 2010: 34; Tobler 1950: 42-3; Yener *et al.* 2000: 201). However, the spread of large multi-roomed rectangular dwelling structures during this period suggests that communities were now organised around extended family units (Gurdil 2010: 373). Although large freestanding tripartite houses typical of southern Ubaid settlements do appear in the north, the majority of structures were non-uniform and irregular in plan. Much like earlier periods, villages in the north such as Değirmentepe in Southeast Anatolia, were often composed of contiguous, agglutinated dwellings as opposed to spatially distinct architectural units (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 160-1; Stein 2010: 35; Stein and Özbal 2006: 337; see Fig. 5.4 below).

Storage facilities can be associated with specific dwellings at a number of northern Ubaid sites such as Tell ‘Abr in the Euphrates Valley, Tell Mefesh in northeast Syria and Tell Ziyadeh in the Middle Khabur (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 166; Hammade and Yamazaki 2006: 25; Mallowan 1946: 126, 128; Yamazaki 2010: 314). It is also evident that communal storage facilities were a feature of villages, such as the large grill building (interpreted as a granary) with associated sealings and tokens found at Tell Kurdu in Northwestern Syria (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 162-3; Özbal 2010: 298; Yener 2000: 212). In contrast to the clearly demarcated ritual spaces evident in the southern alluvium (Roaf 1984), the distinction between ritual and domestic space in the north is not clear cut, as domestic structures at sites such as Tepe Gawra and Değirmentepe have produced evidence for household religious practices (an exception may be the debated existence of ‘temples’ at Tepe Gawra Level XIII – but see Rothman 2009: 19; 27-28 for an argument against their allocation as temples; Gurdil 2005: 226-228; 2010: 372; Rothman 2002b: 75-80; Stein 2010: 35; Stein and Özbal 2007: 336).

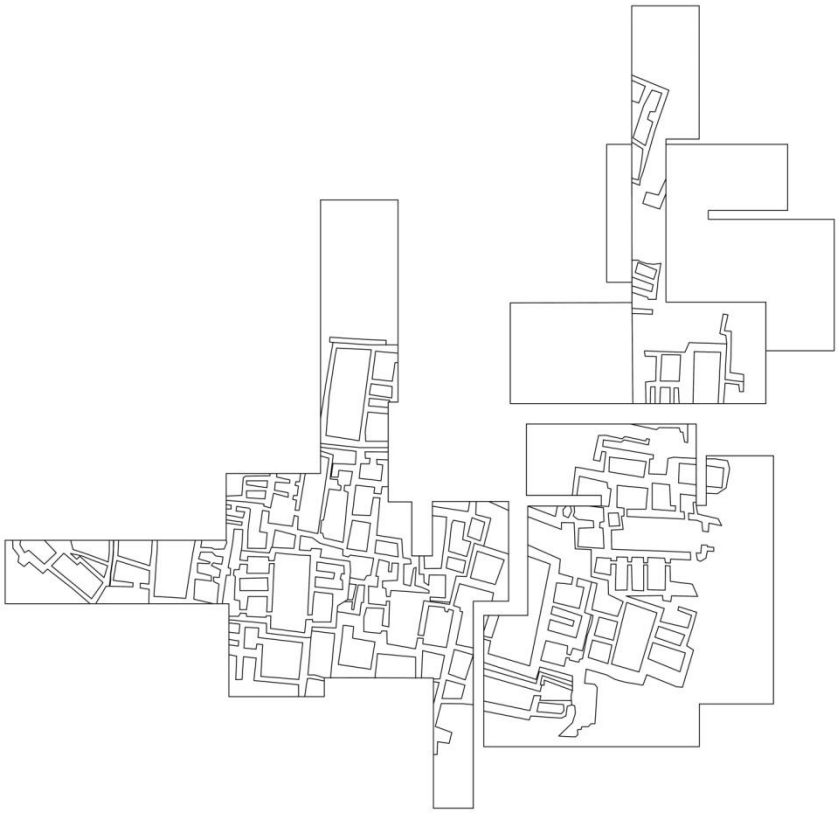


Figure 5.4 Agglutinated tripartite dwellings at Değirmentepe (adapted from Helwing 2003. Fig. 2.)

5.2.3 Aspects of material culture

Fifth-millennium ceramic forms appear to have been widely distributed, with vessels from disparate regions exhibiting identical shapes and decorative elements (Oates and Oates 2004: 181; see Fig 5.5 below). The intensification of pottery production during this period is implied by the dissemination of new production methods in the hand-turned wheel and high-temperature kilns (Kayani 1996; Nissen 1988; Wengrow 1998: 181), as well as the widespread use of chaff for tempering, which allowed for shorter firing times using less fuel, and produced vessels that required less supervision during the firing process (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 170). Ceramic production was predominantly local, as demonstrated by the presence of kilns, workshops, potting tools and production refuse found at settlements (Hansen Streily 2000). The scale of pottery manufacture during at this time is attested by the large mudbrick pottery kiln excavated at Ziyadeh (Hansen Streily 2000: 75-6), while kilns and pottery workshops have been found at Tell Kosak Shamali (Nishiaki et al 2001: 69, 92) and nearby Tell al-'Abr

(Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 164; 170-1; Hammade and Yamazaki 2006: 33-35; Yamazaki 2010: 318-9). In central Mesopotamia pottery production is attested by a pottery workshop and kilns excavated at Tell Abada, which occurred both individually and in clusters close to tripartite structures (Hansen Streily 2000: 77; Jasim 1985: 18, 53-4). Ceramic production in Southern Mesopotamia is also attested at al ‘Ubaid and Eridu from the dense concentrations of sherds and wasters observed on the surface of these mounds (Moore 2002).

Figure 5.5 Ubaid vessels from Telloh and Eridu (photographs courtesy of the Musée du Louvre and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, object registration number 49.133.3)

Figure 5.6 Ubaid figurines from Ur and clay sickles from Telloh (photographs courtesy of The British Museum, object registration number 1928,1010.816; and the Musée du Louvre).

Other objects manufactured from clay include large baked clay ‘nails’ or ‘mullers’ (used as pestles?), clay sickles, and highly distinctive clay figurines with a cone-shaped head (Benco 1992: 119-121; Daems 2010; Stein and Özbal 2007: 331; see Fig 5.6 above).

Textile production is attested by the presence of bone awls and needles, as well as spindle whorls, loom weights and possible spinning bowls (Gurdil 2005: 327-329; 2010: 370, 343-346; Jasim 1983: 181; 1985: 58-61; Strasser 1996; Sudo 2010). Stone hoes, adzes and sickle blades (along with the clay sickles) point to the importance of stone tools for cultivation during this period, and mortars and grinding slabs were used to process foodstuffs (Healy 2010: 188, 193; Jasim 1985: 75-9; Nishiaki 2004). Stone was also crafted into other objects such as vessels, seal, beads, pendants, and mace heads. The stone vessels, pendants an mace heads found in different stages of manufacture at Tell Kurdu suggest that such items were produced locally at the site, perhaps in specific workshops (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 171). An increasing emphasis on copper production during the fifth millennium is evident in the copper axe-blades, disks, pins and rings recovered from sites in northern Mesopotamia (Arpachiyah; Gawra) and the southern alluvium (Ur, Susa; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 104; de Morgan 1912: 9-13; Tobler 1950: 211-213; Woolley 1955: 20-21). Copper production during this period is also attested at the site of Değirmentepe in Anatolia, where copper metal fragments, copper ore and slag deposits were associated with crucibles and natural draft furnaces (see extended discussion in Chapter 6; Esin 1989: 137; Gurdil 2010: 365; 2005: 281-282; Yener: 2000: 33-44).

5.3 Patterns of burial during the Ubaid 'Horizon' c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

The following section will present a quantitative analysis of the burial data for the Ubaid cultural horizon (c. 5400-4400 cal. BC) in the Greater Mesopotamian region, which will be based upon available published records for skeletal information, context, burial methods, and grave goods. The analysis will primarily highlight any major trends and deviations in the circulation and display of wealth through burials over time, as well as providing the foundation for a detailed analysis of particular burial groups that will follow in Chapter 6. Methodological considerations, such as the limits of what can reasonably be attained from a long-term analysis of the burial record when considering the overall quality of the data collected from publications, is outlined in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.2. A discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories (section 1.3.2.2); grave-good inventories (section 1.3.2.3); burial methods (section 1.3.2.4) and

the spatial context of burials (section 1.3.2.5) was outlined in Section 1.3.2. The analysis will be structured to address four specific research objectives:

1. **To assess the scale of funerary consumption over the long-term.**

2. **To identify patterns in the types of objects removed from circulation through funerary rites.**

3. **To identify patterns in the spatial context of burials, such as variations in the scale of intramural (i.e. habitation zone) or extramural burials through time.**

4. **To broadly determine the principal methods of burial and the extent to which burial methods varied through time**.

As this study aims to account for long-term changes in the relationship between funerary rites and wealth removal, burial groups will be analysed in 200 year periods between c. 5400-4400 cal. BC, with the aim of providing greater temporal resolution than the conventional cultural periodisation allows. These phases are given below:

Period 6. Date cal. BC = c. 5400 - 5200 (HUT)
Period 7. Date cal. BC = c. 5200 - 5000 (Ubaid 3a)
Period 8. Date cal. BC = c. 5000 - 4800 (Ubaid 3a-3b)
Period 9. Date cal. BC = c. 4800 - 4600 (Ubaid 3b)
Period 10. Date cal. BC = c. 4600 - 4400 (Ubaid 4-Ubaid Transitional/Terminal)

5.3.1 The Ubaid burial data c. 5400-4400 cal. BC: preliminary comments

The burial data was obtained from a sample of 32 Late Ubaid Period sites (HUT/Ubaid 3 through to the Terminal Ubaid Period) located in the Grater Mesopotamian region (see Fig. 5.7 and Tables 5.2 to 5.5 below). The number of burials from each site used in the analysis for each 200 year chronological phase, and the basis for dating each site, is presented in Tables 5.5 to 5.5 below.

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Chagar Bazar	Khabur	2	2.78	Breniquet 1996: 58; Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004: 54, Table 2; McMahon *et al.* 2001: 202; Mallowan 1936: 10-11, 18, 59
Tell Abada	Central Iraq	67	93.06	Breniquet 1996: 58; Jasim 1983a: 176, 178; Jasim 1985: 37-48; Hole 1989: 164; Oates 1984: 263; 1987: 479
Tell es-Saadiyah	Central Iraq	3	4.17	Chiocchetti 2007: 132

Table 5.1 Table showing Ubaid period sites used for the analysis c. 5400-5200 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Arpachiyah	Northern Iraq	44	34.1	Akkermans 1988: 113-4, 131; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 35-42
Choga Mish	Khuzistan	5	3.9	Alizadeh 1996: 167-8; 2003: 31 (Table 3); 2008
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	1	0.8	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Matsutani and Nishiaki 2001: 60, 95;
Tell Abada	Central Iraq	58	45.0	Breniquet 1996: 58; Hole 1989: 164; Jasim 1983a: 176, 178; Jasim 1985: 37-48; Oates 1984: 263; 1987: 479
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	1	0.8	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Campbell 2007: 124; Hammade and Yamazaki 2006: 57;
Tell Kurdu	Western Syria	5	3.9	Yener *et al.* 2000: 33-5, 43-4; Özbal *et al.* 2004: 50; 70-71
Tell Mashnaqah	Khabur	6	4.7	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Campbell 2007: 126, fig. 10; Monchambert 1985, 234; 1986: 60-1; Thuesen 1994 : 111-2 (in Weiss 1994)
Tell Rashid	Central Iraq	2	1.6	Jasim 1983b: 99, 103; Chiocchetti 2007: 131
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	7	5.4	Akkermans 1988: 131; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Breniquet 1996: 58; Tobler 1950: 104-125

Table 5.2 Table showing Ubaid period sites used for the analysis c. 5200-5000 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Hammam et-Turkman	Balikh Valley	1	1.6	Akkermans 1988; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Thissen 1988 (in Van Loon ed.)
Kashkashok II	Khabur	4	6.6	Matsutani 1991: 59-61; Koizumi 1996
Tell Mashnaqah	Khabur	1	1.6	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Campbell 2007: 126, fig. 10; Monchambert 1985, 234; 1986: 60-1; Thuesen 1994 : 111-2 (in Weiss 1994)
Tell Songor A	Central Iraq	8	13.1	Breniquet 1996: 58; 132; Fuji 1981, 171; Kamada *et al.* 1991: 221, 223-4
Tell Songor C	Central Iraq	1	1.6	Kamada *et al.* 1991: 226
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	37	60.7	Akkermans 1988: 131; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Breniquet 1996: 58; Tobler 1950: 104-125
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	9	14.8	Akkermans 1988: 131; Fukai and Matsutani 1981: 33, 78 (table 8)

Table 5.3 Table showing Ubaid period sites used for the analysis c. 5000-4800 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Abu Dhahir	Northern Iraq	4	9.5	Simpson 2007
Al-'Ubaid	Southern Iraq	2	4.8	Hall and Woolley 1927: 154; Oates 1960: 33; Oates 1987: 479
Kashkashok II	Khabur	2	4.8	Matsutani 1991: 59-61; Koizumi 1996
Kenan Tepe	Southeast Turkey	5	11.9	Parker *et al.* 2008: 104, 106-9; Parker *et al.* 2009: 114-117
Kudish	Northern Iraq	3	7.1	Starr 1937: 9-10
Tell Madhur	Central Iraq	4	9.5	Chiocchetti 2007: 131-2; Killick and Roaf 1979: 542; Oates 1987: 479;
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	14	33.3	Akkermans 1988: 131; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Breniquet 1996: 58; Tobler 1950: 104-125
Yarim Tepe III	Northern Iraq	6	14.3	Breniquet 1996: 58; Merpert and Munchaev 1993e: 229; 235
Yorgan Tepe	Northern Iraq	2	4.8	Starr 1937: 14-16

Table 5.4 Table showing Ubaid period sites used for the analysis c. 4800-4600 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Arpachiyah	Northern Iraq	5	1.4	Akkermans 1988: 113-4, 131; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 35-42
Choga Mish	Khuzistan	2	0.6	Alizadeh 2003: 31 (Table 3); 2008
Değirmentepe	Upper Euphrates	33	9.2	Gurdil 2005: 177-179, 284, fig. 2.3, fig. 3.1.7; fig. A.I.6; Özbek 2001
Djaffarabad	Khuzistan	2	0.6	Dollfus 1971: 27
Eridu	Southern Iraq	191	53.2	Pariselle 1985; Vértesalji 1984; 1989; Wright and Pollock 1987; Oates 1960; 1987: 479
Hammam et-Turkman	Balikh Valley	3	0.8	Akkermans 1988; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Thissen 1988 (in Van Loon ed.)
Kashkashok II	Khabur	23	6.4	Matsutani 1991: 59-61; Koizumi 1996
Khanijdal East	Northern Iraq	3	0.8	Wilkinson *et al.* 1996: 25 (table 3), 26, 39
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	3	0.8	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Campbell 2007: 124, fig. 9; Matsutani and Nishiaki 2001: 80, 82, 85, 95
Qalinj Agha	Northern Iraq	2	0.6	Abu al-Soof and Es-Siwwani 1967: 73-4; Lupton 1996: 32
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	23	6.4	Tusa 1985; Chiocchetti 2007
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	6	1.7	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Campbell 2007: 124, fig. 9; Hammade and Yamazaki 2006: 55-56
Tell es-Saadiyah	Central Iraq	3	0.8	Chiocchetti 2007: 132
Tell Haizalun	Central Iraq	1	0.3	Roaf 1982: 47
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	4	1.1	Akkermans 1988: 131; Fukai *et al.* 1970: 27-31
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	10	2.8	Akkermans 1988: 131; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Breniquet 1996: 58; Tobler 1950: 104-125
Ur	Southern Iraq	45	12.5	Woolley 1955: 19-21, Appendix II; Oates: 1960: 40-42; Wright and Pollock 1987

Table 5.5 Table showing Ubaid period sites used for the analysis c. 4600-4400 cal. BC

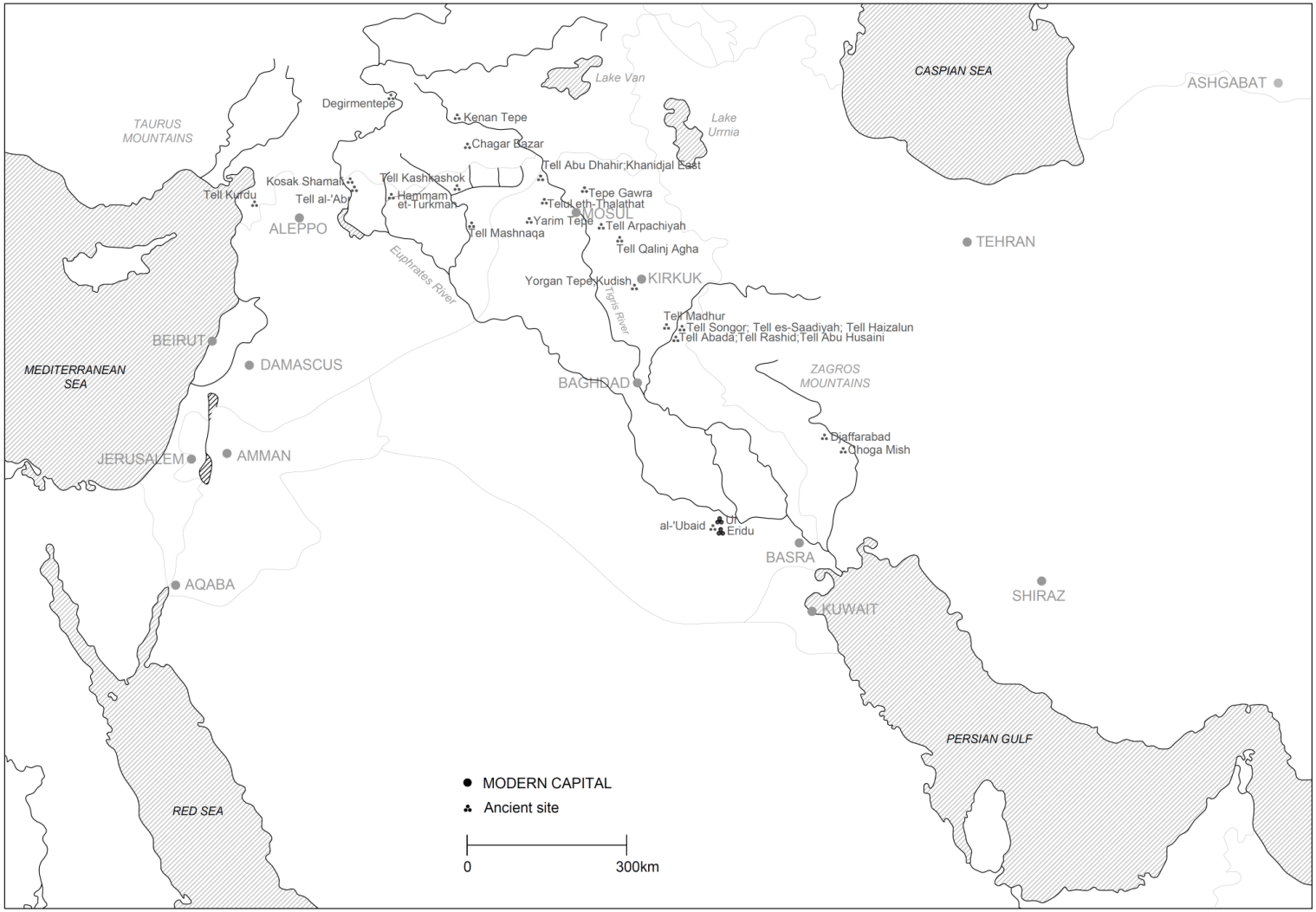


Figure 5.7 Map showing geographical distribution of sites used in the analysis (adapted from Carter and Phillip [ed.] 2010: x)

Overall, 663 burials have been recorded from a sample of 32 Ubaid period sites dating approximately between c. 5400-4400 cal. BC (HUT through to the Terminal Ubaid Period). Again, in those cases where burials were excavated from settlement contexts, it is likely that the burials represent a minority of the population. The existence of communal burial grounds during the Ubaid period is confirmed by the excavation of large cemeteries located on the margins of settlement areas and on unoccupied tells. Therefore, like the preceding Late Neolithic Period, it is likely that a sub-set of the population were selected to be interred within the context of habitation zones. From this sample of 663 Ubaid burials, 624 individuals were recorded: 262 infants, 75 children, 10 adolescents, and 277 adults. In 99 cases either the age of the skeleton could not be determined or no skeletal remains were recorded from the burial context (see Chart 5.1 below; see discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories in section 1.3.3.3).

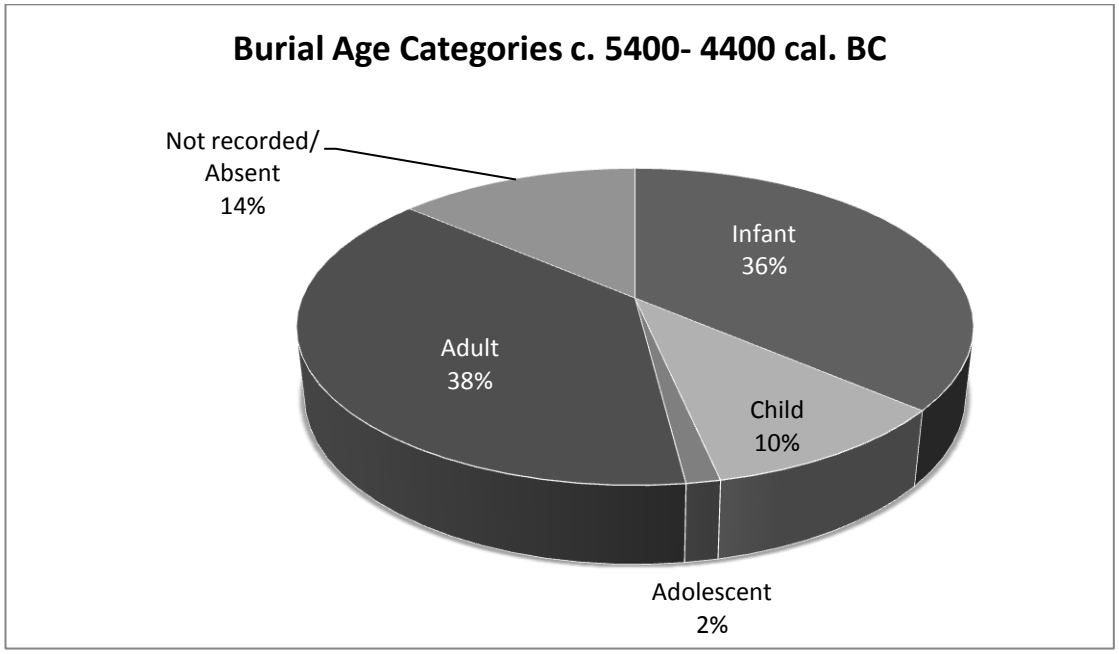


Chart 5.1 Approximate age of individuals from Ubaid Period funerary contexts c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

As discussed in section 3.3.1, the categorization of burials according to their spatial context – such as burials associated with architectural units – is primarily based on descriptions provided in the published material. However, publications rarely record the exact stratigraphic relationship between burials and phases of architectural reconstruction. It is often stated in publications, for example, that burials were made

below the floors of architectural units. At Tell Abada, while burials are described as being excavated from beneath the floors of architectural units, the fact that burials were recorded at varying stratigraphic depths may imply that burials were made at different phases of the structures history, suggestive of a more complex relationship between interments and phases of reconstruction. Non-standard burials made in architectural features - such as grain-bins, ovens and house floors - will be categorised on the basis of their association with architectural features (e.g. 'grain-bin burial', 'floor-burial' and 'oven-burial') in order to distinguish them from more standard methods of burial.

An additional point that requires clarification is the categorization of burials that contain multiple individuals. 54 burial contexts (8% of the sample) dating between c. 5400-4400 were categorised as multiple-burials: burial contexts whereby a concentration of skeletal remains belonging to multiple-individuals can be associated with a specific context such as a burial pit, or architectural feature (e.g. remains of multiple individuals placed within a grain bin or on a floor). The majority of these burials comprise multiple individuals interred within the same burial pit or tomb, and can therefore be identified as multiple burials with some confidence. However, a small number require justification as to their categorization and will be addressed briefly here. At Tell Arpachiyah, two contexts (G45 and G48) are recorded as having concentrations of fragmentary remains from multiple individuals. G45 comprised a group of at least three individuals with various skeletal elements missing, which according to the excavators appear to have been contemporary. G48 comprised the fragmentary remains of at least seven individuals that were mixed together (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 41). Both G45 and G48 have therefore been classified as multiple burials. At the Ur cemetery, one grave (Burial PFG/L) contained a cluster of eight skulls and other fragmentary remains, which has been categorized as a multiple burial for this analysis. Similarly, Grave 97 from the cemetery at Eridu comprised the complete skeleton of an adult male accompanied by 16 skulls and other fragmentary skeletal remains. Again, this context has been categorized as a multiple burial.

5.3.2 Long-term patterns in funerary consumption c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Between c. 5400-4400 cal. BC a total of 663 burials were recorded, and at least 1260 objects were removed from circulation through funerary rites.

Period	Number of Burials	Number of Objects	Average
5400-5200	72	126	1.75
5200-5000	129	177	1.37
5000-4800	61	73	1.20
4800-4600	42	51	1.21
4600-4400	359	833	2.32
Total	**663**	**1260**	**1.90**

Table 5.6 Table showing the number of grave-goods recorded between c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

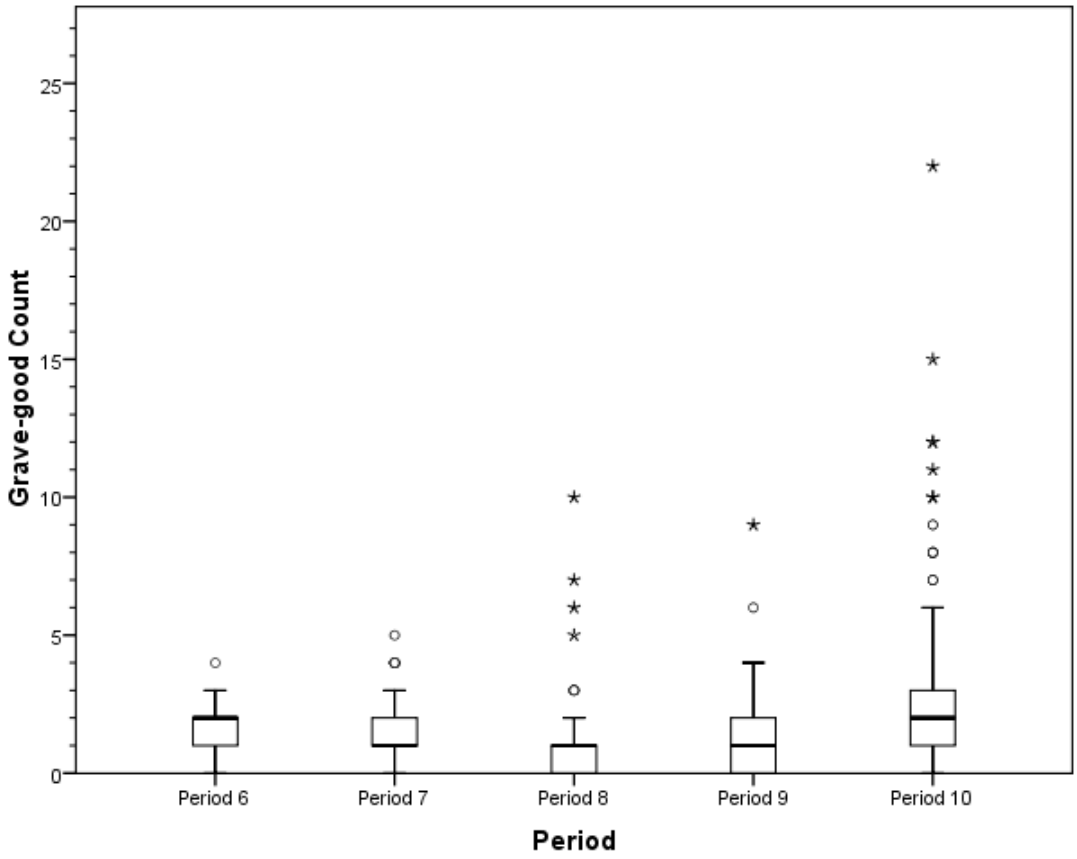


Chart 5.2 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

Chart 5.2 illustrates a boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC. The box represents the interquartile range of the distribution while the lines extending from the boxes, or 'whiskers', indicate the maximum and

minimum values that are less than 1 interquartile range from the nearest quartile. The line across the box marks the median value of the distribution, while probable outliers are indicated by open circles, and extreme values by asterisks. Period 6 on the chart, and those that follow, represents the period 5400-5200 cal. BC; Period 7: 5200-5000 cal. BC; Period 8: 5000-4800 cal. BC; Period 9: 4800-4600 cal. BC and Period 10: 4600-4400 cal. BC. The chart indicates that while on average, grave-good consumption was higher for Periods 6 and 10 compared to other periods, there is much greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded in burials for Period 10. Notably, there are a greater number of outliers and extreme values present in Period 10, suggesting that for some cases grave-good consumption was relatively high.

Age category	Number of individuals	Percentage of individuals %	Number of objects	Percentage of objects %
Infant	247	49.0	351	39.7
Child	64	12.7	98	11.1
Adolescent	7	1.4	18	2.0
Adult	186	36.9	417	47.2
Total	504	100	884	100

Table 5.7 Table showing the of grave goods per age category c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

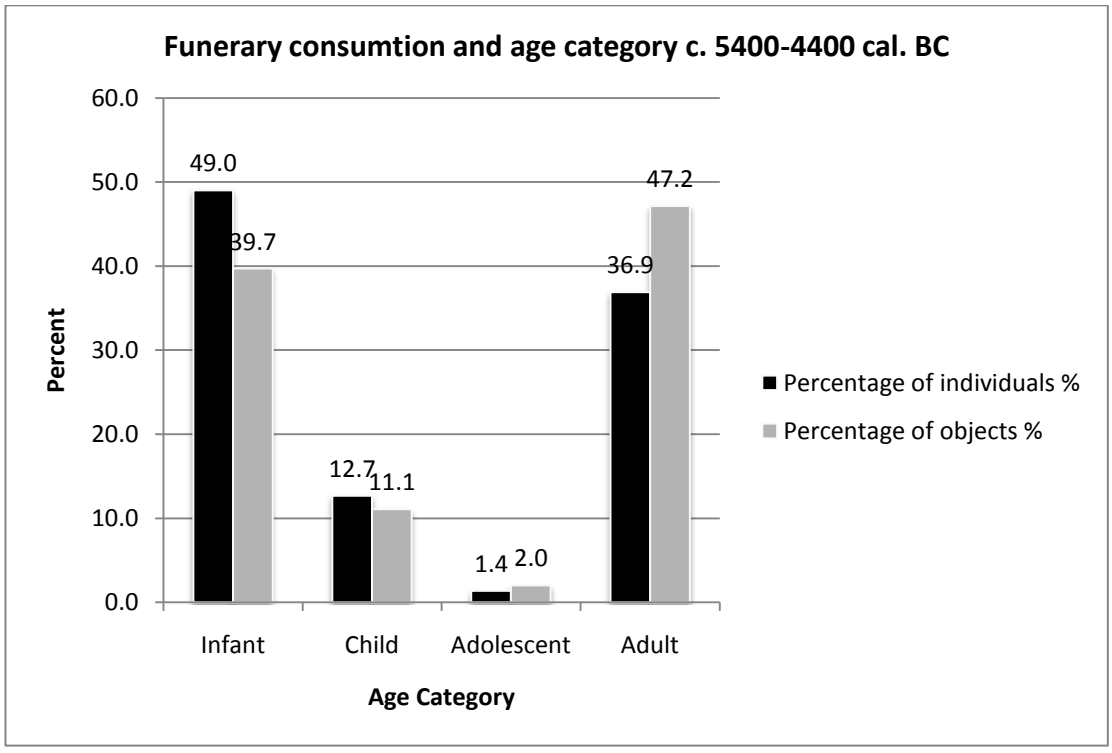


Chart 5.3 Chart showing funerary consumption and age category c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

A total of 884 objects can be associated with burials where the approximate age of individuals is recorded. Table 5.7 and Chart 5.3 show that while infants make up nearly half (49%) of the total sample, only 39.7% of the grave-goods recorded are associated with infant burials. Nearly half of all the grave-goods recorded (47.2%) were associated with adult burials, which make up 36.9% of the total sample for age groups. Again, the percentage of children (12.7%) and especially adolescents (1.4%) recorded from the total sample is low, which may relate to the variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains. The nature and reliability of age-categories is outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.3.

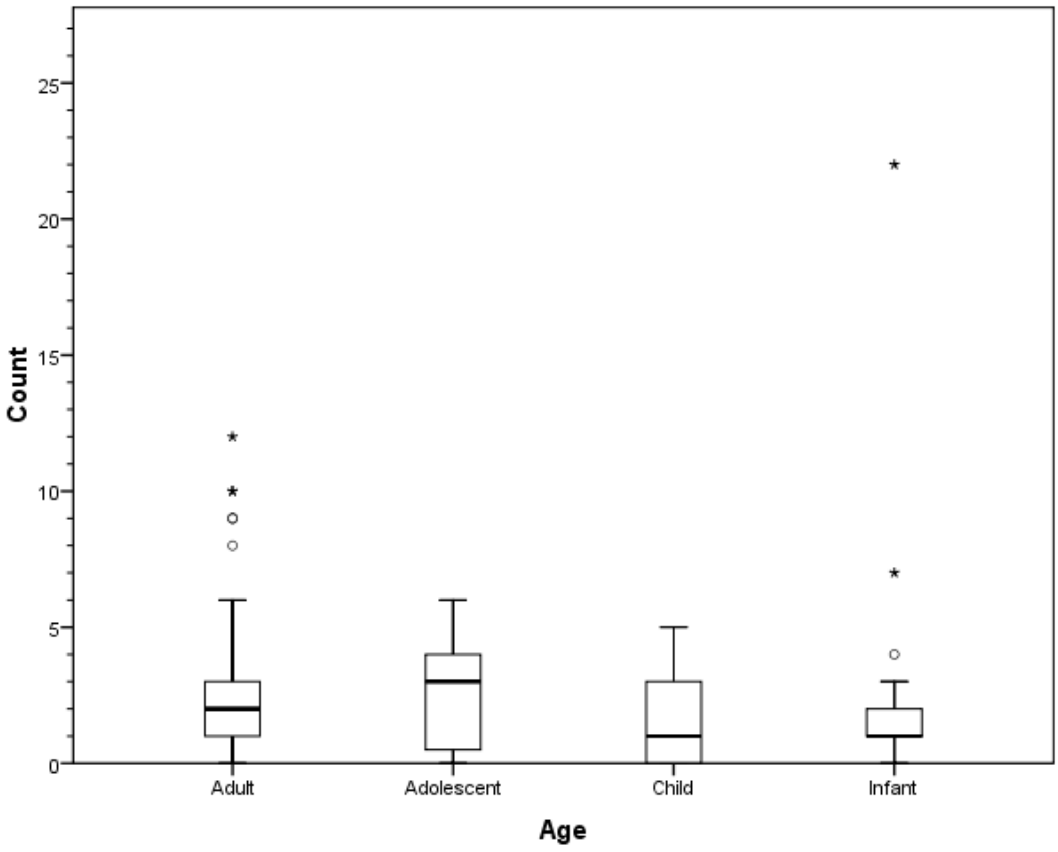


Chart 5.4 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption by age category c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Chart 5.4 demonstrates that on average grave-good consumption is higher in adolescents burials, while the larger inter-quartile range for both adolescent and child burials imply greater variability in the number of grave-goods consumed in burials for these categories. Notably, for adults, the large accepted range (as indicated by the 'whiskers') also implies that the number of grave-goods consumed in adult burials

varied considerably. This is again indicated by the higher number of outliers and extreme values are present for adult burials, which suggests that in some cases grave-good consumption was relatively high. Nevertheless, the highest number of grave-goods from a single burial was recorded from an infant burial.

5.3.2.1 Infant burials and funerary consumption c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
5400-5200	70	122	1.74
5200-5000	61	91	1.49
5000-4800	14	5	0.36
4800-4600	23	23	1
4600-4400	79	110	1.39
Total	**247**	**351**	**1.42**

Table 5.8 Table showing the average number of grave goods in infant burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

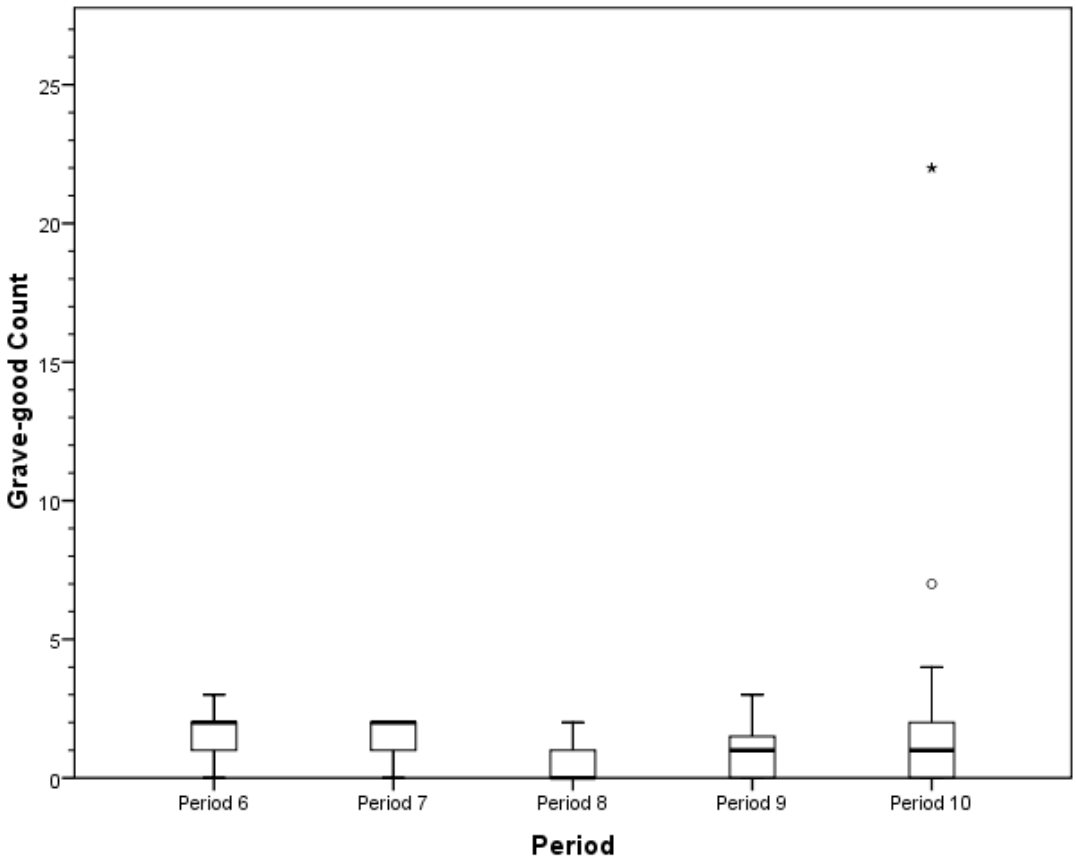


Chart 5.5 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in infant burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

Chart 5.5 indicates that the interquartile range for Periods 1-3 is comparable, implying that variation in the number of grave-goods recorded for these periods were similar. Variation in the scale of grave-goods consumption increases in Period 9, while variability in grave-good consumption is greatest in Period 10. Outliers and extreme values are present only for Period 10.

5.3.2.2 Child burials and funerary consumption c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
5400-5200	0	0	0
5200-5000	3	2	0.66
5000-4800	8	5	0.65
4800-4600	2	0	0
4600-4400	51	91	1.78
Total	**64**	**98**	**1.53**

Table 5.9 Table showing the average number of grave goods in child burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

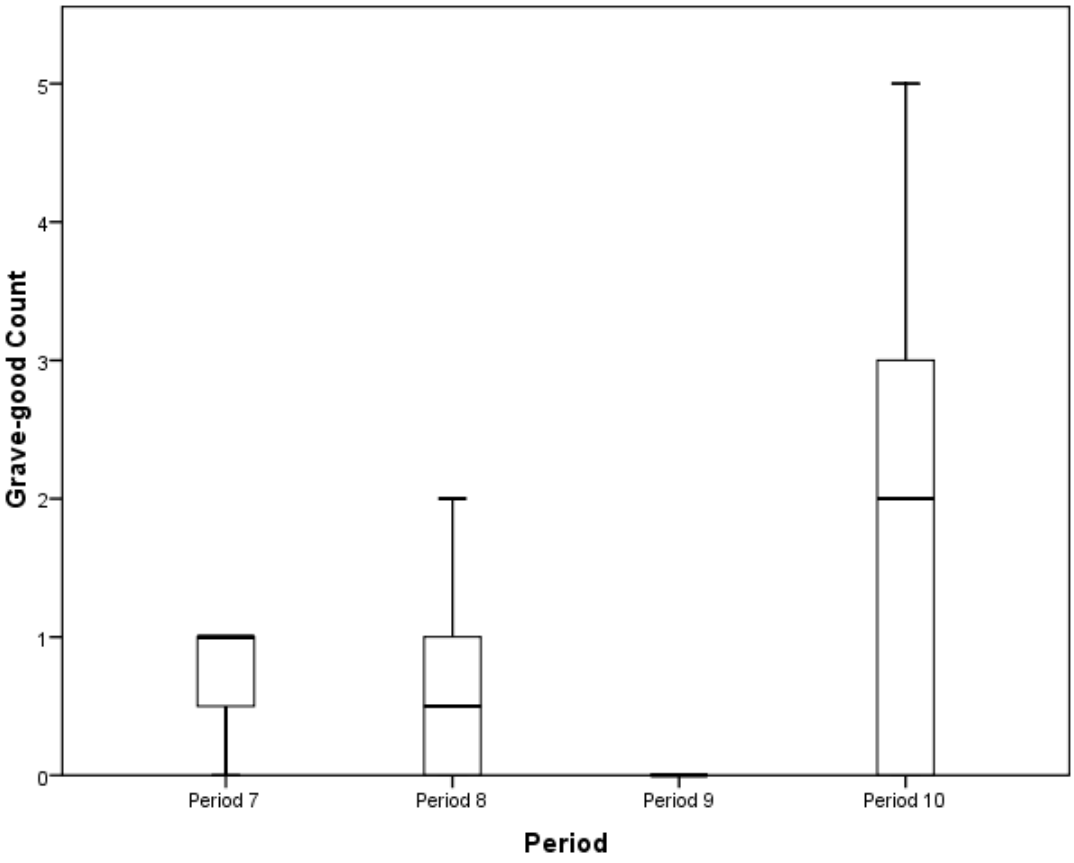


Chart 5.6 Chart showing funerary consumption in child burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

Due to the small numbers of child burials recorded for Periods 6 to 9, it is difficult to determine any significant patterns in the scale of funerary consumption in child burials over the long-term (see Table 5.9 above). However, Chart 5.6 show that on average, grave-good consumption was higher in Period 10, and that there is greater variability in number of grave-goods present in child burials for Period 10.

5.3.2.3 Adolescent burials and funerary consumption c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
5400-5200	0	0	0
5200-5000	1	1	1
5000-4800	0	0	0
4800-4600	0	0	0
4600-4400	6	17	2.83
Total	**7**	**18**	**2.57**

Table 5.10 Table showing the average number of grave goods in adolescent burials c. 4400-4400 cal. BC.

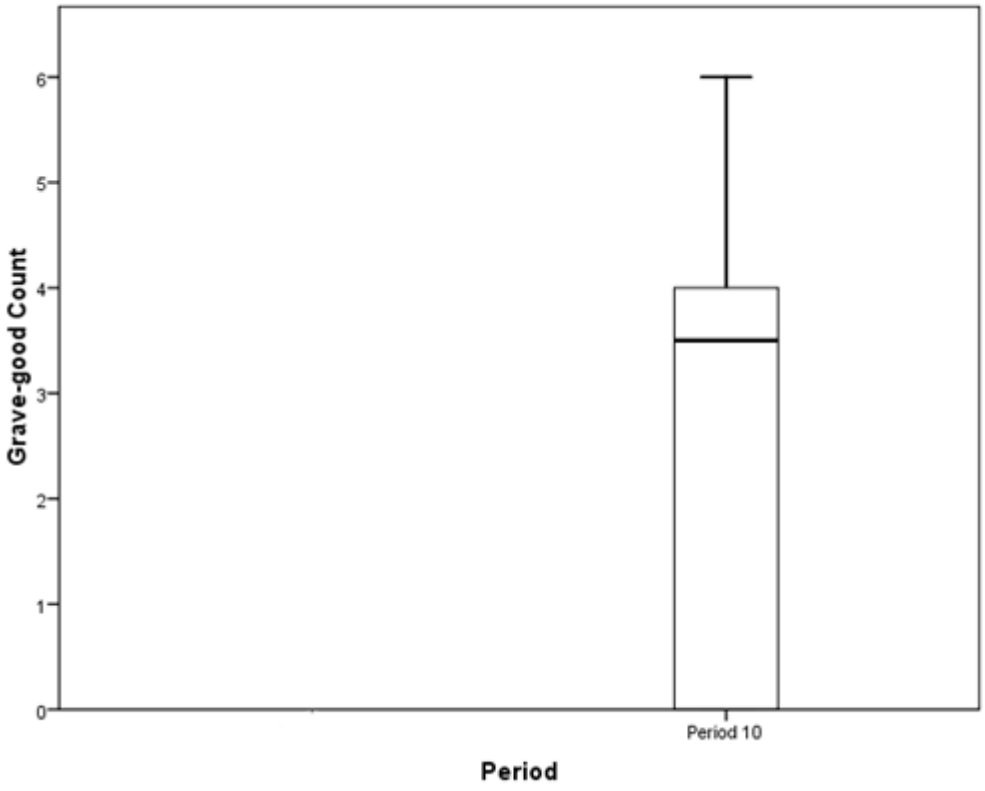


Chart 5.7 Chart showing funerary consumption in adolescent burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

Again, the very few adolescent burials recorded between c. 5400 - 4600 cal. BC distorts a long-term analysis of funerary consumption for this age category (see Table 5.10). However, Chart 5.7 demonstrates that there is considerable variability in the number of grave-goods recorded for adolescent burials in Period 10.

5.3.2.4 Adult burials and funerary consumption c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
5400-5200	1	0	0
5200-5000	46	64	1.39
5000-4800	19	44	2.31
4800-4600	12	20	1.67
4600-4400	108	289	2.68
Total	**186**	**417**	**2.24**

Table 5.11 Table showing the average number of grave goods in adult burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

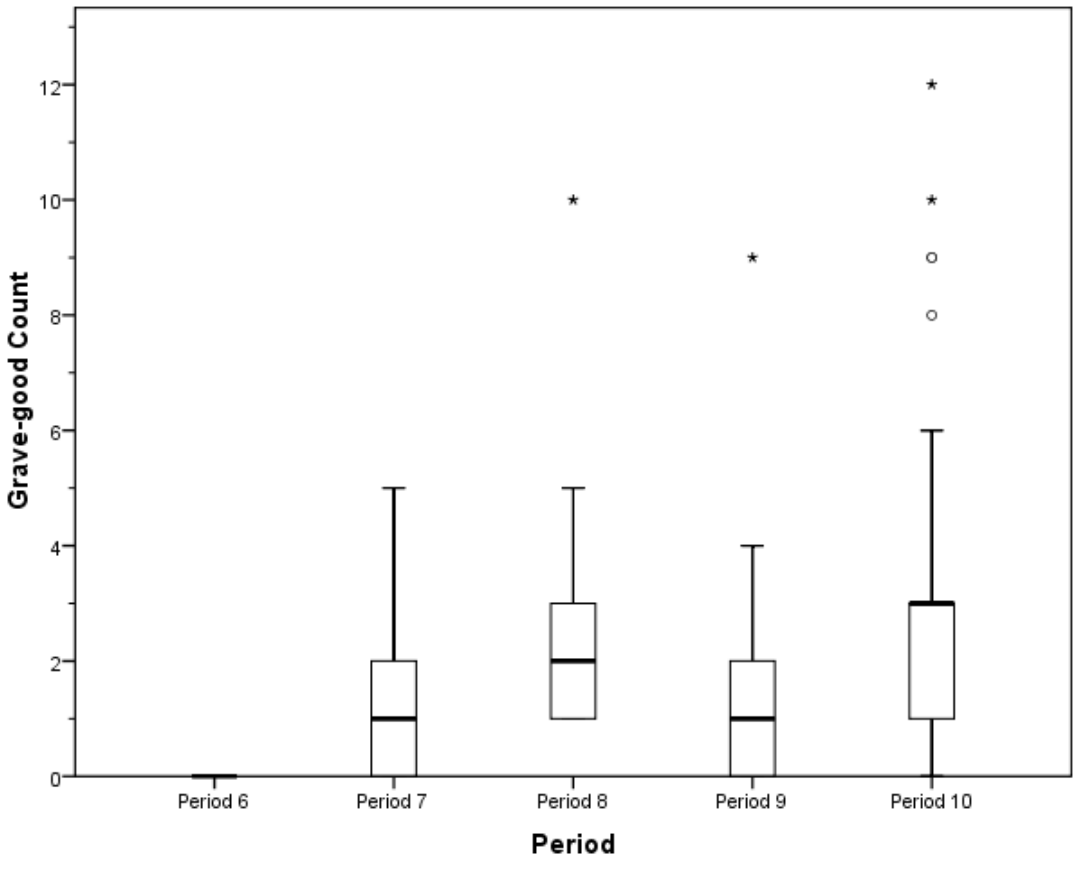


Chart 5.8 Chart showing funerary consumption in adult burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC.

Chart 5.8 clearly demonstrates that comparable interquartile ranges are recorded for Periods 7 to 10. Nevertheless, on average there was a higher number of grave-goods consumed in adult burials for Period 10 compared to other periods, and that variability in grave-good numbers was also greater for Period 10. Moreover, the higher number of outliers and extreme values present for Period 10 suggest that grave-good consumption was relatively high in some burials during this period.

5.3.3 Grave-good types c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

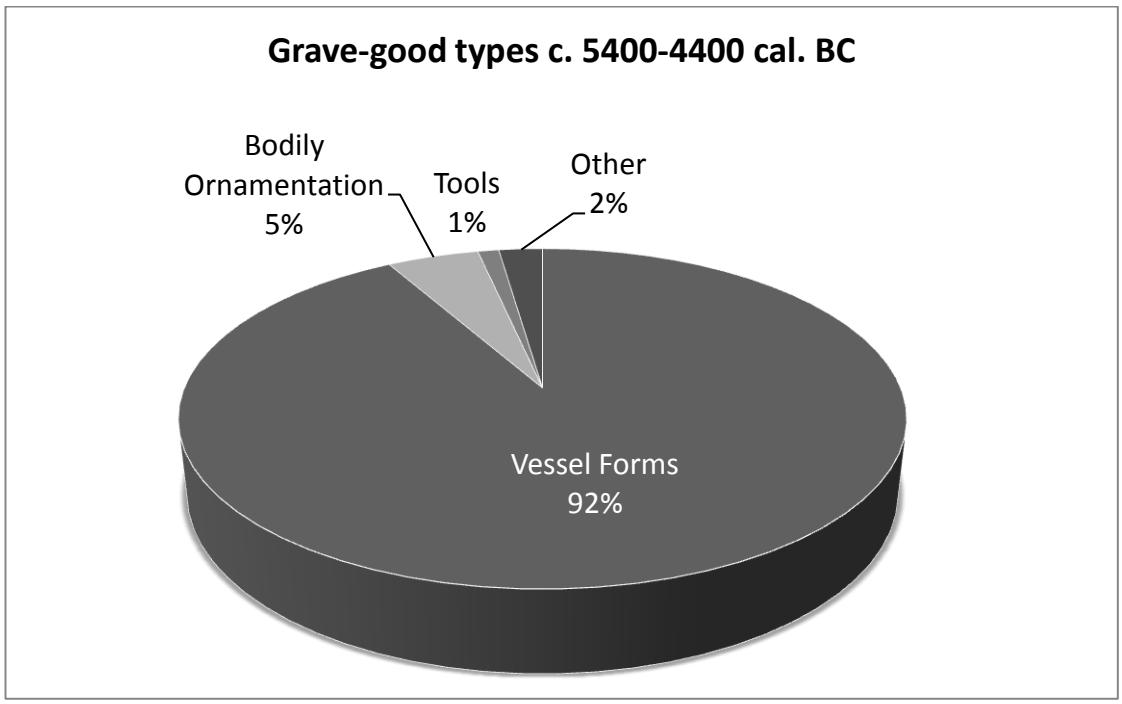


Chart 5.9 Chart showing grave-good types c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

A review of the types of objects consumed in mortuary rites between c. 5400 and 4400 cal. BC (Chart 5.9 above) indicate that the vast majority are items recorded were vessel forms (92%). Within this category, ceramic vessel forms predominate. As with earlier Late Neolithic traditions, items related to bodily display and ornamentation primarily consist of bead ornaments crafted from various materials, as well as pendants, seals, pins, labrets and palettes. The types of tools and weapons removed from circulation include obsidian and flint blades and flakes; ground stone tools; mace-heads; axes and hoes. Notably a spear head made of copper is recorded for this period. Objects of an indeterminate nature include a small number of clay anthropomorphic figurines and clay objects, some of which may have functioned as 'tokens'.

Period	Vessel Forms	Ornamentation	Tools	Other	Total
5400-5200	124	1	0	1	126
5200-5000	163	11	1	2	177
5000-4800	62	7	0	4	73
4800-4600	39	7	1	4	51
4600-4400	768	35	12	18	833
Total	**1156**	**61**	**14**	**29**	1260

Table 5.12 Table showing grave-good types c. 5400-4400 BC

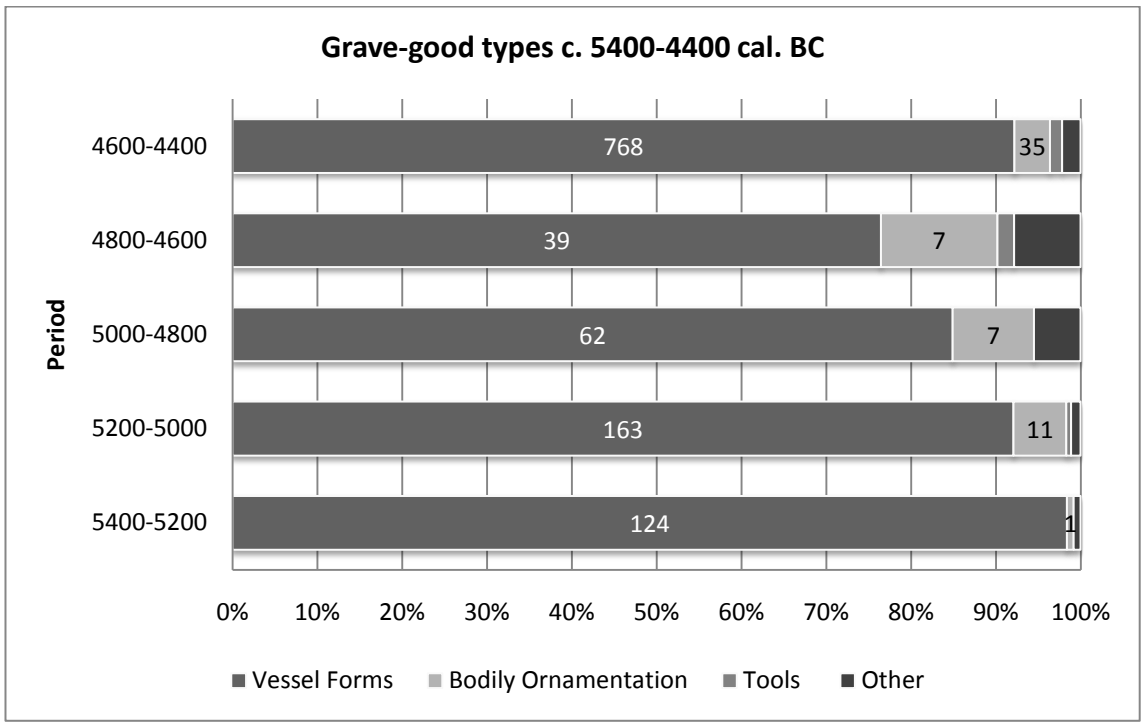


Chart 5.10 Chart showing variation in grave-good types over time c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Table 5.12 and Chart 5.10 demonstrate that vessel forms predominate grave-good assemblages between c. 5400-4400 BC. This is particularly marked between 4600-4400 cal. BC, where a vast quantity of vessel forms (n=768) were removed from circulation as part of funerary rites, making up over 90% of grave-good assemblages for that period.

5.3.4 Long-term patterns in spatial context of burials c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Burial Context c. 5400-4400 BC	Number of Burials	Percentage
Associated with architectural unit	20	3.0
Below doorway of architectural unit	2	0.3
Below floor of architectural unit	159	24.2
Below foundations of architectural unit	2	0.3
Below kiln	1	0.2
Cemetery	319	48.6
In fill of architectural unit	2	0.3
In-between phases of architecture	3	0.5
On floor of architectural unit	3	0.5
Outside architectural unit	31	4.7
Placed in storage structure within architectural unit	5	0.8
'Refuse' area	1	0.2
Settlement area	90	13.7
Unoccupied area	9	1.4
Within wall of architectural unit	10	1.5
Total	**657**	100.0

Table 5.13 Table showing burial context types c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

A review of the spatial context of burials between c. 5400 - 4400 cal. BC (Table 5.13) indicates that the significant majority of burials recorded for this period were located in cemeteries (n=319; 48.6%) located on or beyond the margins of architecturally defined habitation zones. Burials were also frequently made below the floors of architectural units (n=159; 24.2%) and within areas of settlement not directly associated with architectural features (n=90; 13.7%). Notably, a significant number of burials were variously associated with architectural features, recorded below the foundations of buildings, in building fills, directly on the floor of buildings, within the walls of architectural units, and below the thresholds of buildings.

Burial Context c. 5400-4400 BC	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Total
Associated with architectural unit	13	3	0	2	18
Below doorway of architectural unit	2	0	1	0	3
Below floor of architectural unit	147	8	0	3	158
Below foundations of architectural unit	2	0	0	0	2
Below kiln	1	0	0	0	1
Cemetery	10	50	7	225	292
In fill of architectural unit	2	0	0	1	3
In-between phases of architecture	3	0	0	0	3
On floor of architectural unit	2	0	1	0	3
Outside architectural unit	29	1	0	1	31
Placed in storage structure within architectural unit	5	0	0	0	5
Settlement area	35	10	0	39	84
Unoccupied area	4	0	0	2	6
Within wall of architectural unit	6	2	1	1	10
Total	**261**	**74**	**10**	**274**	**619**

Table 5.14 Table showing burial context types and age category c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Age Group	General Settlement Area	Architectural features	Burial Ground
Infant	39	212	10
Child	10	14	50
Adolescent	0	3	7
Adult	41	8	225
Total	**90**	**237**	**292**

Table 5.15 Table showing general burial context types and age category c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

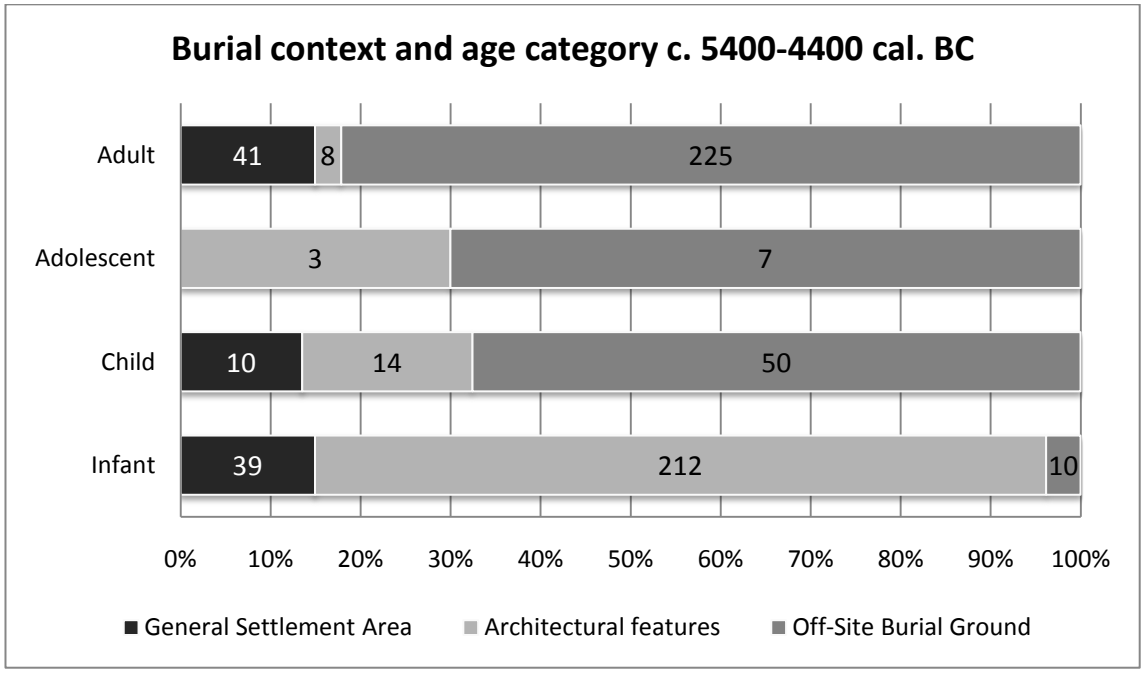


Chart 5.11 Chart showing general burial context types and age category c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

An analysis of the spatial context of burials between c.5400 - 4400 cal. BC by age category (see Tables 5.14 and 5.15; Chart 5.11 above) illustrates a clear divergence in the spatial context of infant and adult burials. While the significant majority of infant burials were either located in association with architectural features (n=215), other age categories - especially adults (n=225) - were primarily buried in burial grounds located on or beyond the margins of architecturally defined habitation zones. Again, the variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains means that any broad survey of age-orientated funerary contexts must be treated as an approximation, and with due caution.

5.3.5 Long-term trends in burial methods c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

Burial Type c. 5400-4400 BC	Number of Burials	
Basket burial	1	0.2
Brick lined pit burial	5	0.8
Burial chamber	4	0.7
Floor burial	1	0.2
Grain bin burial	5	0.8
Libn box burial	108	18.0
Libn floor burial	8	1.3
Libn platform burial	2	0.3
Pit burial	226	37.5
Pot burial	198	32.9
Pot fragment burial	2	0.3
Secondary burial	4	0.7
Tomb burial	31	5.2
Wall burial	7	1.2
Total	602	100.0

Table 5.16 Table showing burial types c. 5400-4400 cal. BC

An analysis of burial methods c. 5400-4400 cal. BC indicates that the predominant methods of burial recorded for this period were interments made in a simple pits (n=226; 37.5%), interments made within ceramic vessels (n=198; 32.9%) and interments made within libn 'boxes' (n=108; 18%; see Table 5.16 above). When compared with the Late Neolithic Data (c. 6400-5400 cal. BC; Chapter 3, section 3.3.5), there appears to less variation in burial methods c. 5400-4400 cal. BC. Individuals were now uniformly buried in simple pit graves, tombs or ceramic vessels. In addition, compared to the Late Neolithic period (c. 6400-5400 cal. BC; Chapter 3, section 3.3.5),

no cremations are reported in the burial record and there are fewer instances of secondary mortuary practices.

Burial Types c. 5400-4400 BC	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Total
Basket burial	1	0	0	0	1
Brick lined pit burial	0	0	0	4	4
Burial chamber	0	0	0	4	4
Floor burial	0	0	1	0	1
Grain bin burial	5	0	0	0	5
Libn box burial	6	25	6	89	126
Libn floor burial	0	4	0	10	14
Libn platform burial	0	2	0	0	2
Pit burial	37	26	2	127	192
Pot burial	194	3	0	1	198
Pot fragment burial	2	0	0	0	2
Tomb burial	3	0	0	28	31
Wall burial	4	2	1	0	7
Total	252	62	10	263	587

Table 5.17 Table showing burial types and age category c. 5400-5400 cal. BC

Broken down by the age category, table 5.17 demonstrates that for the period spanning c. 5400-4400 cal. BC, while all age categories were interred within simple pits or libn-built 'boxes', both methods of burial were primarily afforded to adults. Furthermore, only adults were interred in brick-lined pits and burial chambers. Pot burials, by way of contrast, were largely restricted to infants, and constitute the most common method of burial for this age category. The data indicates, therefore, that relatively standardised yet divergent forms of burial were afforded to adults and infants c.5400-4400 cal. BC.

5.3.6 Concluding remarks and points to address in Chapter 6

Point 1: The scale of funerary consumption over time

The long-term analysis of funerary consumption between c. 5400-4400 cal. BC indicates that on average, the number of objects removed from circulation in funerary rites was low. Through time, the data shows that a slight increase in the average number of grave-goods recorded between Periods 7 to 10, while there is much greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded in Period 10 (c. 4600-4400 BC), towards the end of the Ubaid period. In addition, the data shows that on average grave-good consumption is higher in adolescents and adult burials compared to those of infants and children. For all age-categories, there is greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded for Period 10. Nevertheless, when taken as a whole, the data suggests that relatively few goods were taken out of circulation through funerary rites during the Ubaid period.

Point 2: Grave-good types

The data clearly demonstrates that between c. 5400-4400 cal. BC the predominant object type removed from circulation through burials - for all five phases - are vessel forms (92% of all objects recorded from burials). Within this category, ceramic vessels are the predominant object type. The data therefore suggests that grave-goods became increasingly restricted to ceramic vessel forms during the Ubaid period. This trend towards uniformity in grave inventories will be explored further in Chapter 6.

Point 3: Trends and deviations in the spatial context of burials through time

A review of the spatial context of burials c. 5400 - 4400 cal. BC indicates that in general, burials were either located in cemeteries located beyond habitation zone or in association with architectural units. The location of burials in relation to architectural and storage features implies a close association between mortuary rites, domestic dwellings and phases of building activity. In addition, the data shows that there is a

marked contrast in the spatial context of infant and adult burials. Whereas infant burials are either associated with architectural features or habitation zones, adults were interred in communal cemeteries on the margins of architecturally defined habitation zones or on abandoned tells. The divergent spatial context of infant and adult burials will be investigated further in Chapter 6.

Point 4: Trends and deviations in burial methods

The data shows that the predominant methods of burial for the periods spanning c. 5400-4400 cal. BC were interments made in simple pits, closely followed by interments made in ceramic vessels and libn tombs. Despite subtle variations in the elaboration of burial pits or in the construction of tombs, there is a considerable degree of uniformity in burial methods compared to Late Neolithic funerary practices. Compared with other age categories, adults were primarily interred within simple pits or libn-built boxes, and only adults were interred in brick-lined pits and burial chambers. The vast majority of infants were buried within ceramic vessels. The data suggest that for this period that adult burial practices diverge markedly from infant burial practices.

6 Burial rites, household production and the circulation of goods c. 5400-4400 BC

Notwithstanding the variable quality of recording for human remains across the 'Ubaid' (c. 5400-4400 cal. BC) burial record, which was analysed in Chapter 5, some wide-ranging and significant patterns nevertheless emerge. Of foremost importance to the research question outlined in Chapter 1 is the scale of funerary consumption. A summary account of the data presented in Chapter 5 indicates that, when taken as a whole, very little material wealth was removed from circulation as part of funerary rites (Section 5.4.2). Furthermore, the data suggests that compared to the Late Neolithic record, which is markedly diverse, Ubaid funerary rites underwent a degree of uniformity. This is particularly evident in the increasingly standardised methods of burial (Sections 5.3.4 and 5.3.5) and grave-offerings, as vessel forms now make up 92% of grave-good assemblages (Sections 5.3.3). Compared to the Late Neolithic burial record, there is very little evidence for the deliberate breaking and discard of object forms around the dead.

In addition, there is now a clear distinction in the way adults and adolescents were interred compared to infants and children (Section 5.3.5). Towards the end of the fifth-millennium, infants and young children were for the most part interred in simple pits or ceramic vessels within habitation zones and dwellings, whereas adults were primarily buried in pits or tombs in communal burial grounds. It remains entirely possible, and perhaps even likely, that gender categories were implicated in these transformations in burial practices, but an investigation of this important topic must await the amassing of reliable data on the sexing of human skeletal remains. It will be argued in this chapter how these transformations in burial practices can be related to wider social changes that occurred throughout Western Asia at this time, such as the introduction and dissemination of new commodity forms that functioned as stores of value, and the reorganisation and intensification of household production.

6.1 Standardisation in burial practices and restricted spheres of consumption

A distinguishing aspect of Ubaid material culture is the increasing homogenisation of object and architectural forms (see section 5.3.3). It was noted in section 5.3.3, for example, that ceramic vessels recovered from diverse regions often feature identical shapes and decorative elements, despite their local manufacture (Oates and Oates 2004: 181). Painted ceramic designs were increasingly simplified compared to the elaborate decorative elements found on Late Neolithic Fine Wares, and vessel forms became less diverse (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 169; Wengrow 1998: 181; see Fig 5.5 below). Although the majority of ceramic forms were still made by hand, Nissen (1988) has attributed the uniformity and wide distribution of Ubaid ceramics to the spread of a new production technique in the hand-turned wheel, which would have both regulated and accelerated production, and the widespread adoption of high-temperature kiln firing techniques (Akkermans and Schwartz 22003: 169; Kayani 1996). Wengrow (1998; 2001) further suggests that the simplification of pottery forms and decorative elements during this period may be attributed to the reconfiguration of domestic production. The increasing compartmentalization and intensification of domestic production in the Ubaid period may have inhibited creative exchanges between crafts such as potting and weaving, therefore restricting the transmission of decorative schemes across the two media (Wengrow 1998: 790-3: 2001: 181).

A comparable process of standardisation can be distinguished in bodily representation as inferred from anthropomorphic figural representations (Moorey 2003: 19). In contrast to earlier Neolithic traditions, sexual dimorphism is often obscured in the Ubaid figurine corpus by similarities in the proportions of male and female figurines, and greater emphasis was now placed on shared forms of bodily ornamentation and cranial deformation (Daems 2010: 151; McAdam 2003: 181; Wengrow 1998: 792; see Fig 6.1 below). The practice of intentional cranial deformation, as inferred from figurines, is strongly supported by osteological evidence from a number of fifth millennium sites such as Değirmentepe (discussed below, and see Özbek 2003), Arpachiyah (Molleson

and Campbell 1995) and possibly Eridu (Lorentz 2010: 128; and for further discussion of the evidence for prehistoric cranial deformation in the Near East, see Croucher 2008: 30-32; Daems and Croucher 2007; and Lorentz 2008; 2010). The widespread distribution of labrets and ear-spools in the archaeological record also attests to the shared forms of bodily display that emerged during the Ubaid period (Croucher 2010: 117; Stein 2010: 30).

Figure 6.1 Ubaid figurine elements with elongated head, provenance unknown (photograph courtesy of The British Museum, BM number 121002).

This broader trend towards standardisation in object forms and bodily representation is reflected in the mortuary record (see analysis in Chapter 5; Hole 1989: 179; Stein 2010: 30). Diverging from the highly variable and complex nature of Late Neolithic burial practices, the Ubaid burial record suggests that mortuary rites underwent a degree of homogenisation and simplification. This is reflected in the methods of burial, the treatment of the corpse, and grave good assemblages. By the Late Ubaid (see data analysis in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.4), there is a clear divergence in the spatial context of burials, as adults are now separated from the context of the living and interred beyond the physical margins of habitation zone. Deceased adults were recurrently interred in pits or tombs, with bodies placed in an extended position on their back, or tightly flexed on their sides. Croucher (2010: 116-7) has observed that, compared to Late Neolithic traditions, there is an increasing concern to retain the integrity and individuality of the body by the fifth millennium BC. It should be noted, however, that there is evidence to suggest that at least some human remains were disarticulated prior to burial (see

discussion below), which implies that certain individuals were selected for special funerary treatments. The widespread homogenisation of grave-good assemblages and burial methods will be investigated in the sections that follow, drawing on the burial record at Eridu and Ur in southern Iraq, Tell Kashkashok II in northeast Syria and Tell Arpachiyah in northern Iraq.

6.1.1 Tell Arpachiyah

Tell Arpachiyah is a small site located on the outskirts of modern Mosul in Northern Iraq, and major phases of occupation at the site span the Halaf 1b Period (c. 5800 cal. BC) through to the Ubaid Period (c. 5100 cal. BC; Campbell 2000: 1). Of the fifty Ubaid period burials excavated at Arpachiyah, forty-five (G1 – G 45) were excavated from a cemetery located in squares FbV.1 and FcV.1 on the mound itself, and to a low-lying area on the west side of the mound. The five (G46-G50) remaining burials were excavated from 'various isolated patches of ground outside it' (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 35). According to the excavators, the ceramics recovered from the cemetery correspond to pottery types from the occupation levels TT1-5. The excavators report that the burials were interred in simple pits (some of which revealed traces of matting) and that bodies were generally orientated east-west and placed in a flexed position (burials G14 and G16 may have been interred in vaulted pits covered by a mud-brick 'catacomb', and an infant was also found placed within a ceramic vessel; Mallowan and Rose: 35, 37). Not a single burial overlapped one another, which may suggest that the location of the interments were known to the living, and perhaps even marked (Mallowan and Rose 1935: 37).

At least sixty-one individuals were reported from the fifty Ubaid graves excavated at Arpachiyah. Whereas forty-one of the Ubaid burials contained a single skeleton, seven burials contained multiple individuals (G14 and G 15 came from a single context, but were recorded as separate burials; the remainder, G18 and G49 were either disturbed or contained few traces of human remains). Twenty-six of the fifty burials recorded were primary burials with complete skeletons and twenty burials are listed as containing fragmentary skeletal remains (see Fig 6.2 below). In one context (G7), a complete skeleton was accompanied by two crania, and in a further burial (G9) the fragmentary

skull of an infant (placed within a bowl fragment) was placed alongside a single inhumation of an adult. Of the fragmentary remains recorded, notable burials include a single crania recovered from grave G17; postcranial skeletal remains in graves G21 and G40; the disarticulated skeleton of an adult in grave G39 (the arm bones were collected and laid in front of the body and the leg bones placed in parallel to those); and in two contexts (G45 and G48), the fragmentary remains of multiple individuals are reported. Notably, in burial G45, the excavators state that groups of bones were sometimes separated by a line of pebbles. Other fragmentary burials were missing various skeletal elements.

Figure 6.2 Left: Fractional burial G33; Right: Flexed burial G19 (reproduced from Mallowan and Rose 1935. Plate III a and d)

Of the sixty-one individuals recorded, forty-four were identified as adults and two individuals are reported as infants. In a number of cases the approximate ages of the skeletal remains were not identified due to their fragmentary nature. In two cases (multiple burial G23) the sex of the individuals were recorded; a male and a female. Ceramic vessels are the most frequent object type recorded from the Ubaid graves (typically two vessels), which were sometimes placed at the head or feet of the skeleton. Notable grave-goods include a necklace of black and white glazed steatite ring-beads from burial (G4), and a few beads, flint fragments and animal remains were also placed in graves. Ten ceramic vessels were recovered from burial G45, a multiple burial that contained the fragmentary remains of three individuals (see Table 6.1 below; Mallowan and Rose 1935: 38-42).

Object Type	Quantity
Painted ceramic vessels	47
Unpainted ceramic vessels	17
Broken vessel/vessel fragments	6
Beads	4
Animal remains	3
Misc. clay objects	3
Ring	1
Flint blade fragments	1
Flint fragments	1
spatula	1
Bead necklace	1

Table 6.1 Table showing grave-good types from the Ubaid cemetery at Arpachiyah

6.1.2 Tell Kashkashok II

Tell Kashkashok II is located in the Khabur Basin, 20km northwest of Hassake in northeast Syria. The site was occupied during the Hassuna Ia period, and later used as a cemetery during the Ubaid and post-Ubaid periods. Over 100 Ubaid and post-Ubaid tombs were excavated at Kashkashok II, but only 63 tombs were registered and published in detail. Chronologically, the tombs range from the Early Northern Ubaid through to the Late Post-Ubaid. Approximately 34 tombs date to the Ubaid period, which at Kashkashok II corresponds to the Early Northern Ubaid through to the Terminal Northern Ubaid-Early Post Ubaid phases of tomb construction (see Table 6.2 and Fig. 6.3 below; Koizumi 1996: 29; Matsutani 1991: 59).

Methods of interment remained relatively uniform through time, comprising a vertically dug shaft that was extended horizontally to form a burial chamber. After the body and any accompanying goods were interred, the entrance to the chamber was closed off by a mud-brick wall, and the shaft packed with clay blocks and the top sealed with a layer of clay (see Figs 6.4 and 6.5 below; Koizumi 1996: 31; Matsutani 1991: 59). Of the 34 tombs that can be attributed to the Ubaid period, 33 contained adult burials and one tomb contained an infant burial, which suggests that infants and children were interred elsewhere. Burials were all simple inhumations, with the body generally tightly contracted and orientated East-West. Nearly all of the tombs (31 tombs out of 34)

contained at least one ceramic vessel, and up to five ceramic vessels were placed within a tomb. Pottery types generally consisted of both painted and undecorated bowls and jars. Besides ceramic vessels, three tombs contained beads, one tomb contained a bone object, and two tombs received no grave goods.

Period	Number of Tombs
Early Northern Ubaid	4
Early-Late Northern Ubaid	2
Late Northern Ubaid	14
Late-Terminal Northern Ubaid	3
Terminal Northern Ubaid	7
Terminal Northern Ubaid-Early Post-Ubaid	4
Early Post-Ubaid	10
Late Post-Ubaid	4
Uncertain	15

Table 6.2 Table showing chronological allocation of fifth millennium burials from Tell Kashkashok (data from Koizumi 1996: 29)

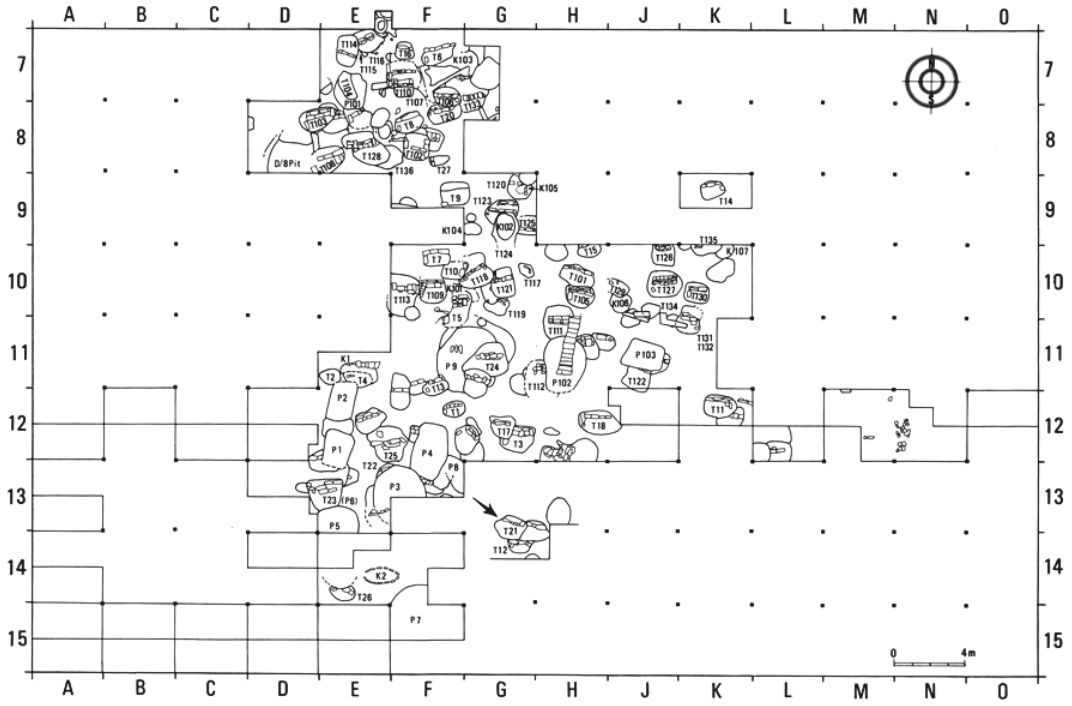


Figure 6.3 The spatial distribution of tombs at Tell Kashkashok II (reproduced from Matsutani 1991. Plate 55.)

Figure 6.4 Tombs T111 from Tell Kashkashok II (reproduced from Matsutani 1991. Plate 29)

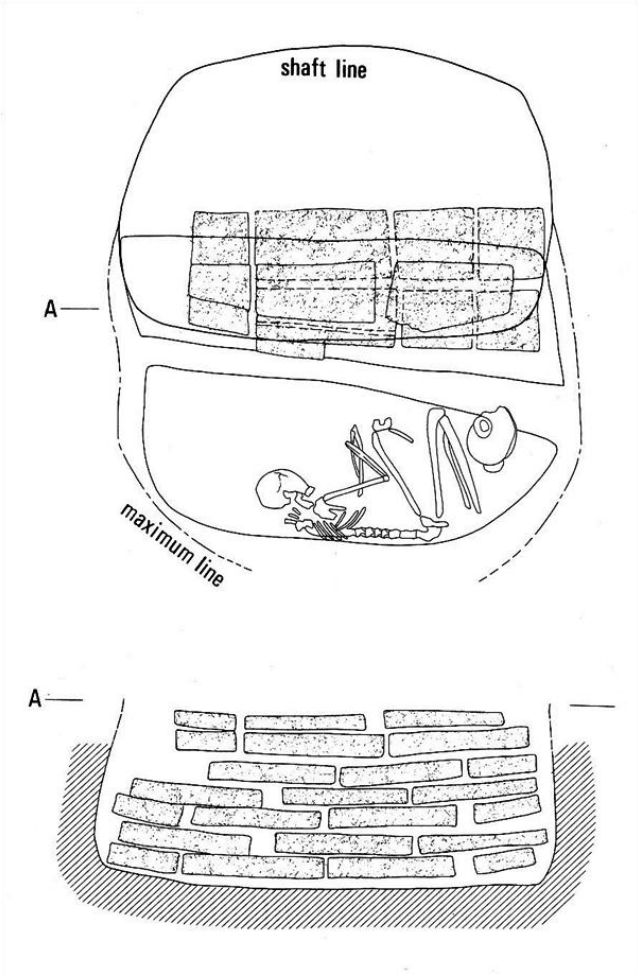


Figure 6.5 Plan and section of tomb T111 from Tell Kashkashok II (reproduced from Matsutani 1991. Plate 83)

6.1.3 The Ubaid cemetery at Ur

The Ubaid cemetery at Ur has revealed 36 graves dating to the Late Ubaid period (roughly contemporary with the cemetery at Eridu) as well as 11 later graves dating to the Terminal Ubaid period. The majority of graves at Ur consisted of rectangular shafts cut into the soil, six of which were lined with a layer of broken pot-sherds from large vessels. Two burials of the later period were associated with traces of mud-brick, which suggests they were originally brick lined burials (Woolley 1955: Appendix II; Wright and Pollock 1987: 327). Unfortunately, there is no information on the sex of the skeletons and the approximate age of the skeletal remains is unclear. It is noted in the publications when the skeletal remains were those of an infant (1 example), or child (1 example), which might imply that the remainder (and majority) were adult skeletons. However, it is clear from the published material that the skeletal remains were very badly preserved (to the extent that in certain cases few traces of skeletal remains remained), which may have made age and sex estimations difficult. It is clear from the published material that multiple burials were present in the burial sample, with two such burials documented for the Late Ubaid group and three for the Terminal Ubaid group. Notably, one grave (Burial PFG/L) contained a cluster of eight skulls and other fragmentary remains, and there are also some nine graves where only cranial remains were found (as well as one grave that was missing a skull). It is possible, therefore, that some bodies were disarticulated prior to burial. However, the generally poor preservation of the skeletal material may partly account for the fragmentary nature of some skeletal remains.

Of the small number of burials recovered in a reasonable state of preservation, it is clear that individuals associated with the Late Ubaid burial group were placed on the back in an extended position. Individuals belonging to the Terminal Ubaid group were for the most part wrapped in matting, and placed on the side with the legs slightly flexed and the hands placed in front of the face. In two graves of the Late Ubaid group (JJ and KK), traces of red haematite paint was recovered from the skeletal remains, suggesting that the body may have been painted prior to burial (Woolley 1955: 20-21). Apart from the presence of a bone pin in Grave PP and a string of beads in Grave T, there is no further evidence that the body was adorned as part of mortuary rites. As for other grave goods, every grave excavated at Ur contained at least one ceramic vessel, and seventeen

graves contained five or more vessels (Wright and Pollock 1987: 327). Non-pottery objects from the earlier period graves, besides from the pin and beads discussed above, include clay female figurines (four examples) and clay 'net-sinkers'. Although no figurines are attributed to the later period graves, beads are more common, and two graves contained limestone bowls, one a stone axe (suggested to be a copy on a metal original), another a steatite mace-head and one grave a copper spear-head (Woolley 1955: 20-21).

6.1.4 Eridu

Eridu (modern Tell Abu Shahrein) is a series of eight mounds (with a collective occupation spanning from the sixth to the first-millennium) located 24 kilometres southwest of Ur, in southern Iraq. Information on the Ubaid occupation derives from the so called 'Hut' and 'Temple' soundings conducted on the central areas of the mound, and the partial excavation of an extensive Ubaid cemetery. The burial ground was located outside the main acropolis and to the west-southwest of the contemporary settlement in the area of the 'HUT' sounding. Surveys indicate that the cemetery extended to the northwest and southwest, suggesting that it may have contained up to a thousand graves (Pariselle 1985: 2; Vértesalji 1989: 190). The 193 graves excavated at Eridu were partly sunk through occupational debris into virgin soil, and 170 of these were recorded and published in detail. Information was provided for the depth and orientation of graves, burial types, the sex and age of individuals, the position and orientation of the skeletal remains, as well as grave goods. Unfortunately, there is no information on the spatial distribution of graves. A study of the vessel forms recovered from the Eridu cemetery by Vértesalji (1984) suggests that the graves can be divided in to an earlier and later group, and the cemetery as a whole is thought to be contemporary with Temple VI and Hut levels IV-VII at the Eridu central mound (Ubaid 4) and the 'Ur Ubaid II' graves from the Ubaid cemetery at Ur (see below; Pariselle 1985: 2; Wright and Pollock: 1987: 326). An analysis of the Eridu cemetery data has been conducted by Pariselle (1985) and Wright and Pollock (1987), the results of which will be summarised below.

The principal method of burial at Eridu was interment in a 'box' constructed of sun-dried libn. The tombs were built by digging a shaft into the soil, the sides of which were then lined with mud-bricks to a height of around ten courses. The body was the placed directly on the sand floor at the bottom of the shaft, which was then filled with earth up to the level of the brick walls. Following the infilling, the box was sealed with one or more courses of brick (see Fig 6.6; Safar *et al.* 1981: 119). Bodies were also interred in simple pits as well as pits with brick floors or 'platforms'. The majority of graves were orientated in a north-westerly direction, and the bodies lay extended on their back with their face upwards. The numbers of each recorded grave type is summarised in Table 6.3 below:

Grave Type	Number	Percentage
Libn Box	107	63%
Simple Pit	51	30%
Pit with brick floor/platform	12	7%

Table 6.3 Table showing proportion of burial types from Eridu

The 170 graves recorded in detail contained at least 206 individuals. This is due to the fact that 35 (21%) of the graves contained multiple bodies, 28 of which contained the body of a male and a female. However, original estimations concerning the gender of individuals should be treated with caution, as females were occasionally identified on the basis of jewellery alone (see Safar *et al.* 1981: 123; Pariselle 1985: 3; Wright and Pollock 1987: 326). An analysis of the burial data by Wright and Pollock (1987) shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the numbers of multiple burials per grave type, with brick-floor burials having the highest number of multiple burials (5 graves out of 12), followed by brick boxes (24 graves out of 107) and finally simple pits (6 graves out of 51; Wright and Pollock 1986: 326). The excavators note that when multiple bodies were interred in libn boxes, the sealed tomb was broken, the fill removed, and either the bones were pushed aside to make way for the second body, or the second body was placed directly upon the first. It is also noted that there is some evidence that the width of libn boxes with multiple burials were greater than those of single burials, suggesting that a second interment was anticipated (Safar *et al.* 1981: 119). In one unusual case (Grave 97) 16 skulls and the remains of other bodies were

interred besides the complete skeleton of an adult male, which may imply that a segment of the population were selected for secondary mortuary rites.

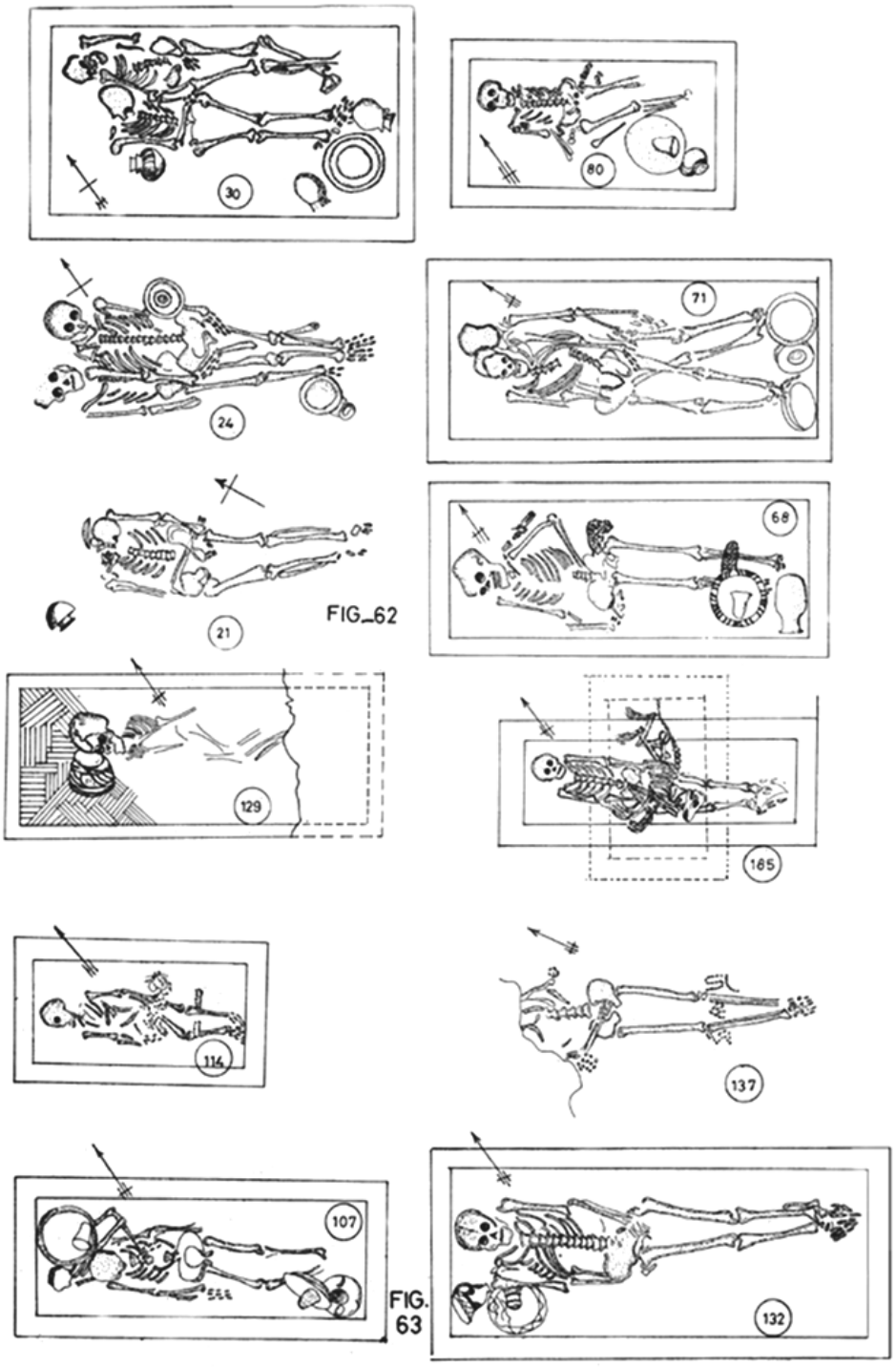


Figure 6.6 Plan of selected tombs and graves from the Ubaid cemetery at Eridu (reproduced from Safar *et al.* 1981. Fig. 62 and 63).

The general age distribution of the skeletal remains, presented in table 6.4 below, demonstrates a preponderance of adult interments compared to adolescents, children and infants. While the small number of adolescent skeletons identified may in fact reflect the difficulty faced by the excavators in recognising adolescent skeletal remains, the very small numbers of infant remains recorded support the notion that infants were interred elsewhere. It must be stated however, that for the most part, only the approximate age of individuals are reported in the published record, and must therefore be treated with caution. Information on the sex of skeletons from the available data suggest that a higher number of females were interred compared to males. However, due to the unreliable methods employed by the excavators to establish the sex of human skeletal remains (discussed above), this interpretation must also be treated with caution.

Age			
Adult	Adolescent	Child	Infant
133 (68.6%)	7 (3.6%)	48 (24.7%)	6 (3.1%)

Sex	
Male	Female
34 (37.4%)	57 (62.6%)

Table 6.4 Tables showing age and sex ratios from the Eridu cemetery

A detailed analysis of the grave goods conducted by Wright and Pollock (1987) demonstrate that the majority of graves (138 graves out of 170) contained at least one ceramic vessel, with sets of three pots (58 graves out of 170) the most frequent. Only twelve graves contained five or more vessels, and ten of these graves were multiple burials. Overall, vessel quantities do not seem to relate to the age or sex of the deceased, but instead vary according to the method of interment, with libn box and brick floor burials receiving more vessels than simple pit inhumations. However, within the subcategory of Libn Box and Brick Floor Burials, on average adults receive more vessels than sub-adults and females more than males (Wright and Pollock 1987: 327). In terms of the vessel types deposited with the dead, both Pariselle (1985: 8) and Wright and Pollock (1987) note that individuals received a standardised set of painted and unpainted vessels, namely a jar, a medium bowl and a beaker or cup. On the whole, vessel types are not restricted to particular age/sex categories or burial types. However, unpainted beakers (Type 11) occur primarily with children and adult females, while

four-lugged jars are predominantly associated with children (Wright and Pollock 1987: 326-7).

Besides ceramic vessels, beads (13 graves) and animal bones (9 graves) are the most common form of grave good. A stone dish, traces of reed matting, ochre paint, clay pellets, cowrie shells and a figurine were also associated with burials. Of the beads the most common materials used were frit, obsidian and calcite. The beads were recovered around the hips/pelvis area, at the jaw and knees, and rarely at the neck and waist of skeletons (Pariselle 1985: 8; Wright and Pollock 1987: 327). Beads were most likely attached to clothing, with those situated at the neck and wrists presumably necklaces/bracelets. Other items of adornment include two small cylindrical pegs of obsidian that were pierced at one end, their location either side of a skull implying their use as earrings. A group of three pierced beads were also found besides the mouth of a skull, which may suggest their use as a nose ornament, and a possible finger ring was also identified (Safar *et al.* 1981: 123). Although beads appear restricted to female and child skeletons, it must be remembered that female skeletons were often identified solely by the presence of jewellery.

6.1.5 Discussion

A review of the burial methods (grave construction, grave orientation, position of the body) and grave-good assemblages recorded for fifth-millennium communal burial grounds suggests that burial rites were remarkably uniform compared to earlier Late Neolithic burial practices. However, despite the highly variable quality of recording and analysis for human remains across these sites, there is compelling evidence that certain individuals were selected for secondary mortuary rites. While a significant number of fragmentary and disarticulated burials were recorded at Arpachiyah in northern Iraq, there is also evidence to suggest that individuals were selected for differential mortuary treatment at Ur (a cluster of 8 skulls) and Eridu (cluster of 16 skulls besides a complete burial). It is also significant that infant remains are significantly underrepresented in communal burial grounds, suggesting their unsuitability for such rites and their interment in alternative contexts.

It can be inferred from the burial data (Chapter 5) and the case studies discussed above that the quantity and types of objects placed with the dead during the fifth millennium appear to have been highly restricted compared to Late Neolithic traditions. There is little evidence for elaborate wealth consumption in the burials discussed above, and very little evidence for wealth differentiation between burial groups. Instead, there seems to be a concern over the provisioning of the dead with a highly standard and restricted range of items (Bernbeck 1995b: 50). This encompassed the preparation and adorning of the body, and the provisioning of the dead with a standardised dining set (ceramic vessels, bowls and cups) that most probably contained food offerings (Pariselle 1985: 8). At Eridu, it is evident that cuts of meat and fish were placed either beside the corpse, in the fill of graves or on top of sealed tombs. The predominance of ceramic forms - and presumably food offerings - in burials suggests that the consumption of foodstuffs was an important aspect of social life during the fifth millennium, which is no doubt related to accompanying changes in food production (the secondary products revolution) and increased dietary diversification (alcohol, dairy products etc. see section 6.2.3 below). Moreover, it is possible that this relatively uniform practice of 'feeding' the dead, as the evidence from Eridu suggests, may be related to the provisioning of ancestors. Notably, these practices do not appear to extend to infant burials, which will be discussed separately in the sections that follow.

In sum, a review of the Ubaid burial record at Arpachiyah, Tell Kashkashok, Ur and Eridu indicates that funerary consumption was highly circumscribed, as the dead were now provisioned with a restricted range of vessel forms - and the substances contained within them - as part of funerary rites. This supports the analysis presented in Chapter 5, which indicates that despite a slight increase in funerary consumption compared to the Late Neolithic Period, the scale of wealth removal in burials (as measured by quantity of grave-goods) remained relatively low. It was argued in Chapter 4 that ostentatious displays of wealth during the Late Neolithic were restricted by the complex relationships established between objects and persons in these early village communities. As such, objects had to undergo ritually mediated processes of destruction and discard alongside the dead prior to consumption. By the fifth millennium, it appears that the boundaries established between persons and things were reconfigured as household production intensified and interaction spheres expanded, stimulating the dissemination of new commodity forms across Greater Mesopotamia. In the sections

that follow, it will be argued that transformations in burial practices should be understood in relation to these wider social processes. To be specific, it will be suggested that the low levels of material wealth in the burial record can now be linked to the spread of commodity forms that functioned as stores of value, most notably metals, which appear to have remained in circulation.

6.2 Networks of interaction, household production and the circulation of goods

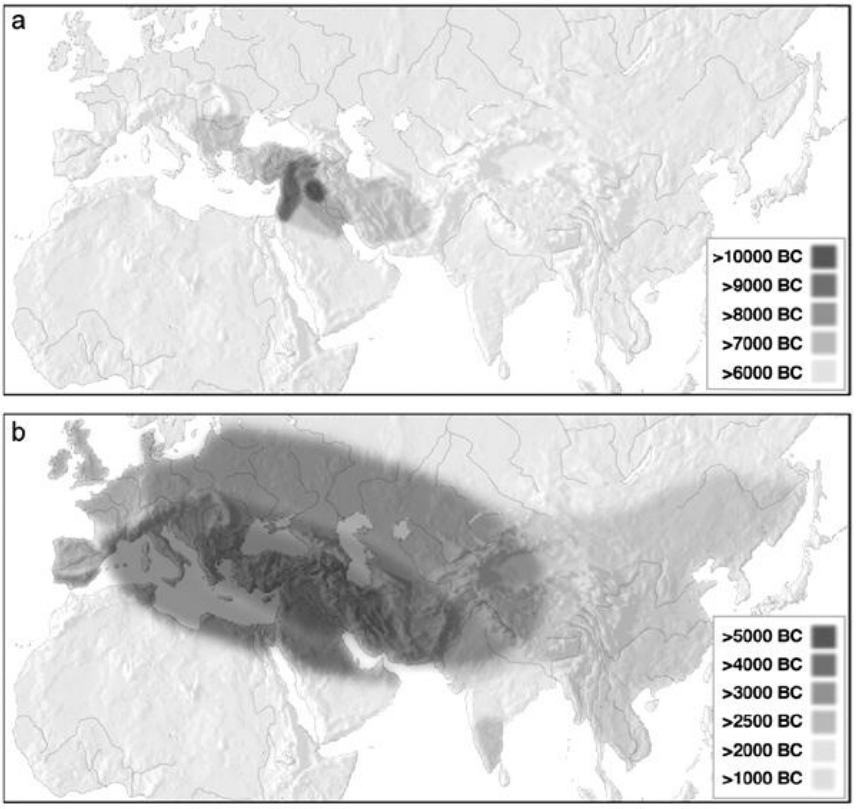
The close cultural affinity of prehistoric communities throughout Greater Mesopotamia during the fifth millennium is implied by the widespread distribution of Ubaid material culture, which formed a horizon extending across the southern alluvium, southeast and south-central Turkey, the Syro-Iraqi Jezireh, southwest Iran, and the western shores of the Persian Gulf (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 154; Carter 2006; 2009; Stein and Özbal 2007: 331). This expanding sphere of interaction fostered the dissemination of new commodity forms originally introduced on the margins of the Fertile Crescent. This is evident in the distribution of sophisticated metallurgical industries across highland zones, which introduced smelted and cast metal products throughout the region (Matthews and Fazeli 2004; Roberts *et al.* 2009; Thornton 2009; Yener 2000). Developments in arboriculture on the outskirts of the Fertile Crescent added variety to the staple suite of crops (Zohary and Hopf 2001), bringing forth not only a diversification in dietary practices, but also a range of storable commodities for exchange (Sherratt 1999: 23, 28). The spread of new commodity forms during this period opened up unprecedented possibilities for interaction and transaction, which was aided by increasingly sophisticated packaging and 'accounting' devices (sealing mechanisms, tokens and proto-tablets). Moreover, the introduction of new substances fostered widely shared forms of consumption and social display (distinctive vessel forms, foodstuffs, alcohol, metals, milk, possibly wool garments). The role of lowland Mesopotamia in these processes appears to lie in the ability of villages to act as 'middlemen' by redirecting the flow of goods from diverse regions – a position that would be increasingly exploited by lowland communities during the fourth millennium BC (Sherratt 1999: 26, 28).

This influx of commodities was accompanied by important changes in household organization and productive output during the Late Ubaid. In central and southern Mesopotamia the archetypal dwelling structure was the tripartite house, which suggests that the fundamental social unit during the fifth millennium was the extended family. By the latter half of the fifth millennium BC (Ubaid 3-4), tripartite house forms are widespread throughout the Greater Mesopotamian region, and there is increasing evidence for intra-village hierarchization (Bernbeck 1995a: 20). The highly uniform and compartmentalised use of space in fifth millennium houses attest to the broad range of tasks now performed in the domestic realm (Wengrow 1998: 791), and the scale of domestic production has been compared with proto-industrialised cottage industries (Rothman 2001: 363; Yener 2000: 38). *In situ* materials recovered from these structures attest to their use as spaces for the processing of foodstuffs (Gurdil 2005: 223; Pollock 2010: 98; Roaf 1989: 135-6), chipped and ground stone tools (Gurdil 2005: 225; 2010: 369), textiles (Gurdil 2005: 225; 2010; Roaf 1989: 124) and metal objects (Esin 1989: 137; Gurdil 2005: 281-282; 2010: 365; Yener 2000: 33-44). Other areas of social life were also re-orientated towards the domestic sphere, prompting a number of changes in the way people socialised and interacted on a day-to-day basis. The artefact inventories and architectural features of tripartite houses suggest that they were also the foci for consumption-orientated hospitality such as feasting (Helwing 2003: 73; Pollock 2010), the exchange of goods (Esin 1985; Gurdil 2005: 224; Jasim and Oates 1986), and ritual/religious activities (Gurdil 2005: 225-228; Rothman 2002: 75-83; Stein and Özbal 2007: 337).

6.2.1 The development of complex metallurgy during the fifth millennium BC

The fifth millennium BC saw the development of increasingly sophisticated metalworking technologies such as smelting, casting and alloying in highland zones located on the margins of the Fertile Crescent. These innovations developed from a long tradition of experimentation with metal, as native copper and other metals had been cold-worked into objects from as early as the aceramic Neolithic in Anatolia (Çayönü in south-east Turkey), and at least by the early-mid sixth millennium BC in highland Iran (Craddock 2001: 153; Thornton 2009: 308; Yener 2000: 20-22). By the earlier

Chalcolithic period copper was being cold-worked into increasingly sophisticated tools and weapons such as chisels, flat axes and mace heads (Mersin and Çan Hasan; Yener 2000: 32). Metal objects, albeit in very small numbers, also found their way down to lowland regions as far a central Iraq. Metal objects have been recorded at sites such as Tell Maghzaliyah, Arpachiyah, Tell Hassuna, Yarim Tepe, Tell es-Sawwan and Domuztepe (Carter *et al.* 2003: 125. Fig.14; Heskel 1983: 364; Matthews and Fazeli 2004: 71; Moorey 1994: 255; 1982: 17- 19; Potts 1997: 165; Roberts *et al.* 2009: 1012; Yener 2000: 32). It is likely that these early metals would have reached lowland north Mesopotamian communities along obsidian trade routes. The presence of alabaster vessels (identical to those found at Tell es-Sawwan) and Hassuna/early Samarra vessel sherds at sites located close to native copper sources in highland Iran point towards the flow of goods between both areas (Iranian turquoise was also present at Tell es-Sawwan). Evidence for the early trade in metals may also be implied by the penetration of Halaf ceramics into northern Syria and eastern Anatolia along routes to mines in the region (Moorey 1982: 14).



6.7 A) The exploitation of copper ores and naturally occurring copper metal; B) The spread of copper smelting technology (reproduced from Roberts *et al.* 2009. Fig. 1)

It is during the fifth millennium BC, however, that the casting, forging, smelting and alloying of metals becomes widespread in highland zones at sites such as Değirmentepe in Anatolia and Tal-i Iblis in the Iranian highlands, while in the Levant objects manufactured from arsenical copper imported from the Caucuses or eastern Anatolia were found at Nahal Mishmar and Shiqmim (see Fig 6.7 above; Golden *et al*. 2001; Goren 2008; Levy and Shalev 1989; Roberts *et al.* 2009: 1012; Thornton 2009: 308-310; Yener 2000: 33-44). By way of contrast, there is limited evidence for metallurgy in lowland Mesopotamia. Evidence for the circulation of metals in lowland zones include the copper spear-head found from a Late Ubaid grave at Ur in southern Iraq; the 55 copper axes, 11 copper disks, and copper needle, burin and chisel recovered from the Susa A cemetery in south-west Iran; and unidentified metal (copper?) objects (a 'ring', 'small ball' and a 'lump') from Tell Abada (Hole 1983; Jasim 1983: 181; Matthews and Fazeli 2004: 71; Woolley 1955: 20-21). However, indirect evidence for the circulation of metals in lowland zones is implied by green-ware pottery tools, which were either copies of metal originals or models used for sand-casting. These include items such as the ceramic shaft-hole axe heads found at Eridu, Telloh, Tell Uqair and al 'Ubaid (see Fig 6.8 below; Kayani 1996: 135; Moorey 1982: 19-20; 1994: 256; Oates and Oates 2004: 180; Yener 2000: 33).

Figure 6.8 Ceramic axe-heads from Tell Uqair (left: reproduced from Lloyd and Safar 1943. Plates XVIII) and Telloh (right: photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)

The widespread distribution of these skeuomorphs throughout lowland Mesopotamia suggests that metal goods were extensively circulated during the fifth-millennium. Moreover, the efforts invested in reproducing metal object forms in other materials imply that the metal originals were highly valued. It is also plausible that copper axes, such as those recovered from Susa, were in-fact ingot forms. The axes from Susa were cast from soft native copper, suggesting that they were not used for conventional practical purposes (Hole 1983). It is notable that a later cache of eight copper axes of roughly equal weight found at Jebel Aruda (Uruk period) have been interpreted as ingots (Algaze 2001a: 2008: 76). It is perhaps no coincidence either, that the early Sumerian cuneiform sign GÍN, meaning axe, was also used for the term *shekel* (currency; Reade 2002: 249). As such, the copper disks (often referred to as mirrors) found at Susa may also have been a standard ingot form. This hypothesis is supported by later evidence in the form of a 'jeweller's kit' recently found at Late Chalcolithic Hamoukar, which contained copper disks and silver wire stored within a vessel (Reichel 2008: 80-81; copper disks have also been recovered from an Uruk period burial at Susa; see Steve and Gasche 1990: 22).

Archaeological evidence for early copper metallurgy in the Near East suggests that the earliest forms of copper smelting made use of crucibles rather than furnaces – a process that would leave little evidence for smelting activities such as slag (Craddock 2001). A number of scholars have also debated the relationship between pottery production and the development of metalworking technologies (Heskel 1983: 363; Moorey 1982: 20; Rostoker 1975; Wertime 1964: 1265; 1973: 881). A study by Kayani (1996), for example, presents a convincing argument for the co-development of early arsenical copper metallurgy and high-temperature pottery industries during the late fifth millennium. His analyses of Late Ubaid 'greenware' ceramics from Tepe Gawra indicates that these vessels were regularly fired at temperatures high enough for copper smelting (Kayani 1996: 135, 137, see also Hansen Streili 2001: 76; Tite 1999: 190).

Notably, the greenish hue of Ubaid vessels is a product of the high-temperatures obtained during the firing process, which implies that the Late Ubaid 'greenware phenomenon' reflects the widespread adoption of high-temperature kiln firing techniques throughout Greater Mesopotamia (Kayani 1996: 137). Given that high-temperature firing techniques offer no improvements in the mechanical properties of

vessels, it is unlikely that this production method was adopted for any technological or practical advancements in pottery production. It is possible, therefore, that high-temperature pottery industries developed in response to the techniques of early arsenical copper production. Furthermore, the skeuomorphic semblance of greenware ceramics with the arsenical copper patinas of valuable metal artefacts may have triggered the widespread dissemination of high-fired ceramic forms through a process of emulation (Kayani 1996: 139-140).

Taking these points into consideration, to argue that metals were not widely circulated on the basis that very few copper objects have been found in the archaeological record is misleading. The relative paucity of metal objects from contexts where they are often assumed to be found - such as cemeteries – may simply reflect the fact that metals were not withdrawn from circulation through funerary rites (for a comparable argument, see Philip 2007: 188). Metals are often kept in circulation because they have the capacity - due to their material properties - to be continuously re-worked into new object forms, allowing for the transfer of value in the process. These factors contribute towards the efficacy of metals as a medium of exchange, since they can function as convertible stores of wealth and are able to transcend different cultural regimes of value (Appadurai 1986: 15; Shennan 1993: 62-3; Wengrow 2010a: 57).

The paucity of metal objects in the burial record at sites such as Eridu and Ur implies that metal goods were not removed from circulation as part of mortuary rites. Although copper objects (55 copper axes, 11 copper disks, a copper needle, burin and chisel) were recorded from the burial ground at Susa, this assemblage is relatively small considering that the cemetery may have contained as many as 2,000 interments. Furthermore, current interpretations of the Susa cemetery suggest that it was essentially a mass grave resulting from a catastrophe, and is therefore unlikely to provide an accurate representation of fifth-millennium mortuary practices (see discussion of Susa in section 12.1.39; Bernbeck 1995b: 54; Hole 1990). The evidence suggests, therefore, that metals - as stores of value - were kept in circulation and transmitted across generations, thereby enabling the accumulation of wealth within descent groups (cf. Bernbeck 1995b: 54). While current evidence suggests that metal goods were not removed from circulation through transactions with the dead, it will be proposed in the sections that follow that the flow of goods was mediated by alternative ritual frameworks.

6.2.2 Domestic metal production and intramural burial practices at Değirmentepe

The intensified scale of commerce that emerged during the Ubaid period was no doubt both the stimulus and the outcome of the increased productive output of Ubaid households, which in some cases operated on a scale comparable to 'cottage-industries' (Rothman 2001: 363; Yener 2000: 38). To further explore how patterns of wealth consumption in burials relate to the reconfiguration of the household as a productive unit, I will explore the close relationships between domestic ritual, mortuary practices and productive processes within domestic contexts. Evidence for the domestic character of early metal production derives from the site of Değirmentepe, which is situated on the southern floodplain of the Turkish Euphrates some 24 km northeast of Malatya. Eleven occupation levels dating to the Chalcolithic period were excavated at Değirmentepe, and building levels 9-6 are considered to be Ubaid related (Helwing 2003: 71; Özbek 2001: 239; Yener 2000: 33-4).

An extensive portion of the Level 7 occupation at Değirmentepe was exposed, revealing a densely packed settlement composed of some 14 agglutinated architectural units that date to the Ubaid 4 period. A careful reanalysis of the Level 7 buildings by Gurdil (2005) suggests that the major structures of this phase can be further divided into sub-phases 7a and 7b. However, Gurdil states that these sub-phases most probably overlapped, thus making the structures from Level 7 roughly contemporary (see Table 6.5; Gurdil 2005: 177-179). Despite suggestions that certain structures at Değirmentepe were special purpose buildings, such as temples (Esin1989: 137), it is clear from the assemblage of materials associated with these structures that they primarily functioned as domestic dwellings. However, regardless of their domestic function, these dwellings were also focal points for other activities, such as the production, packaging and storage of goods; consumption led hospitality; and religious practices (see an extensive study of the spatial organization of activities at Değirmentepe by Gurdil 2005; see also Helwing 2003; Yener 2000).

Değirmentepe Building Phase 7		
Building	**Gurdil's Designation**	**Esin's Designation**
AS	A	6
Room DA	A	6
EE	B1	7a
GK	B1	7a
Late DU	B1	7a
Room GR	B1	7a
EL	B2	7b
İ	B2	7b
BC	B2	7b
FD	B2	7b
FC	B2	7b
FN	B2	7b
BY1	B2	7b
Early DU	B2	7b
Room GS	B2	7b
Room HB-EJ	B2	7b
Room EY	B2	7b
Room EZ	B2	7b
Multi-Room Buildings to South of GK, DU, İ	B2	7b
South of İ	B3	-

Table 6.5 Table showing designation of building sub-phases within Level 7 at Değirmentepe.

Evidence for metallurgical production at Değirmentepe has been discussed extensively by Yener (2000), who suggests that Değirmentepe was a special function site for the production of copper objects. Evidence for metallurgy-related activities at Değirmentepe include the presence of hearths that were also utilized as natural draft furnaces; larger pyrotechnical installations; slag; ore; metals; crucibles; as well as grinding equipment. Notably, evidence for metallurgical production was for the most part restricted to the confines of tripartite dwellings, not specialised workshops (Yener 2000: 42). Building I, for example, yielded a significant concentration of materials relating to metal production, which included a number of hearth/furnaces, slag distributed in every room, fragments of copper and copper prills, as well as a crucible (Yener 2000: 36). Perhaps the most salient feature of metal production at Değirmentepe is that domestic hearths doubled up as furnaces for smelting copper, implying a close association between the production of metals and foodstuffs through the transformative properties of fire.

The material assemblages from these buildings also attest to their function as domestic spaces (i.e. hearths, serving/storage vessels, ground stone tools, clay 'nails' and sickles), spaces for the production of stone tools (stone hammers, axes, celts, mace-heads),

textile manufacture (spindle whorls, bone awls), the packaging and distribution of goods (seals and sealings) and ritual activities (podiums, basins, pits, burials; Gurdil 2005: 222-228). The extensive use of sealing mechanisms at Değirmentepe is indicated by the 24 stone seals and vast amount of clay sealings that were used to seal mobile containers such as jars, baskets and leather sacks. Twelve of the seals were recovered from the central halls tripartite dwellings; while 11 seals were located in the smaller side rooms of these structures (one seal was not *in situ*). The largest concentration of seals derived from Building I, where five were found in the central room (Helwing 2003: 73). Clay sealings were distributed throughout the settlement and are found in both the central halls and side rooms of tripartite structures, suggesting that control over sealing activities was in the hands of individual households as opposed to a central institution. Interestingly, a number of seal impressions could be matched with seals found at the site, suggesting that at least some goods were packaged and distributed locally (Esin 1985: 255; Yener 2000: 43).

Much has been made of the ritual features found in the tripartite structures at Değirmentepe, leading some to suggest that they functioned as temples (see Table 6.6; Esin 1989: 137; Helwing 2003: 71). Six of the eight tripartite structures excavated from Level 7 had white plastered walls in the central halls, five of which were painted with 'sun' motifs (possible depictions of hearth-furnaces or fire?). Notably, the pigments used in the painted decorations included forms of iron ore and limonite, which may have been bi-products of copper production (Yener 2000: 36). Mud-brick platforms or 'podia' were also present in the central rooms of five of the tripartite structures, some of which were associated with other features and materials such as pigments, basins, in situ pots, human and animal remains as well as areas of burning. Finally, five tripartite structures were associated with burials, which will be discussed in detail below (Esin 1989: 137; Gurdil 2005: 222-228; Helwing 2003: 71). Again, the presence of ritual features in such structures does not necessarily imply their role as *public* spaces or temples. Rather, it seems that religious practices were essentially confined to the household. It is likely that much ritual significance was accorded to metallurgical production, particularly in relation to smelting; being that both activities were preformed in the same space. Indeed, a human mandible was found built in to an oven wall in Room D, stressing the symbolic significance of the hearth (Helwing 2003: 71).

Building	Wall paintings and Plaster	Platform	Hearth	Burials
EE	Yes	Yes	Yes (central room)	Yes
EL	-	Yes	Yes	-
GK	Yes	-	-	Yes
DU	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
FD	Yes (plaster only)	Yes	Yes	-
BC	-	-	Yes	Yes
I	Yes	-	Yes (central room)	Yes
FC	Yes	Yes	-	-

Table 6.6 'Ritual' features associated with buildings at Değirmentepe (data taken from Gurdil 2005)

Published information on the Değirmentepe burial record is relatively limited. However, information on burials obtained from available published material and field notes is provided in a study by Gurdil (2005). Gurdil lists a total of 33 Ubaid burials (34 individuals) from building level 7, and provides information (when available) on burial types, burial location and the age of skeletons. The spatial distribution of burials at Değirmentepe shows that the majority were associated with five tripartite structures (see Table 6.7 below). However, unlike the burial distribution at sites such as Tell Abada (discussed below), the number of burials associated with each building does not vary significantly. In terms of the spatial distribution of burials within the structures, the majority of burials appear to be located in the side rooms that flank the central hall of tripartite structures. Burials are also located in the central halls of Buildings I and DU. In comparing the spatial distribution of burials to other features or assemblages (metallurgy, sealing mechanisms, 'ritual' features), there does not appear to be any clear-cut relationship between the location of burials and particular activities carried out within the settlement (see Table 6.8 and Fig. 6.9 below).

Building	Room	Number of Burials
EE	DB	6
	EC	1
GK	CM	1
	CH	2
	CY	1
BC	AU	1
	BD	2
	BB	1
DU	AY	3
	BE	1
	DU	1
	DV	1
I	U	2
	I	1
	R	1
	AD	4
	DU	1
	CF	2
	BK	1

Table 6.7 Table showing the distribution of burials from Değirmentepe Level 7 (data taken from Gurdil 2005)

Building	Room	Number of Burials	Metallurgy	Sealings	Seals
EE	DB	6	Yes (M/S)	Yes (35)	No
	EC	1	No	No	No
GK	CM	1	No	No	No
	CH	2	No	No	No
	CY	1	No	No	No
BC	AU	1	Yes (S)	Yes (60)	Yes (2)
	BD	2	Yes (S)	Yes (20)	Yes (1)
	BB	1	No	Yes (118)	No
DU	AY	3	No	No	No
	BE	1	Yes (S)	No	No
	DU	1	Yes (S)	Yes (20)	Yes (2)
	DV	1	No	Yes (1)	No
I	U	2	Yes (M/S)	Yes (10)	No
	I	1	Yes (S/C/O/M)	Yes (27)	Yes (5)
	R	1	Yes (S)	Yes (10)	No
	AD	4	Yes (S/O)	Yes (5)	No

Table 6.8 Tables showing the relationship between burials and evidence for other activities and features in dwelling structures from Değirmentepe (note: S = slag; C = crucible; O = ore; M = metal; data taken from Gurdil 2005 and Yener 2000).

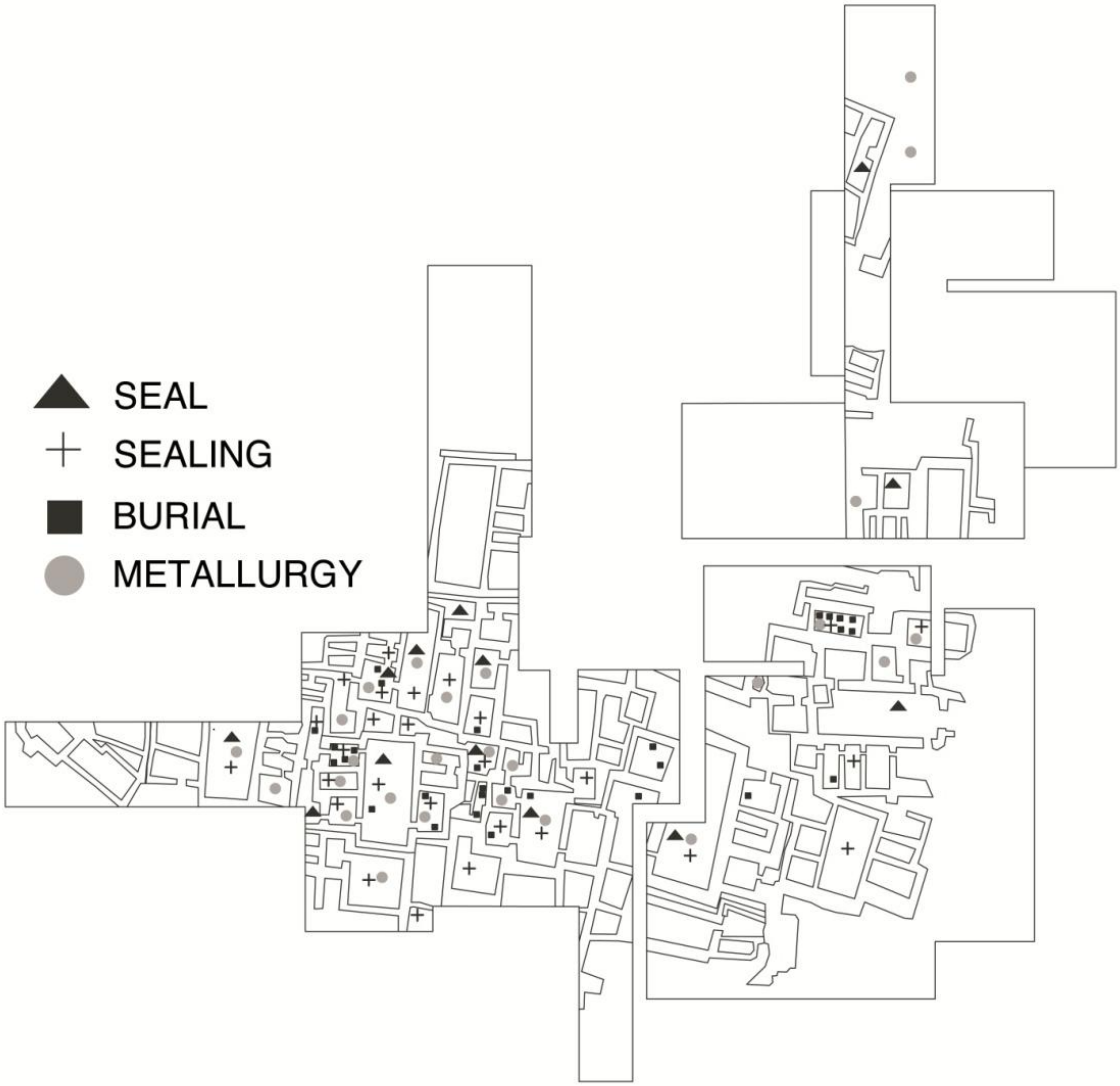


Figure 6.9 Plan showing the spatial distribution of burials and other activities at Değirmentepe Level 7 (authors own, data taken from Gurdil 2005 and Yener 2000).

A study of the skeletal remains from 31 individuals at Değirmentepe by Özbek (2003) provides information on the age range of the skeletal sample as well as evidence for artificial cranial deformation. While it is not possible to correlate Özbek's data with that provided by Gurdil (2005), the data presented by Özbek does provide some indication of the general age range of the burials found at Değirmentepe. According to both reports, the majority of burials were those of infants or children, and only one adult burial and one adolescent burial (13-14 years old) is recorded. The study conducted by Özbal (2003) shows that infant burials ranged in age from foetuses to 2.5 years, and child burials ranged between 6 to 10 years. A single adolescent skeleton was aged

around 13-14 years. Furthermore, Özbal's study reveals that 13 skeletons showed clear evidence for intentional cranial deformation. This practice spanned all age ranges from the sample, and was achieved by binding the head with bandages to achieve the circular flattening or compression of the frontal bone of the skull. Due to the difficulties in sexing the skeletal samples as a result of their age range, it is not possible to deduce whether or not such practices were restricted to either males or females (Özbal 2003: 240).

Burial Type	Number
Simple Inhumation?	7
Wall Burial	5
Vessel Burial	13
Grain Bin Burial	5

Table 6.9 Table showing the methods of burial recorded for Değirmentepe

Based upon the data provided by Gurdil (2005), there are four principal methods of interment at Değirmentepe (see Table 6.9 above). Vessel burials are the most frequent form of burial recorded (13 examples recorded; in 6 cases bodies were interred in Dark Faced Burnished Ware vessels). In one instance the remains of two infants were found within a single vessel. Bodies were also interred within clay cylindrical containers that appear to have been used to store grain (5 examples) and located within the rooms of structures. Skeletal remains (in some cases only the skull and long bones) were also found within the walls of structures, although it is unclear whether these remains were placed within the wall during phases of construction, or rather placed in some form of niche cut into the wall. Finally there are seven instances where no specific information is given on the method of burial, suggestive of a simple inhumation in a pit, presumably made below the floors of structures or in-between phases of building construction (Gurdil 2005: 284).

Based upon the available data, the burial record from Değirmentepe may be said to conform to general patterns of burial during the fifth millennium BC, and is broadly similar to that observed for Tell Abada (discussed below) and the slightly later occupation at Tepe Gawra Level XII (discussed in Chapter 8). Following general patterns of burial for the fifth millennium BC, intramural burials at Değirmentepe were

for the most part restricted to infants and children. Furthermore, there is a concern to bury the dead within containers associated with the storage and preparation of foodstuffs - a phenomenon that can observed at other Ubaid settlements (see discussion below). Burials were also interred below the floors of structures and even physically integrated into the very fabric of the household, suggesting a close relationship between phases of architectural reconstruction and the burial of the dead. More significantly, perhaps, is that the evidence from Değirmentepe highlights the important role of the household as a space where substances could flow and be transformed into valuable commodities. The presence of domestic ritual features (intramural burials, altars and offering tables) in contexts also associated with the manufacture, packaging and administration of goods (sealing mechanisms, tokens and proto-tablets) suggest that the domestic realm now provided the moral context where goods could openly circulate and undergo ritually mediated processes of refinement and transformation.

6.2.3 Secondary farming, dietary diversification and burial rites

Accompanying the flow of metals during the fifth millennium, a variety of new cultigens emerged on the margins of the Fertile Crescent beyond ecological zones utilized for intensive cereal agriculture. These included tree-crops such as the olive, grape-vine and date palm; varieties which could be propagated vegetatively as opposed to more complex techniques such as grafting (Huot 1989: 26; Salavert 2008: 553; Sherratt 1999: 23; Zohary and Hopf 2001: 142, 149, 169). The earliest archaeological evidence for grape cultivation in the Near East derives from the late sixth-millennium (5400-5000 BC) site of Hajji Firuz Tepe in the northern Zagros region of Iran, where a number of ceramic vessels are reported to have contained wine with a *Pistacia* tree resin additive (McGovern *et al.* 1996: 480; Miller 2008: 941).

The spread of the grape-vine to south-west Iran by the fifth millennium (4300 cal. BC) is attested by pollen core evidence from Lake Zeribar, and cultivation gradually extended down the Zagros chain to the south-east at Godin Tepe (jar residues indicating wine) and further south still at Malyan (domestic grape seeds) by the late fourth millennium BC (Michel *et al*. 1993: 409; Miller 2008). At this point grape-vine cultivation in eastern Anatolia is attested by the presence of domestic grape seeds

recovered from Kurban Höyük, and the circulation of wine as a commodity during this period is implied by the residues found in ceramic vessels from Uruk, Telloh and Susa in the southern alluvium (Algaze 2008: 96; Miller 2008: 942; Zohary and Hopf 2001: 157).

Coinciding with these developments in tree-crop horticulture were further advancements in animal economies that are likely to have developed during the fifth millennium (and possibly earlier see Kansa *et al.* 2009). Faunal data from Kermanshah in Western Iran and Kosak Shomali in Syria show that by the late fifth-millennium BC there is a higher frequency of older animals in caprine faunal assemblages, implying the exploitation of caprines for secondary products such as milk and wool (Davis 1984: 274; Gourichon and Helmer 2003: 276; Sherratt 1983: 98-99; 1997b: 539; 1999: 26; Sudo 2010: 174). This is supported in a recent study by Sudo (2010), which suggests that changes in spindle whorl manufacture and faunal assemblages from Kosak Shomali and Telul eth-Thalathat II point towards the increasing exploitation of caprines for wool by the Late Ubaid. Sudo demonstrates that at both sites the weight of whorls decrease through time, which may reflect a shift towards the spinning of finer, softer fibres towards the end of the fifth millennium. By the fourth millennium, archaeozoological, textual and iconographic evidence suggests that wool-bearing sheep were widely adopted throughout the Fertile Crescent (McCorriston 1997: 521).

An important aspect of this experimentation with new cultigens was the transfer of yeasts from fruit crops to malted cereals, which was required to make leavened bread and beer (Sherratt 1995: 26; 1999: 26; Wengrow 2010: 59-60). Chemical evidence for beer production derives from a double-handed jug from Godin Tepe, which dates to the late fourth millennium BC (Michel, McGovern and Badler 1992: 24; 1993: 412-3). It is likely, however, that beer production has its origins in the fifth millennium. The widespread consumption of liquids during the Ubaid is inferred by the ceramic assemblage, which includes spouted vat and jar forms as well as decorated cups (Frangipane 1994a: 231-2; Joffe 1998: 303; Pollock 2010: 95), and communal drinking scenes (human figures situated around large vessels with straws) appear in seal iconography at the very beginning of the fourth millennium (LC 2, c. 4000 BC; Pittman 2001: 417; Rothman 2002: Plate 49).

The exact methods used to produce beer made from barley or emmer wheat during this period is unknown, but may be cautiously reconstructed using later sources on brewing processes. According to some reconstructions, the beginning of the production process involved either forming a gruel consisting ground malt, cereal and water; or baked beer loaves made up of malted flour mixed with flour and yeast. Either mixture would then have been mixed with water, and strained into a jar or some other form of vat. Fermentation was achieved either through the yeasts present in unwashed vat jars, yeasts from the addition of fruits, or by the addition of beer from previous brews (Homan 2004: 91; Jennings et al 2005: 280; Katz and Voigt 1986: 30-32). Given beers propensity to spoil (ancient beer would last no longer than a week) the mouths of storage jars were stopped with clay and sealed over with a layer of clay or plaster. In addition, jars were often lined with a layer of clay or bitumen to ensure the impermeability of vessels (Jennings *et al.* 2005: 281).

It was observed in section 6.1.5 that serving vessels are frequently recorded in burials, suggesting that the consumption of foodstuffs was an important aspect of social life during the fifth millennium. A notable aspect of intramural burial practices during the fifth millennium is the burial of infants and young children within ceramic vessels. In Chapter 4, I outlined how this phenomenon may have been related to wider equivalences between containers and human bodies, and I discussed the possibility that vessels may have been 'gendered' or representative of certain body parts, such as wombs. Alternatively, the custom of placing the dead in ceramic vessels and other containers, such as grain bins, may have been conceptually related to contemporary practices surrounding the production and storage of organic consumables (i.e. foodstuffs). In fact, both interpretations may be broadly complementary. In many potting communities, wombs are often compared to clay vessels and the foetus is conceived as being 'cooked' in the same way as food (Gosselain 1999: 212; see also Barley 1994: 106-7). At Tell Abada and Abu Husaini in the Hamrin region of central Iraq, infants were frequently placed into deep pots and jars (processing and storage of foodstuffs) as well as spouted jars (storage and consumption of liquids; Jasim 1985: 37-48; Chiocchetti 2007). An unusual feature of the vessel burials from Tell Abada and Tepe Gawra Level XII (Terminal Ubaid/LC2; discussed in Chapter 8), is that the burial vessels were sometimes sealed with layers of clay or plaster (see Fig. 6.10 below; Jasim 1985: 35; Tobler 1950: 106-111).

Figure 6.10 Ceramic vessels used to contain infants from Tell Abada (reproduced from Jasim 1983: Plate XXIIIb; 1985. Fig. 29).

At Tell Abada the mouths of vessels, and in two cases the entire vessel, was sealed with a thick layer of clay or gypsum plaster, which according to the excavator, 'appeared to have been baked' (Jasim 1985: 35). In some cases it is stated that a further unbaked layer of clay or gypsum plaster was applied over the 'baked' layer. The practice of sealing burial vessels closely resembles contemporary sealing practices associated with the packaging and administration of goods. It is likely that sealing practices were also widely employed as a practical measure to increase the longevity of organic consumables such as beer, which could spoil through exposure. The sealing of pot burials in this context, therefore, may relate to contemporary techniques of manufacture surrounding the processing of foodstuffs. It is also conceivable that the sealing of burial vessels with plaster and other vessel forms (the mouths of burial vessels are commonly sealed by inverted bowls) may be related to symbolic concepts of purity, contagion and danger (Douglas 1966) that often surround the death of a child (see Gottlieb 2004: 93-4, 260-262; Richards 1996: 182-3). Much as the sealing of vessels served as a practical and perhaps symbolic measure against the spoiling of organic consumables, the sealing of burial vessels may have functioned as a protective barrier against the flow of polluting substances between the living and the dead.

Huntington and Metcalf (1979: 55-57) have discussed the strong parallels that often exist between certain manufacturing processes and mortuary rites in the ethnographic

record. Most notable are processes that involve the transformation of perishable raw materials through decomposition and fermentation into long-lasting and valuable items. A suggestive example in the present context is provided in a discussion of the strikingly similar methods employed by the Berewan of central northern Borneo for the treatment of corpses and the production of rice wine. The rice is firstly washed and boiled, laid out on the veranda of a house and sprinkled with yeast. It is then rolled into balls and stacked within large earthenware jars, which are sealed and left for a number of days while the alcoholic liquid collects at the bottom of the vessel. Huntington and Metcalf (1979: 55-57) note how corpses are similarly washed and laid on the veranda, and are left for some time until reaching a condition locally known as 'melarak' ('drippy'), at which point the body is transferred to a large storage jar. The jars used for the production of rice wine and for the processing of corpses are identical. During decomposition of the corpse, liquids are drained off using a pipe attached to the bottom of the jar, and collected into a separate vessel, thus mimicking the techniques used to produce alcohol (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 6; Metcalf 1987: 96-7)

While the example outlined above is not intended to provide a direct comparison with the treatment of corpses in Ubaid pot burials, it does serve to illustrate how the preparation of the dead, and that of particular foodstuffs, involve analogous methods of transformation. The processing of both substances and the dead through extended chains of manufacture are broadly comparable because they often involve the transformation of 'raw materials' into useful, valuable or potent things - such as commodities or ancestral bones (Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 57; see also Helms 1998: 28, discussed in section 4.2.2.2). The association of infant remains with the storage and processing of substances is widespread during the fifth millennium. Infants are placed within bins that were also used to store grain, are deposited in hearths used for the cooking of foodstuffs and the smelting of metals, and are commonly placed in jars and deep bowls used to prepare and consume foodstuffs, some of which were sealed and 'baked'. The increasing emphasis on intramural pot-burials during the fifth millennium BC should therefore be placed within broader contexts of social change that involved the dissemination of new foodstuffs and their transformation in domestic contexts through extended chains of manufacture and packaging.

6.3 Dominant households and intramural child burials

Due in large part to a perception of the Ubaid as a prerequisite social stage for the development of urban states, this period is often accredited with the development of increasingly complex forms of social organization. As a result, research into the organisational dynamics of fifth millennium society has largely taken social evolutionary models of 'chiefdoms' as a point of departure (see for example Stein and Rothman 1994, and for an overview of the use such approaches in Near Eastern archaeology see Stein 1998a; Rothman 1994b; 2004). Recent research has drawn upon evidence for two-tier settlement hierarchies, economic differentiation within settlements, and ritual public architecture to infer the development of complex forms of social organization during the Ubaid period (Bernbeck 1995a: 21; Pollock 1999: 80, 92; Stein 1994: 37-8; Stein 2010: 32; Wright 1994: 81; see critical discussion in Bernbeck 1995b), which according to Stein (Stein 1994) functioned along the lines of a corporate mode of socio-political organization with a 'staple finance' economy (see also Earle 1989: 85; 1997: 70-73; Johnson and Earle 2000: 266; Kristiansen 1991: 22).

According to the staple finance model, emergent elites maintain control over subsistence production and are able to mobilise surplus and labour through kinship ties and ritual (Stein 1994: 42, 44; Stein 1998: 9; 2010: 32). Recent research has emphasised how elite groups could extend their access to labour and resources beyond kinship by manipulating religious institutions, in particular as priests or sponsors of community temples, which would subsequently validate their position through religious channels (Frangipane 2007a: 169-172; Pollock 1999: 92; Stein 1994: 42-3; Stein 2010: 32; see also Wright 1994: 71). It is remarkable that while scholars have emphasised the significance of ritual practice and ideology as a mechanism for wealth mobilization, little attention has yet been diverted to the role played by funerary rites in such processes. This may be partly attributed to the prevalence of social-evolutionary frameworks in much existing research, which have a propensity to categorises a particular archaeological culture-period according to its 'best fit' within a pre-existing model of social organisation (cf. Yoffee 2005: 23). Accordingly, such models undermine any social attributes that do not conform to the model in question. Given that the burial record does not provide the evidence required to infer the emergence of social hierarchies during the Ubaid period, funerary rites are largely absent in current debates

surrounding Ubaid social organization and emergent complexity (see for example Stein 1994: 39; Hole 1989: 178-80).

In the sections that follow, I will endeavour to re-evaluate the role played by funerary rites in relation to strategies of wealth accumulation and mobilization. In the preceding sections it was argued that the flow of goods (production, exchange and consumption) was increasingly mediated by household units within the milieu of domestic ritual practices (feasting, intramural burials, altars). Furthermore, parallels were drawn between the manufacture and packaging of substances and goods (metals/liquids/foodstuffs) and contemporary mortuary practices involving children (placement in sealed storage vessel/grain-bins/hearth-furnaces). In this section I hope to further explore the social role of children in relation to household social reproduction and strategies of wealth transmission.

It was demonstrated in Chapter 5 that infants were buried beneath the floors of structures, below foundations, thresholds, in hearths and storage bins and even built into the very walls of buildings; all of which point towards the complex relationship that existed between the 'life-cycles' of houses and mortuary behaviour. In contrast to the extramural cemeteries of the period (discussed above), which do not display significant variation within burial groups in terms of grave construction or burial wealth, I contend that it *is* possible to identify meaningful variation in the distribution of intra-mural infant burials. This variation does not apply to individual burials as such, but to the spatial distribution of burial groups within settlements, in particular the association of burial groups with specific buildings. It is clear from the handful of fifth millennium sites where broad horizontal exposures have been excavated, such as Tell Abada, that there were significant variations between the size and features of dwellings and the numbers of burials interred in their vicinity. In order to clarify theses points, I will now discuss the informative site of Tell Abada in some detail.

6.3.1 Intramural child burials at Tell Abada

Tell Abada is located in the Hamrin region of central Iraq, and the three building levels excavated date to the fifth millennium BC. The extensive excavation of the site, which

exposed 80% of the settlement, provides a rare insight into the spatial distribution of intramural burial practices. Level III represents the earliest phase of occupation, being founded upon virgin soil and representing a transitional phase between the Samarra and Ubaid ceramic assemblages. Following a gap in occupation, Levels II and I represent the upper building levels of settlement that contained pottery dating to late Ubaid 2 and early Ubaid 3 (Jasim 1983: 168; Jasim 1989: 79). The extensive excavation of the Level II settlement revealed a total of 10 distinct building units, the majority of which were constructed according to a tripartite plan with a T-shaped or cruciform central hall. Level I was essentially a rebuilding of the Level II settlement (Jasim 1983: 173).

The material remains from the majority of the buildings suggest that these structures represent domestic dwellings. Building A (Levels I and II) and Building I (Level II), however, seem to have been used for specific functions. Differing substantially from the architectural layout of other structures in the settlement, Building I was composed of four parallel rows of rooms and series of courtyards, and may have functioned as a storage area and sheepfold (Bernbeck 1995b: 46; Jasim 1989: 83-4). Building A from Levels I and II was the largest and most elaborately constructed building in the settlement (see Fig 6.11 below). Besides its distinct size and architectural features, this building also differs from other structures in the settlement in light of the clay tokens and significant number of infant burials found within its vicinity. In Building A alone, some 90 clay tokens were recovered throughout the building in distinct groups (Jasim and Oates 1986: 353). Clay tokens have largely been interpreted as some form of accounting device or as ‘aides memoires’ for transactions (Schmandt-Besserat 1992), which would suggest a specific role for this building in mediating economic activities. The spatial distribution of these tokens indicate that they were located on one side of the building and tend to cluster in the smaller side-rooms (see Tables 6.10 and 6.11).

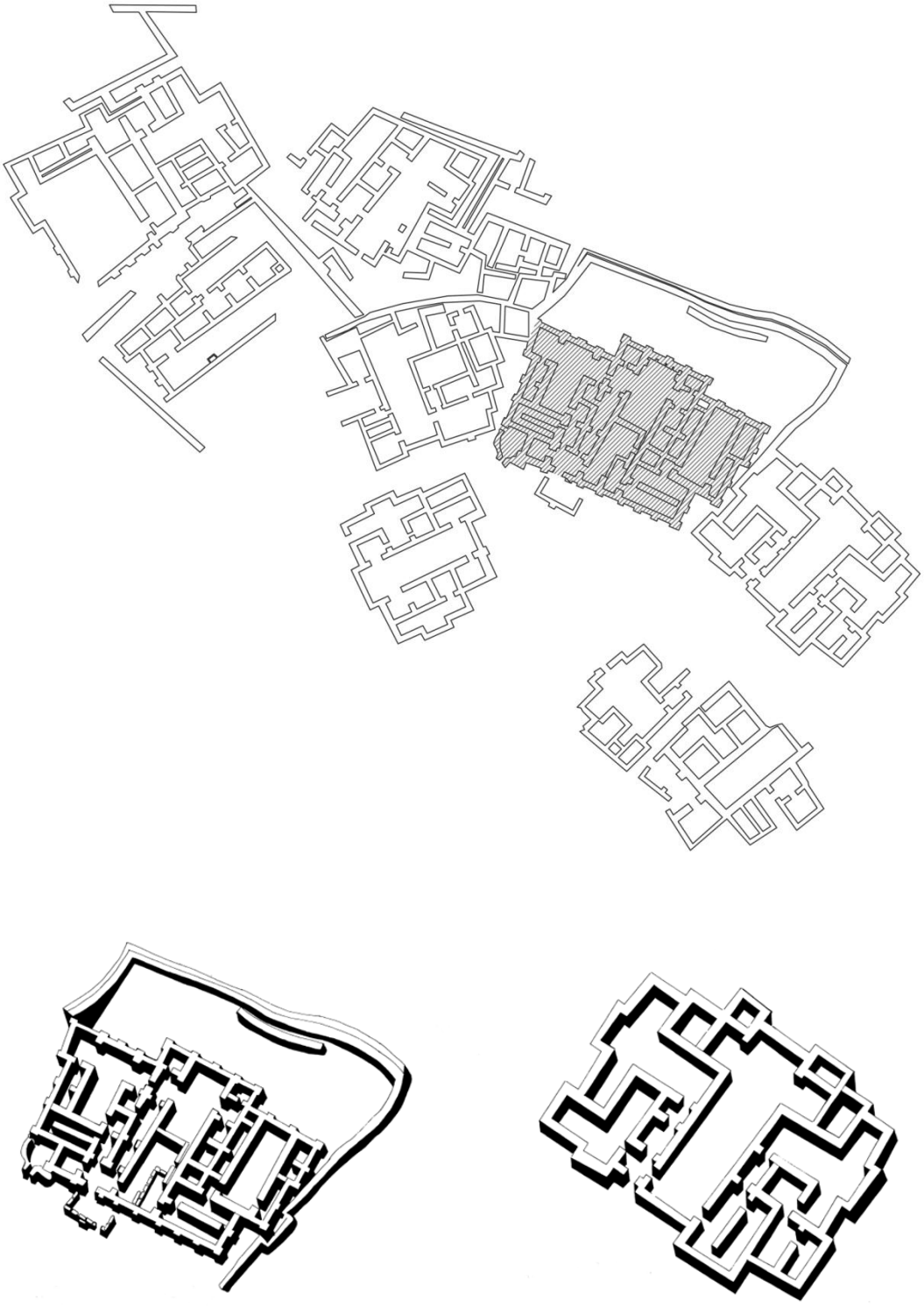


Figure 6.11 Building A at Tell Abada, Levels I and II (adapted from Frangipane 2007a. Fig. 6 and Jasim 1983. Fig 8 and 9).

LEVEL I							
Group	Context	Sphere	Cone	Disk	Rod	Tablet	Total
1	16 tokens in an unpainted carinated bowl, on the floor of Room 2	8	4	2	1	1	16
2	7 tokens in a small painted jar on the floor of Room 7	1	3	-	-	3	7
3	7 tokens in a small painted jar on the floor of Room 24	4	3	-	-	-	7
4	10 tokens in a small shallow bowl on floor of Room 27	3	6	-	1	-	10
	Total	16	16	2	2	4	40

Table 6.10 Table showing groups of tokens found in Building A, Level I at Tell Abada

LEVEL II							
Group	Context	Sphere	Cone	Disk	Rod	Tablet	Total
1	14 tokens in a large jar of Dalma impressed type, Room 1	8	4	1	1	-	14
2	6 tokens in a small unpainted jar on the floor of Room 7	3	2	1	-	-	6
3	8 tokens found in a group on the floor of Room 7	1	5	-	2	-	8
4	5 tokens in a small jar on the floor of Room 26	4	1	-	-	-	5
5	9 tokens in a medium-sized jar on the floor of Room 27	4	4	1	-	-	9
6	4 tokens found in a group on the floor of Room 28	2	-	2	-	-	4
7	4 tokens found in a group in the floor of Room 29	4	-	-	-	-	4
	Total	26	16	5	3	-	50

Table 6.11 Table showing groups of tokens found in Building A, Level II at Tell Abada

A further distinguishing feature of Building A is the significant numbers of infant burials found beneath its floors. A total of 125 infant burials were recovered from the settlement as a whole, 58 of which are assigned to the Level I occupation and 67 to Level II (see table 6.12 below). No adult or adolescent burials are recorded, suggesting their interment beyond the confines of the settlement. Although other 'domestic' buildings from Levels I and II were associated with infant burials, nearly half of all

infant burials (59 burials) found at the site were recovered below Building A (see Fig 6.12 below). Notably, no burials were found in association with Building I, again emphasising the non-residential nature of this structure (Chiocchetti 2007: Fig. 3; Hole 1989: 164; Jasim 1985: 34; 1989: 80; Oates 1983: 253). The majority of burials from Level II were found in association with Building A (32 burials), however, burials were also distributed across the entire settlement (notwithstanding Building I). It is notable therefore that by Level I the distribution of burials become increasingly restricted to specific structures towards the centre of the settlement, being predominantly associated with Building A (27 burials) and Building F (18 burials). As Chiocchetti (2007: 128) notes, this change in the spatial distribution of burials occurs in tandem with the disappearance of communal storage facilities (represented by Building I in Level II) and the introduction of 'private' granaries in the central halls of domestic structures by Level I (see also Bernbeck 1995b: 47).

Spatial Distribution of Burials			
Building	**Level II**	**Level I**	**Total**
A	32	27	59
B	5	-	5
C	2	-	2
D	2	-	2
E	1	3	4
F	1	18	19
G	1	-	1
H	-	1	1
I	-	-	-
J	5	-	5

Table 6.12 Table showing the spatial distribution of burials at Tell Abada

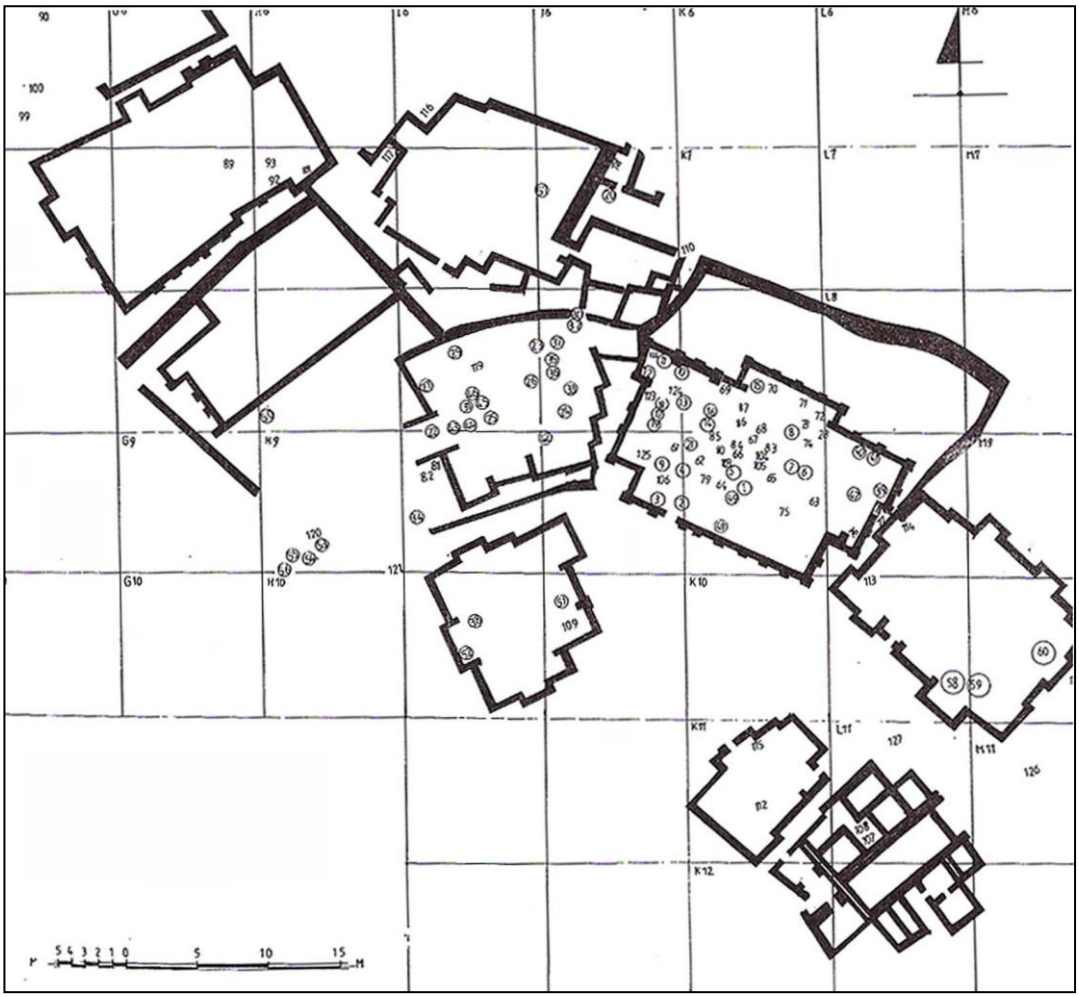


Figure 6.12 Plan showing location of infant burials at Tell Abada (reproduced from Jasim 1985: Fig. 28).

Of the very few burials that contained grave goods, four of these were associated with Building A, and a further burial with grave goods was found in Square I 9 in Level I (not directly associated with a structure; Chiocchetti 2007 126-7; Jasim 1985). Twenty burials were recovered below the earliest floors of the Building A, which were located immediately above a 50-70cm layer of fill that separated earlier Level III from Level II, which raises the possibility that there existed some form of cemetery at the site before the construction of Building A (see Chiocchetti 2007: 127). Alternatively, I would suggest that this initial burial group served as some form of foundation deposit preceding the construction of the building. Frangipane (2007; 2007/8) has suggested that the concentration of infant burials in Building A can be linked to dominant kin-groups or founder households, who symbolically expressed their role as point of reference for the whole community (Frangipane 2007: 169; 2007/8: 173).

Of the 125 burials excavated at Tell Abada, only four were simple inhumations, the remainder being some variation of an interment made within a ceramic vessel. The burial types attested at Tell Abada is summarised in table 6.13 below (taken from Chiocchetti 2007 fig. 3.). The majority of infants were placed in plain and decorated deep bowls, and other vessel forms such as jars, spouted jars and carinated jars were also used. Vessels were also covered by plates, vessel sherds and inverted vessels. Notably, the mouths of vessels were also sealed with clay or gypsum plaster, in four cases having being 'baked', although it is not clear whether this should be taken to refer to some intentional firing of the sealed vessel, or rather that the sealed vessel was merely sun-dried.

Burial Type	Level 1	Level 2
Plain deep pot covered by a plate	4	7
Plain deep pot covered by sherds	4	22
Painted pot covered by a plate with 'sweeping design'	7	-
Painted pot sealed with clay/plaster	11	5
Plain jar	4	4
Decorated jar	6	6
Painted pot covered with a plate	7	15
Painted pot covered with an inverted pot of similar type	2	1
Simple inhumation	3	2
Unbaked clay pot	5	-
Burial with grave goods	2	3
Painted pot covered with double mouthed jar	1	-
Spouted jar	-	1
Painted spouted jar	1	-
Double mouthed jar	-	1
Small carinated jar	1	-
TOTAL	58	67

Table 6.13 Table showing burial types at Tell Abada (data taken from Chiocchetti 2007, fig. 3)

It is also noteworthy that both infants and tokens were carefully placed within ceramic vessels in Building A, and that the majority of burials are located in the western wing of the structure, which corresponds closely to the distribution of clay tokens (all rooms containing tokens also contained burials). The close association between the two practices may indicate that ritual and economic practices at Tell Abada were closely intertwined and mutually constituting. As Jasim and Oates (1986: 355) suggestively state:

> 'The unusual numbers of infant burials found under Building A could suggest some religious significance, with the implication of a ritual function for the tokens. But an accounting use as genuine 'calculi' is equally plausible, and in the light of the later envelope bullae, perhaps most persuasive – though the two functions are not necessarily as distinct as our terminology implies.'

6.3.2 Phases of construction and interments at other fifth millennium sites

The broad horizontal exposures excavated at Tell Abada (80% of the settlement was exposed) provide a rare insight into the spatial variation of intramural burials relative to architectural features and areas of settlement. It should be noted, however, that publications rarely record the exact stratigraphic relationship between burials and phases of architectural construction. The varying stratigraphic depths of the burials recorded at Tell Abada, for example, imply that burials were made at different phases of the structures history - from foundation to abandonment – suggestive of a relationship between interments and house modification. It is also clear that infants and children were interred below the floors of structures, placed within grain bins within rooms, and were built into walls and ovens at Değirmentepe (see section 6.2.2 ; Gurdil 2005: 284; Helwing 2003: 71). Moreover, the patterns observed at Tell Abada and Değirmentepe are not unique, as intramural infant and child burials are frequently recorded at fifth-millennium sites (see section 5.3.4 and table 6.14 below).

Site	Region	Period	Burial Type	Context
Hammam et-Turkman	Balikh Valley	Ubaid 3b	Clay and mud-brick box burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Kenan Tepe	Southeast Turkey	Ubaid 3-4	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	Ubaid 3	Pit burial	In-between phases of architecture
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	Ubaid 4	Pot burial	In-between phases of architecture
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	Ubaid 4	Pit burial	Outside architectural unit
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	Ubaid 4	Pit burial	Outside architectural unit
Kudish	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pot burial	On floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pit burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below foundations of architectural unit
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Associated with architectural unit
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	Terminal Ubaid	Pit burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	Terminal Ubaid	Pot burial	Below foundations of architectural unit
Tell al-'Abr	Middle Euphrates	Terminal Ubaid	Pit burial	Below kiln
Tell es-Saadiyah	Central Iraq	Ubaid 2-3	Pot burial	Associated with architectural unit
Tell es-Saadiyah	Central Iraq	Ubaid 2-3	Pot burial	Associated with architectural unit
Tell es-Saadiyah	Central Iraq	Ubaid 2-3	Pot burial	Associated with architectural unit

Tell Madhur	Central Iraq	Ubaid 3b-4	Pot fragment burial	Associated with architectural unit
Tell Madhur	Central Iraq	Ubaid 3b-Ubaid 4	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Madhur	Central Iraq	Ubaid 3b-Ubaid 4	Pot burial	In fill of architectural unit
Tell Rashid	Central Iraq	Ubaid 3	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Rashid	Central Iraq	Ubaid 3	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tell Songor C	Central Iraq	Ubaid 3?	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Associated with architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pot fragment burial	In fill of architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pot burial	In-between phases of architecture
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	In-between phases of architecture
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Wall burial	Within wall of architectural unit
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	In-between phases of architecture
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3b	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3b	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3b	Pot burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 4	Pot burial	Associated with architectural unit
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3a-b	Pit burial	Outside architectural unit
Yarim Tepe III	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	Below floor of architectural unit
Yarim Tepe III	Northern Iraq	Ubaid 3-4	Pit burial	In fill of architectural unit
Yorgan Tepe	Northern Iraq	Ubaid	Pot burial	In-between phases of architecture
Yorgan Tepe	Northern Iraq	Ubaid	Pot fragment burial	Within wall of architectural unit

6.14 Table showing infant and child burials spatially associated with architectural features

At the Late Ubaid occupation of Tell Abu Husaini, located in the Hamrin region of central Iraq, twenty-three infant burials (22 of which were vessel burials) were recorded from an area of excavation that corresponds to approximately 15% of the original settlement. Notably, nineteen of the burials were located beneath the walls and floors of

buildings, and every domestic structure excavated at the site was associated with infant burials (Chiocchetti 2007: 117-118; Tusa 1980: 227). In the Terminal Ubaid levels at Kenan Tepe in southeast Turkey, the skeleton of a child was placed within a mud-brick wall in-between the second and third phase of the construction of an Ubaid cell-plan building. An adult female pot-burial was also placed partially in a wall in one of these cell-rooms during a construction phase of this building, which the excavators note was probably remodelled over a number of generations (see Fig 6.13 below; Parker et al 2009: 93; 117; 2008: 108-9). A comparable interment was found in a similar cell-building, where the skeletal remains of a 'sub-adult' were placed both within the cell-room and *into* the mud-bricks that made up the wall of the structure (see Fig. 6.14 below; Parker *et al*. 2008: 106-7; Parker 2010: 343).

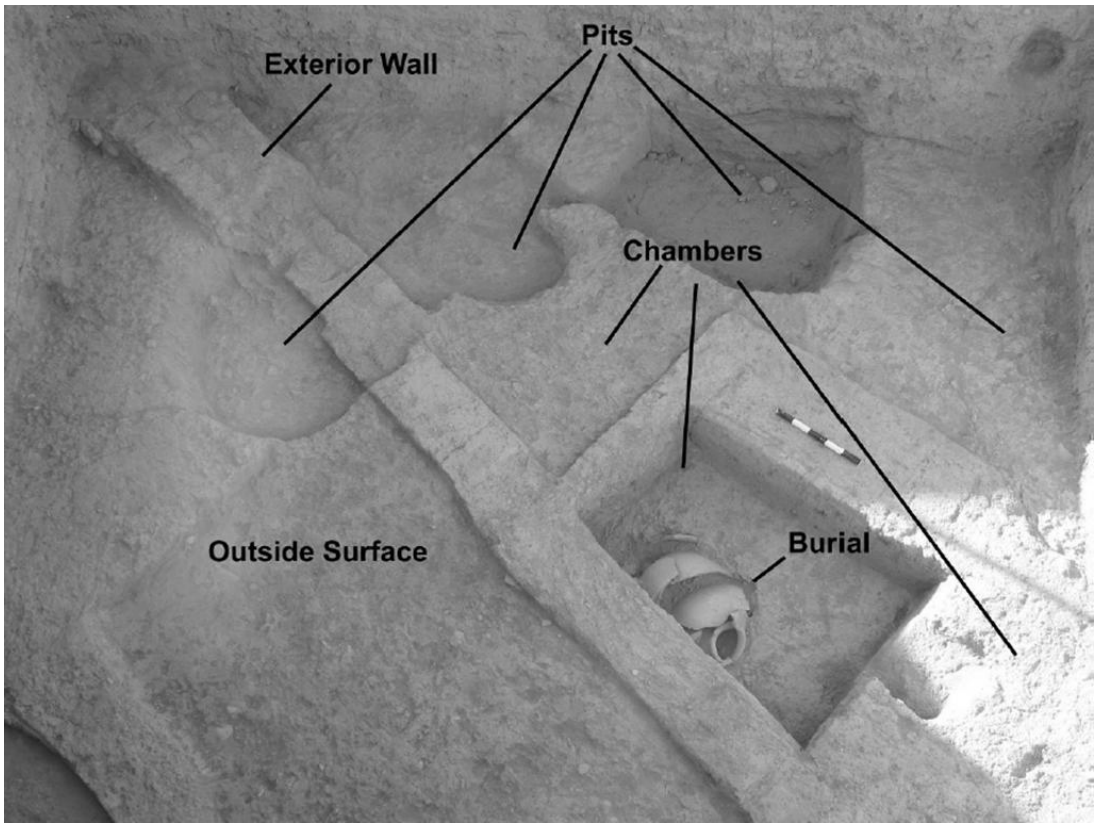


Figure 6.13Foundation pot-burial from trench E2 at Kenan Tepe (reproduced from Parker 2005 . Fig. 12)

Figure 6.14 Burial L90 from Ubaid levels at Kenan Tepe. The long bones and the legs extended into (and not under) the mud bricks that made up wall L70 (reproduced from Parker *et al.* 2008: 160. Fig.6.)

At Tell Kosak Shamali in the Syrian upper Euphrates, an infant jar burial dating to the Late Northern Ubaid was dug into the wall of a structure and subsequently covered by a later wall during a phase of rebuilding. The excavators' state that this building had been re-floored at least three times (Nishiaki *et al.* 2001: 85). At Yorgan Tepe in Iraq, an infant pot burial was also carefully built into a wall of structure. The excavators noted that the base of the vessel was in fact level with the floor, and care was taken to bridge the vessel to protect it from the superimposed wall (Starr 1937: 14-15). As this very brief review of intramural burials from other sites demonstrates, interments were often made at important stages of a buildings life-cycle, such as its foundation or modification. The data suggests that a complex interrelationship may have existed between the lifecycles of households and those of persons, which would have oscillated between the stability of the house that transcended single lifetimes, the natural rhythms of growth and decay relative to experiences within a single lifetime, and punctuated acts of transformation involving both the house and the human body (cf. Fowler 2003: 48, 56, Gillespie 2000: 13).

6.3.3 Social conceptions of children and house histories

> But who can personify the dead in a society of the living if not those who, one way or another, are incompletely incorporated into the group, who, that is, share the otherness which symbolizes the supreme dualism: that of the dead and the living?
>
> (Lévi-Strauss 1993: 49).

Ian Hodder (2006) has recently considered why particular houses at the early Neolithic settlement of Çatalhöyük (East Mound) contained far more burials than others, to the extent that the number of individuals buried beneath certain houses could not possibly have lived in these buildings on a daily basis. The houses in question had deeper stratigraphic sequences of rebuilding than others, indicating that they were modified and replaced more often than other houses within the settlement. Hodder has described such houses as being 'dominant' in the sense that they could evoke memory and perpetuity through the control of both repetitive household practices and the creation of household histories (Hodder 2006: 152, 163). Hodder suggests that the conception and maintenance of such 'histories' (which should be conceived of as a form of intellectual property or symbolic capital; cf. Harrison 1992; 1995) were expressed in terms of genealogical links with ancestors, the creation of which was achieved by physically incorporating the dead into the household (Hodder 2006: 165). By creating and maintaining links with the ancestral dead, such histories generate ideological notions of precedence and perpetuity, which are essential for legitimising the primacy and origins of a social group. With due adaptation to the distinct features of the fifth millennium in Mesopotamia, Hodder's observations are instructive in approaching the concentration of a select number of the dead within Ubaid households, as I now go on to discuss.

The reconfiguration of Ubaid village communities into bounded household units engaged in a variety of tasks (production/consumption/exchange/ritual), coupled with the variable agricultural potential of individual landholdings, would have fostered economic discrepancies and competition between kin-groups (Frangipane 2007a: 168, 171). That some households become preeminent as a result of these conditions is suggested by the evidence for social and economic differentiation with settlements at sites such as Tell Abada (see above) and Tepe Gawra (see Chapter 8). The ability of certain households to maintain dominance over economic, social and ritual domains is likely to have rested on the ability of household groups to maintain and transmit both tangible (access to agricultural land etc.) and intangible (titles, knowledge and ritual privileges) wealth and property.

Based on the foregoing analysis, I suggest that intramural burial practices, especially those made within the vicinity of domestic dwellings and storage structures, attest to the efforts of early village communities in fostering the conditions of growth and

regeneration. It is worth reiterating again that at Tell Abada, it is significant that the distribution of burials became increasingly restricted to specific structures at the same time as communal storage facilities were replaced by 'private' granaries located in the central halls of domestic structures. That cycles of house reconstruction and regeneration frequently involved the dead implies that mortuary practices were integral to the formation and transmission of house 'histories' – genealogical ties to origins that helped establish precedence and sustain household social reproduction. In order to understand such processes it might prove useful to consider Ubaid social organisation through the lens of ethnographically derived descriptions of 'house societies', as characterized in the work of Lévi-Strauss (1982).

Lévi-Strauss believed that house-based societies represented a transitional form between kin-based and class-based social orders, which can be defined as:

> 'a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, both'
>
> (Lévi-Strauss 1982: 174).

Households in such instances are quite often large corporate bodies 'organized by their shared residence, subsistence, means of production, origin, ritual actions, or metaphysical essence, all of which entail a commitment to a corpus of house property, which in turn can be said to materialize the social group' (Gillespie 2000: 1). A fundamental aspect of house-based societies is the concerted effort invested towards household social reproduction i.e. the various strategies employed by households to create, maintain and transmit social status, property, wealth, rights and knowledge across generations (Blanton 1994: 19). It was discussed in section 6.2. that Ubaid dwellings were now the locus for production, consumption, socialization and ritual practices, indicating that a broad range of social domains were redirected towards the household by the fifth millennium BC.

One of the most important means to ensure successful social reproduction in house societies is to emphasize the perpetuity of the household group. As Gillespie (2000) points out, the status and legitimacy of households originate from a wider

acknowledgment of links to 'illustrious founders', which in house-societies typically take the form of house ancestors (Gillespie 2000: 12). Furthermore, houses themselves may be a testament to the history and primacy of the household through periodic episodes of modification and reconstruction, and by physically incorporating the ancestral dead into its domain:

> The physical house itself may be an icon of origins and a material witness to critical episodes in the life history of the social group. The 'living' house, as it is enlarged, modified, and embellished over the generations, objectifies the changes that signify longevity and accrued value. Other physical manifestations of continuity within the house may be the incorporated portions of previous structures that had once stood in the same place, as well as the literal remains of the ancestors themselves, as sub floor burials or curated bones
>
> (Gillespie 2000: 13).

A significant facet of fifth millennium domestic burials, however, is that they are predominantly restricted to infants and children, which raises a number of issues regarding their suitability as ancestors. As Mary Helms (1998) has discussed, the transformation of an *individual* member of a living society into an ancestral *person* is often restricted to certain categories of people believed to evoke 'energising potencies' (Helms 1998: 29). This for the most part includes those individuals who led a life that 'was qualitatively noteworthy for its economic, social, or political influence and 'productivity'... the necessary qualitative potential to become truly ancestral and thus to provide the living with personalized access to origins' (Helms 1998: 29). On this basis, it is not clear whether intramural child burials can be conceived as 'household ancestors'. This begs the question – why were infants and children specifically chosen to be buried within households and the domestic settlement area? I would suggest that the answer does not lie in their role as ancestors per se, but rather in the importance of children for the continuation of lineage and wider social conceptions of children as being outside the bounds of normal socialisation.

A number of recent studies have addressed the phenomenon of intramural infant burials in other regions, and have placed a considerable emphasis on their possible function as sacrificial offerings. The real or symbolic sacrifice of infants and children is generally thought to represent a form of contact with the supernatural realm in order to incite supernatural action i.e. gifts intended to generate reciprocal obligations from ancestral

powers (see Moses 2008; Orelle 2008). I would argue, however, that the reason why children make particularly effective or potent 'offerings' lies not with their perceived 'purity', as had been suggested elsewhere (Moses 2008: 51), but rather in social perceptions that relate children with the realm of dead. Mary Helms (1998: 84), for example, has recently discussed the insights of Lévi-Strauss regarding social concepts of children in initiation ceremonies. Lévi-Strauss demonstrates how children are often perceived as lying outside the bounds of normal society and socialisation, and may come to represent a special category of person. Because children are not yet fully socialised into the world of adults, they are often linked with notions of Otherness – that space in the social imagination that is also shared with the ancestral dead (Lévi-Strauss 1993: 49; see also Gottlieb 2004: 80-81; Richards 1996: 182-3).

According to Lévi-Strauss (1993: 45), this is why children are frequently personified as the dead in initiation rituals and rites of passage; ceremonies where a relationship between two groups defined by age and social status simultaneously express a relationship between the living and the dead. I would suggest that the divergent treatment of adults and children in funerary rites during the fifth millennium reflects the unequal social status of both age groups. Infants and children were not considered to be fully socialised persons, and by extension, not considered suitable for ancestral status and 'socialisation' within communal cemeteries. Moreover, the liminal and potentially dangerous status of children may also account for the containment of children in sealed vessels as a protective measure for the community at large (see discussion in section 6.2.3). Intramural child burials may be better understood therefore, due to their association with Otherness and the dead, as a potential conduit through which to contact the supernatural realm – comparable in effect to a 'sacrificial' offering or gift to the gods.

By incorporating children into the domestic realm, households could maintain genealogical links with ancestral or super-natural powers and demonstrate 'access to origins' (Helms 1998). As such, intramural funerary practices are likely to have been an important means of ensuring the transmission of tangible and intangible wealth across generations. It is therefore no coincidence that the largest and most elaborately constructed houses were often associated with greater numbers of infant burials, as I have demonstrated with reference to the data from Tell Abada. It is notable that the

strategies of wealth transmission that emerged during the Ubaid persist into the Late Chalcolithic period, which is particularly evident at Tepe Gawra, which developed from a community comprised of large extended families (Level XII, Terminal Ubaid/LC1) to a regional centre with special function buildings (Level VIII, LC 3 Period). These later social transformations will be addressed in Chapter 8.

6.4 Concluding remarks

By the fifth millennium, intensified spheres of contact and exchange facilitated the dissemination of novel substances (distinctive vessel forms, foodstuffs, alcohol, metals, milk, possibly wool garments) and household practices throughout lowland Mesopotamia. The influx of new commodity forms was accompanied by important changes in the organization and productive output of household units, and a significant shift in the treatment and feeding of the dead. Diverging from Late Neolithic traditions, a clear division emerges between the mortuary treatment of adults and young children during the fifth millennium BC. Close contact between the living and the adult dead is nevertheless indicated by the presence of communal cemeteries on the margins of habitation zones (e.g. Eridu) and the evidence for secondary mortuary practices. Whereas Late Neolithic funerary rituals were wide-ranging and complex, burial rites in the fifth millennium underwent a process of standardisation, and demonstrate a degree of regularity within and between settlements. This is reflected in the methods of burial and by the decreasing variety of goods placed with the dead, which were now restricted to a fairly uniform corpus of objects. For the most part grave-goods comprised a standardised dining set, implying the social importance of food-related consumption practices at this time.

By way of contrast, infants and children were routinely interred within domestic dwellings and areas of habitation, continuing Late Neolithic traditions of intramural burial. The continuing social importance of children for ensuring household reproduction is implied by the practice of interring young children beneath the floors, foundations and thresholds of domestic dwellings. The remains of young children were also placed within domestic hearths, storage bins and were even incorporated into the very fabric of buildings. It was suggested how such practices are likely to reflect the

significance of the household during the fifth millennium as structuring most aspects of social life, but also as the principal locus of wider social reproduction. Considering the importance of children for the continuation of lineage, the death of a child may have been perceived as a threat to the regeneration of the household. Moreover, the divergent treatment of adults and children in funerary rites may relate to social conceptions of children as being outside the bounds of normal socialisation, as liminal beings in close contact with the supernatural. As such, the burial of a child within domestic contexts may have been conceived as a beneficial or positive process that reasserted the reproductive capacity of households and helped maintain household 'histories'. In light of these considerations, intramural infant burials can be usefully understood as a form of intangible wealth, which would account for the fact that higher numbers of infant burials are associated with 'dominant' households at sites such as Tell Abada.

It was further suggested that the lack of evidence for ostentatious displays of wealth (the deliberate breaking and burning of valued objects) in the fifth millennium burial record can be partly explained by the introduction and dissemination of new commodity forms with the capacity to function as convertible stores of value, such as metals. The evidence suggests that metals were primarily kept in circulation and transmitted across descent lines, thereby permitting a greater capacity for wealth accumulation. Goods were now channelled through extended chains of production within household units, where they underwent ritually mediated processes of refinement and transformation into new commodity forms. Analogies were also noted between the manufacture and packaging of commodities (metals/liquids/foodstuffs) and contemporaneous mortuary practices involving children (placement in sealed storage vessel/grain-bins/hearth-furnaces). The wider context for all of these developments was the intensification of domestic production evident in Ubaid households and villages within and beyond the Mesopotamian alluvium. It is anticipated that the social changes outlined here for the fifth millennium BC structured later developments during the early fourth millennium, as mortuary rites underwent further transformations that would ultimately redefine relations between the living, the dead, and the world of goods.

7 Local trajectories of change and emergent complexity c. 4400-3600 BC (LC1-LC3)

This chapter will incorporate data for the entirety of the Late Chalcolithic period (LC 1-5; c.4400-3000 cal. BC) to determine major trends and deviations in patterns of wealth consumption through burials over the long-term. However, for interpretation I initially discuss the archaeology of the early-mid fourth millennium (LC1-3; c. 4400-3600 cal. BC) in the sections that follow, while a contextual analysis of burial practices for this period will be presented in Chapter 8. The remarkable transformations of the mid-late fourth millennium BC (LC 4-5; c. 3600-3000 cal. BC) will be discussed separately in the penultimate chapter (Chapter 9) against the backdrop of the thesis as a whole, emphasising aspects of continuity and change with earlier periods.

7.1 The archaeological record of the early-fourth millennium BC c. 4400-3600 cal. BC

7.1.1 Settlement and subsistence

Towards the end of the fifth millennium, the widespread cultural homogeneity that characterises the Ubaid horizon dissipates with the emergence of localised material culture forms across northern Mesopotamia (Stein 2010: 33). Current evidence now indicates that urbanisation was well underway in northern Mesopotamia by the first half of the fourth millennium BC (Algaze 2005b: 23-4; Frangipane 1997; Gibson and Maktash 2000; Oates and Oates 1997; Oates *et al.* 2007; Rothman [ed.] 2001; Stein 2001; Ur, Karsgaard and Oates 2008). The initial phases of the Uruk Period (Early Uruk c. 3900-3600 BC) in southern Mesopotamia remain poorly understood by comparison, and are known primarily through the archaeological surveys conducted across the Mesopotamian alluvium during the 1950s and 1970s. A reworking of Adams (1981) original survey data by Pollock (2001) indicates that by the Early-Middle Uruk period

(LC 2-4) there existed a four-tiered settlement hierarchy on the Mesopotamian alluvium. The sites recorded consist of small settlements of less than 8 hectares, medium-size settlements between 8 and 14 hectares and large sites of 20 hectares or more (notably, Eridu, site 1237 and site 1306 were 40 hectares or larger in extent during this period-Algaze 2008: 102). The 100 hectare site of Uruk-Warka represents a fourth category of settlement (Pollock 2001: 187). While several large (20 hectares or more) settlements are recorded in the Nippur-Adab area for this period, the exceptional size of Uruk-Warka remains unparalleled within its hinterland. This suggests that the growth of this site may have impeded the development of larger settlements within the region (Pollock 2001: 187-190).

In the Nippur-Adab settlement density is greater than that recorded for the Uruk-Warka region, where medium and large sites were relatively isolated (Pollock 2001: 190-191). According to Adams (1981: 75) original analysis, around fifty percent of the population is estimated to have lived in settlements larger than 10 hectares in both the Uruk-Warka and Nippur-Adab area. A reanalysis of this data by Pollock (who applies Dewar's model to the data, taking into account the likelihood that not all sites assigned to a given period were occupied contemporaneously) shows that in both the Uruk-Warka and Nippur-Adab areas, over eighty percent of the population would have resided in urban settlements (Algaze 2008: 103; Pollock 2001: 216). Following a contraction in the settled population of the Susiana plain and virtual abandonment of the marginal plains by the Terminal Susa A phase, there was a considerable increase in settlement during the Early and Middle Uruk periods in both the Susiana and Deh Luran plains (Wright and Johnson 1975: 275). By the Middle Uruk period, survey data indicates that settlements in the Susiana plain included small villages (1-2 hectares), larger villages (5-7 hectares), small towns (10-12 hectares) as well as urban centres such as Choga Mami and Susa (18-25 hectares; Algaze 2005b: 13; Johnson and Wright 1985: 27; Wright and Johnson 1975: 270).

For the Iraqi Jezireh, survey data indicates that the number of sites occupied during this period increased significantly, especially the number of larger settlements (2.5-5 hectares and 5-7.5 hectares). The existence of a large centre at Tell al-Hawa, believed to be in the region of 33-50 hectares, suggests that a three-tiered settlement hierarchy developed during this phase (Rothman 2001: 380-381; Wilkinson 1990: 56; Wilkinson

2003b: 45; Wilkinson and Tucker 1995). The development of large urban centres in Upper Mesopotamia is attested by recent excavations at the site of Tell Brak in Northeast Syria. Sherd scatters indicate that in addition to a fully occupied 30 hectare main mound, an additional 'suburban' settlement spanning some 100 hectares was occupied by the Middle Northern Uruk period, making Tell Brak the largest recorded settlement in Upper Mesopotamia at this time (see Fig 7.1 below; Oates *et al.* 2007: 597; Ur *et al.* 2007: 1188). At Tell Hamoukar, sherd scatters indicate that during the late fifth/early fourth millennium, settlement on the 15 hectare high mound was supplemented by a 'southern extension' some 280 hectares in extent. It is thought, however, that this suburban area represents either a very low density occupation or a shifting settlement (Gibson et al 2002: 49; Gibson and Maktash 2000: 477; Ur 2002: 17-20). Recent research suggests, therefore, that at the beginning of the fourth millennium the overall scale of urban settlement was broadly comparable for both the southern alluvium and northern Mesopotamia.

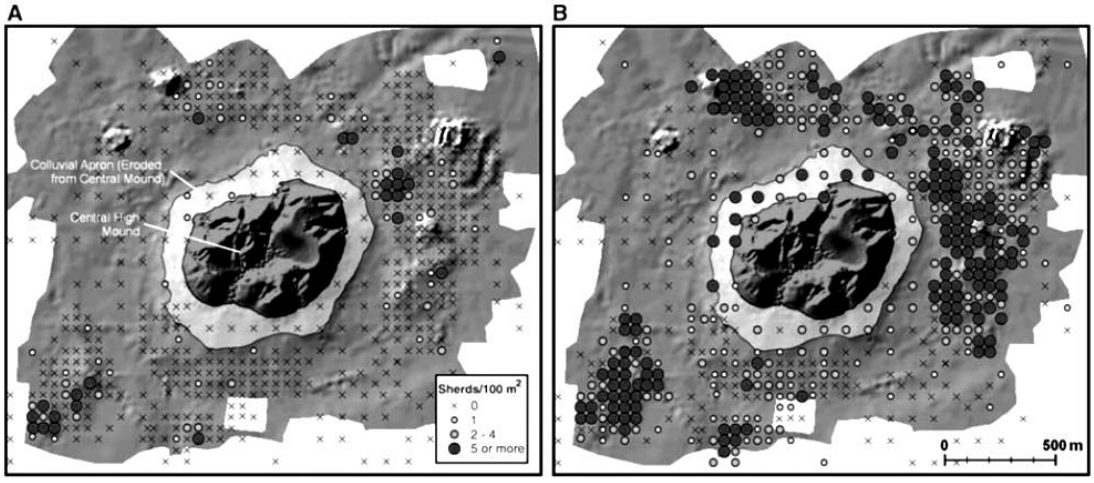


Figure 7.1 Surface distribution and density of Late Chalcolithic sherd scatters at Tell Brak for (A) LC2 period and (B) LC3 to 4 period (reproduced from Ur *et al.* 2007: 1188.Fig.1.).

Current evidence suggests that the climate across Greater Mesopotamia would have been both warmer and wetter at the beginning of the fourth millennium (see Fig. 7.2 below; Algaze 2001a: 31; Hole 1994: 126; Kennett and Kennett 2006: 74). These climatic conditions, coupled with pollen evidence for denser oak forest in the highland zones and heavier grass cover across the more extensive plains, indicates that compared to later periods, larger areas were available for cultivation in Upper Mesopotamia during the early fourth millennium (Wright 2001: 128). In Southern Mesopotamia,

environmental reconstructions indicate that the region would have been affected by summer monsoon rains between the seventh and mid-fourth millennium BC, and changes in solar radiation resulted in hotter summers and cooler winters (Algaze 2001a: 31; 2008: 43; Hole 1994: 128; Kennett and Kennett 2006: 75, 79; Pournelle 2007: 38; Wright 2001: 128).

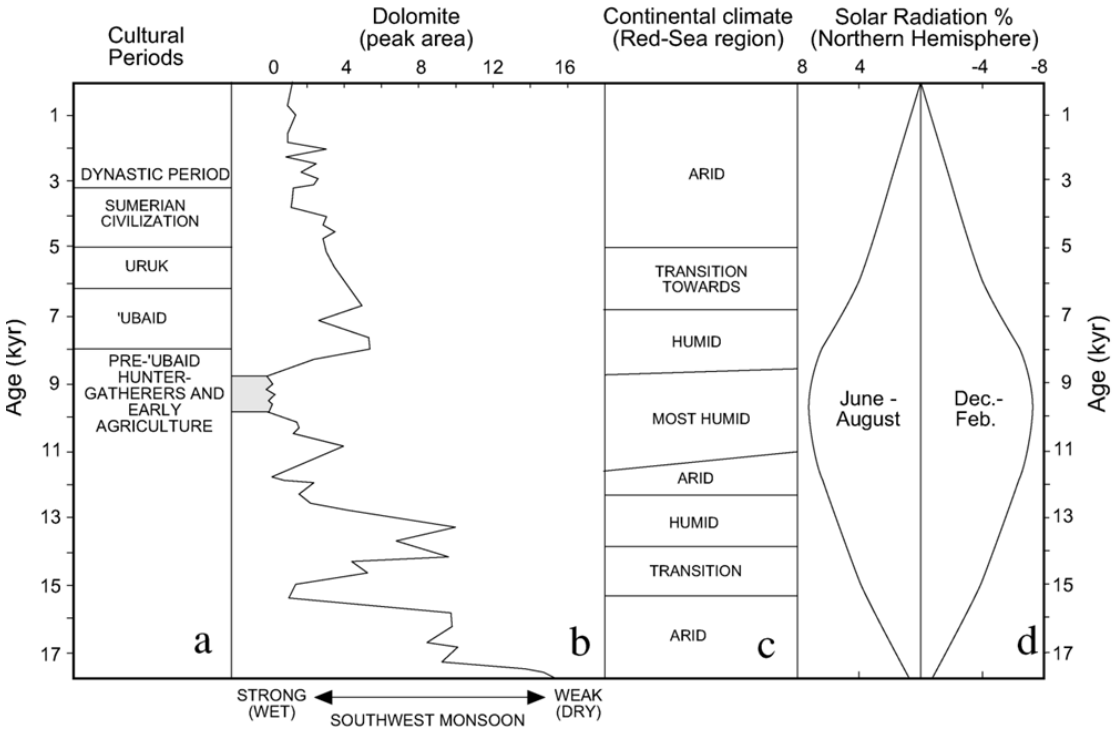


Figure 7.2 Late quaternary climatic changes and major cultural periods in Southern Mesopotamia (reproduced from Kennett and Kennett 2006: 75. Fig.5).

Greater rainfall suggests that agriculturalists in the southern alluvium may have been less reliant on irrigation agriculture at the beginning of the fourth millennium, and that more extensive pastureland was available for grazing stock (Wright 2001: 128). Settlements located at the head of the Arabian Gulf could also draw upon an abundance of marshland resources (march fowl, fish, shellfish etc.) that were available on the margins of wetland areas sustained by tidal flushing as rising sea levels peaked (see Fig. 7.3; Pournelle 2007: 51, 58-9). As Pournelle (2007) points out, the south Mesopotamian marshlands provided communities with a sustainable resource base and a significant buffer against agricultural failure, together with a model for hydraulic management.

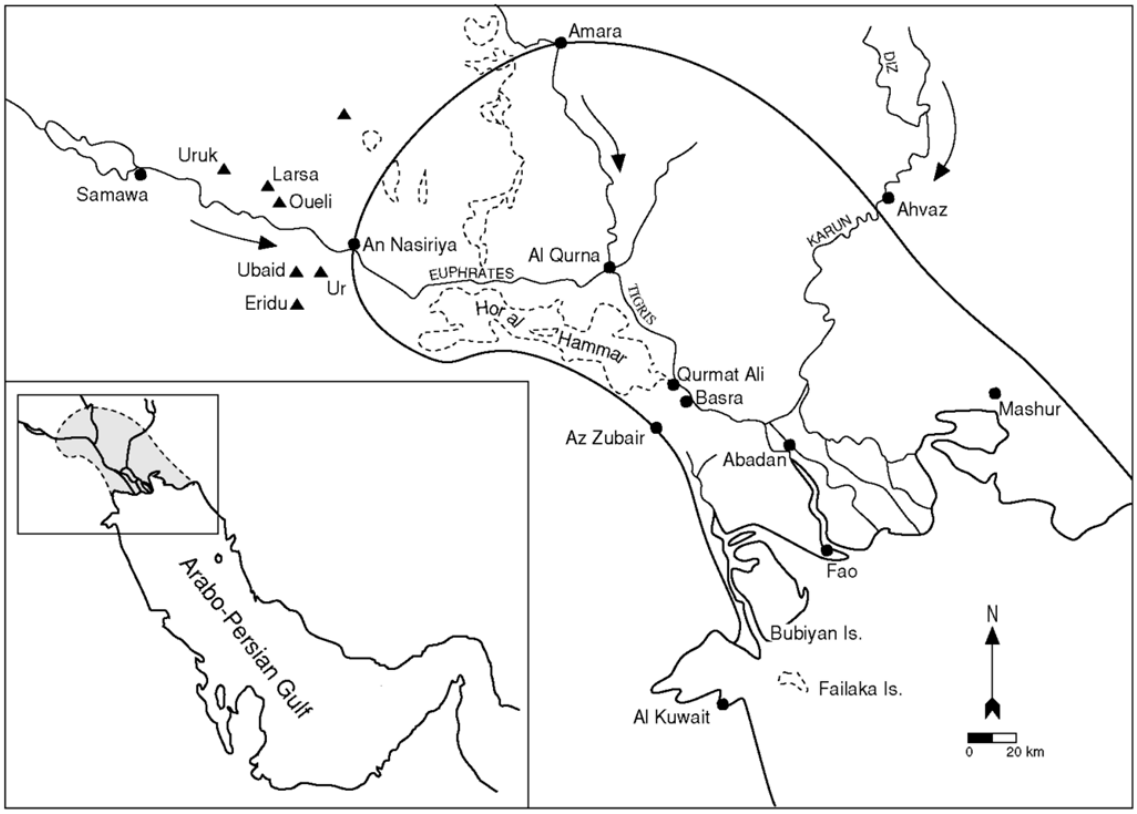


Figure 7.3 Estimated extent of Arabo-Persian Gulf at 6000 BP in Southern Mesopotamia (superimposed on present day geography; reproduced from Kennett and Kennett 2006: 74. Fig. 4).

Subsistence strategies and resource management would have played an integral role in the emergence and configuration of urban life during the early fourth millennium BC. At the sites of Hacınebi Tepe and Kurban Höyük in south-eastern Anatolia, archaeobotanical analyses show that barley was the predominant crop under cultivation. Emmer, einkorn and bread wheat have also been identified at these sites (Stein *et al.* 1996: 248; 256) By contrast, at the early fourth millennium site of Ziyade on the middle Khabur, wheat varieties were the principal crops cultivated, and there is little evidence for barley cultivation (McCorriston 1998: 49). Archaeobotanical samples recovered from early-fourth millennium contexts at Tell Brak reveal that both glume-wheat and barley predominated, although the fact that these samples comprised principally of chaff may suggest their use for fuel (in the form of animal dung or cereal waste) rather than subsistence needs. It is therefore notable that samples recovered from storage contexts were dominated by barley (Emberling and McDonald 2001: 27-30; 2003: 32).

Faunal data from the 'pre-contact' phases at a number of Late Chalcolithic sites implies that pastoral specialisation in ovi-caprids became increasingly important (Akkermans

and Schwartz 2003: 206). At Hacınebi Tepe faunal assemblages show that in the 'pre-contact' levels the principal taxa were caprines (sheep and goat), followed by pig and cattle. At Tell Brak in Northeast Syria, faunal assemblages from the Northern Middle Uruk phases also show a heavy reliance on sheep and goat compared to other domestic species (Emberling *et al*. 1999: 29; Emberling and McDonald 2003: 22). The continuing importance of wild species as a resource at this time is attested at the late fifth to early fourth millennium site of Tell Kuran in the Khabur Drainage. A single Uruk period deposit from the site contained the remains of over 100 individual gazelle, which is thought to have derived from a single kill-off (Zeder 1994: 118).

7.1.2 Settlement organisation and architecture

The extensive horizontal exposures excavated at the small 1.5 hectare site at Tepe Gawra in northern Iraq provide a rare insight into the spatial organisation and development of an early fourth millennium settlement. The site remains crucial for understanding emergent complexity during the Late Chalcolithic period since it is possible to trace the development of the settlement from a community comprised of large extended families living in multi-functional tripartite dwellings (Level XII, Terminal Ubaid), to a small non-urban centre with special function buildings and very few dwellings (Level VIII, LC 3 Period; Frangipane 2009: 137; Rothman 2001: 387). A detailed discussion of Tepe Gawra will be presented in Chapter 8. A comparable non-urban regional centre is evident at the early fourth millennium occupation at Arslantepe (Period VII - LC3) located in southeast Anatolia, where an extensive settlement made up of both residential and large public buildings has been excavated.

Domestic structures located in the eastern sector of the mound were typically small rectangular one or two-room dwellings furnished with ovens and basins (Frangipane 1993b; 2002: 124; Sagona and Zimansky 2009: 150). Excavations in the western sector, situated on the highest portion of the mound, revealed a large monumental structure with walls 1.2 meters thick, the interiors of which were plastered and painted, and featured plastered mud-brick columns (Frangipane 2002: 124). A further monumental structure (Building XXIX) dating to Period VII stood on a base of stone slabs and layers of mud-bricks. The building was tripartite in plan and featured a large central room

some 18 meters in length and 7 meters wide, with walls 1.6 meters thick. In the centre of the main hall stood a large platform with a related hearth, which was surrounded by mass-produced bowls. A smaller side room of this structure yielded further quantities of these bowls stacked upside down and arranged in rows alongside numerous clay sealings (Frangipane 2001: 328-9; 2002: 124; 2009: 138). Other early fourth millennium centres include the settlement at Hacınebi in south-eastern Anatolia, which featured a massive niched and buttressed enclosure wall in addition to a monumental terrace and platform complex (phases A and B1, LC 2-3; Stein 1998c: 184-5; Stein 1999d: 189-90; Stein and Misir 1995: 125; Stein *et al.* 1996: 210-4; Stein *et al.* 1997: 113; Stein *et al.* 1998: 149). Early Late Chalcolithic monumental architecture is also attested at Hamman et-Turkman Period VB, situated in the Balikh Valley, where a large tripartite structure featuring lime-plastered walls with recessed buttresses and triple niches was constructed upon a mudbrick terrace (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 188; Van Loon 1988: 582).

Compared to these smaller regional centres, the organisation of significantly larger urban settlements in Upper Mesopotamia remain poorly understood due to the limited exposures excavated. The early fourth millennium (LC 2) occupation in Area TW Level 20 at Tell Brak features 'monumental' architecture in the form of a large public building comprising of two rooms, one of which revealed an entrance paved by a large slab of basalt flanked by two 'towers' (see Fig. 7.4 below; Oates and Oates 1997: 288-9; 2006: 33; Oates 2002: 119; Oates *et al.* 2007: 589). Level 19 (LC 2-3) of the same area revealed a large 'industrial' building with massive red brick walls and a number of associated ovens that has been interpreted as a special function workshop (Oates and Oates 2006: 34-36; Oates *et al.* 2007: 592-3). Overlying this structure in Level 18 was a tripartite building with niched decoration, in front of which was a courtyard associate with a number of ovens. The large quantities of faunal remains and associated mass produced plates suggest that this building functioned as a space for the preparation and distribution of foodstuffs (see Fig 7.4 below; Oates *et al.* 2007: 594-5).

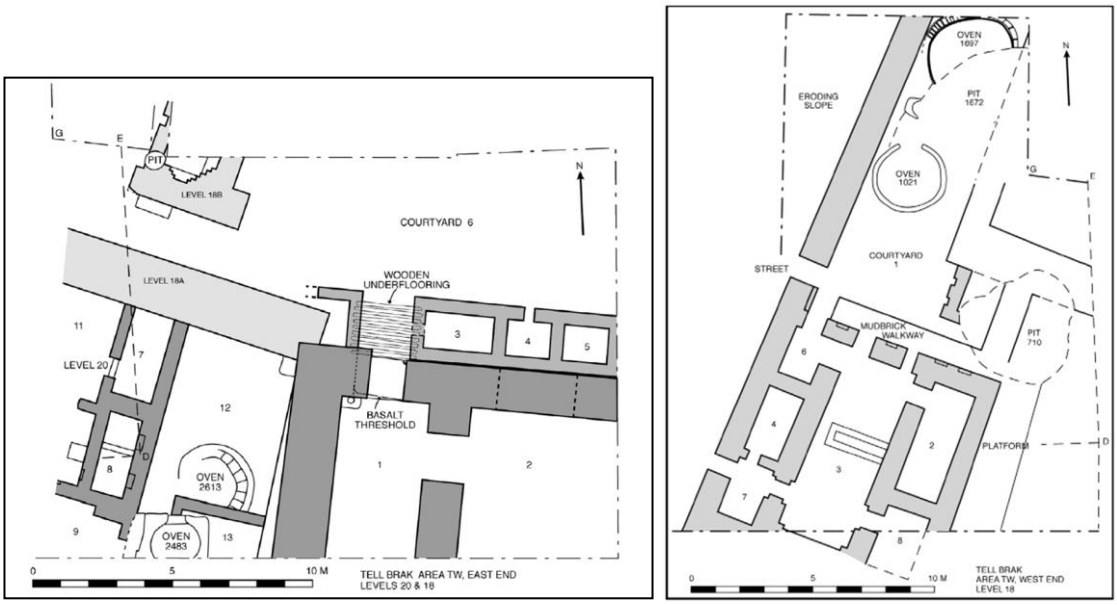


Figure 7.4 Basalt-threshold building from Area TW Level 20 and 'Feasting-hall' from Area TW Level 18 at Tell Brak (reproduced from Oates *et al.* 2007: 590, 595. Fig. 4 and Fig. 11.)

7.1.3 Aspects of material culture

Early post-Ubaid ceramics show a significant decrease in the quantity of painted vessels as undecorated wares now predominate assemblages. During the Terminal Ubaid (LC1), the cultural homogeneity that characterised earlier Ubaid ceramic styles declined as localised ceramic traditions developed throughout northern Mesopotamia. These regional assemblages include the appearance of mass produced 'Coba' bowls, 'black-on-red ware' and painted 'Sprig-Ware'. By the Early Uruk (LC2) period, Ubaid ceramic styles are now absent in Upper Mesopotamia, being replaced by assemblages comprised of undecorated vegetal tempered wares and Coba bowls (Wright 2001: 125; Schwartz 2001: 239). By the early Middle Uruk (LC3) phase two distinct regional assemblages developed out of earlier local ceramic traditions. In southern Mesopotamia and south-western Iran, assemblages are characterised by sand or 'grit' tempered wares that include a variety of straight, expanded, and ledge rims jars that often featured conical spouts and plain strap handles. Decoration on these vessels included reserved slip, red slip, simple grooving, or simple cross-hatched incised bands (Wright 2001: 125). In Upper Mesopotamia 'chaff-faced' assemblages predominate, which included open pots or 'casseroles' as well as 'hammerhead' bowls (Schwartz 2001: 239; Wright 2001: 125).

It is clear from the corpus of objects found *in situ* within special function buildings that early fourth millennium communities were engaged in the crafting of exotic materials obtained through long-distance exchange networks (lapis, carnelian, turquoise, obsidian, copper, silver, gold, shell; Khalisi *et al*. 2009; Majidzadeh 1982; Peasnall 2002; Rothman 2001: 391-399; 2002). The unprecedented variety of materials used to craft personal objects is most evident from the artefact inventories of the early-fourth millennium burial record (which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter) and in a series of object caches have also been recovered from early fourth millennium contexts. At Tell Brak, for example, a cache containing some 350 gold, silver, lapis lazuli, rock crystal and amethyst beads, alongside two stamp seal amulets, was deposited below a courtyard in Level TW 16. The hoard appears to have originally been wrapped in a mat or placed in a basket (see Figs. 7.5 and 7.6 below; Emberling and McDonald 2003: 9; Oates and Oates 2005: 22). An intriguing deposit dating to the Northern Middle Uruk phases at Tell Hamoukar in northeast Syria contained an extraordinary quantity of minute bone beads (over seven thousand), a few dozen larger beads of shell, faience and stone, fragments of bone 'eye idol' figurines, over one hundred bone and stone stamp seals (Gibson and Maktash 2000: 477; Gibson *et al.* 2002: 17; Reichel 2004: 85).

Figure 7.5 Cache of beads from Tell Brak TW 16 (reproduced from Emberling and McDonald 2003: Fig. 12.)

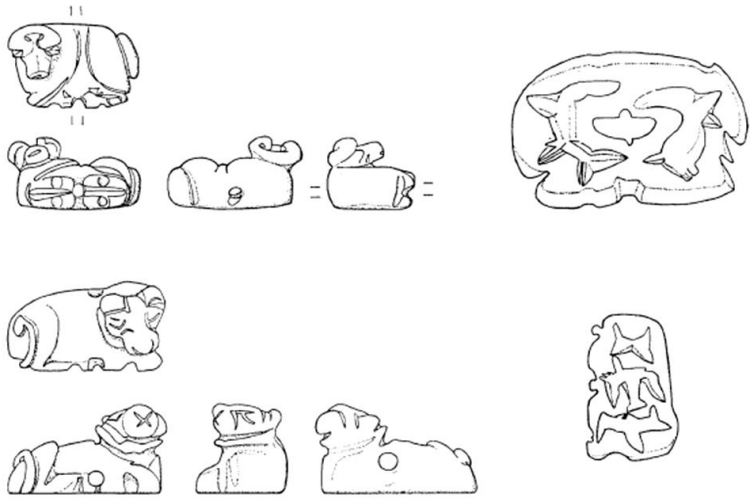


Figure 7.6 Stamp seals from Tell Brak TW 16 Cache (reproduced from Emberling and McDonald 2003, Fig. 13.)

Domestic units continued to engage in craft production on a scale similar to that attested for the earlier Ubaid period. By the mid fourth millennium BC, however, there is increasing evidence in Upper Mesopotamia for craft specialisation and the appearance of special function buildings or workshops engaged in the manufacture of various goods, which is evident at sites such as Tell Brak and Tepe Gawra (Oates *et al.* 2007: 592-3; Rothman 2001: 387; 2002: 145; 2009: 24). At Tepe Gawra, increased craft specialisation is implied by the spatial distribution of imported materials. In Level XII (Terminal Ubaid/LC1) exotic goods such as obsidian cores and blades, gold and copper beads, metal tools and a gold and lapis pin were recovered from extended family residences (Rothman 2001: 395-6; see discussion in Chapter 6). From phase XI of XI/XA onwards, the distribution of imported goods were now concentrated in non-domestic special function buildings such as 'temples', workshops and public storage structures (Rothman 2001: 399). The development of special function buildings engaged in craft production is also attested at Tell Brak in the form of a massive red brick walled building (Area TW Level 19) associated with large quantities of *in situ* materials, which point towards its function as an industrial-scale workshop for the manufacture of goods. The objects recovered from this building include 'great piles' of raw and worked flint and obsidian, semi-precious stones (jasper, marble, serpentine, diorites) used to manufacture beads and celts, quantities of molluscs from which mother-of-pearl inlays were cut, large quantities of spindle whorls, a collection of impressed sealings and a unique 'chalice' crafted from obsidian and white marble (see Fig. 7.7 below; Oates *et al.* 2007: 592-3).

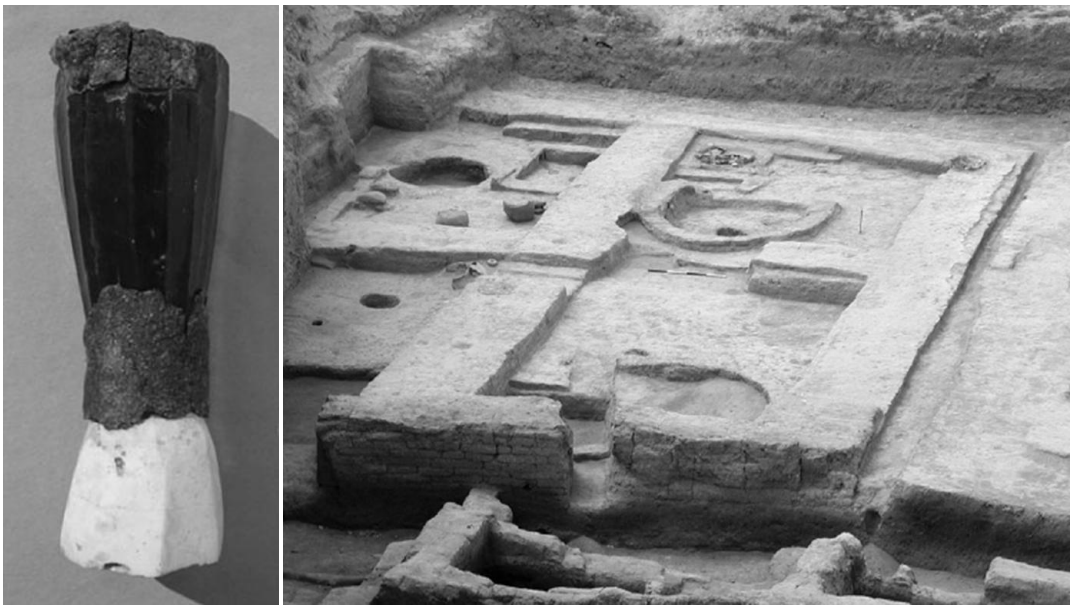


Figure 7.7 Obsidian and marble chalice (left) from the 'Red-libn industrial building' (right) from Area TW Level 19 (reproduced from Oates *et al.* 2007: 592, 594. Figs. 6 and 8).

Current evidence suggests that a number of north Mesopotamian settlements may have functioned as large-scale specialised production centres during the early-fourth millennium. At Tell Hamoukar, the extraordinary quantities of obsidian tools and production debris (blades, cores, flakes etc.) recovered from the 'southern extension' of the main mound (LC2 Period) indicates that this area was used as a specialist facility for the production of obsidian (Khalisi *et al.* 2009; Reichel 2007: 65; 2008: 79). The obsidian recovered from this suburban settlement, which accounts for more than 97% of the lithic assemblage, primarily derived from the Bingöl source area in Anatolia (the Bingöl region also supplied a large percentage of the obsidian recovered from early-fourth millennium contexts at Tell Brak; Khalisi *et al.* 2009). Early-fourth millennium communities such as Hamoukar and Hacinebi were also engaged in the acquisition and crafting of metal objects. At Tell Hamoukar, copper production appears to have superseded obsidian tool manufacture by the mid-fourth millennium, as there is increasing evidence for metallurgy in form of tuyeres, crucibles and a 'jeweller's kit' comprised of copper disks (ingots?) and silver wire that had been cached in a vessel (Reichel 2008: 80-81). The pre-Uruk contact phases at Hacinebi (Phases A and B1) have yielded extensive evidence for advanced metal production in the form of ores, slags, crucible fragments, tuyeres, metal artefacts and even a multi-furnace metal workshop. As Hacinebi is located some 200km away from the nearest copper deposits

it is clear that production relied on the acquisition of copper ore or ingots through long-distance exchange networks (Özbal *et al.* 2000).

7.2 Patterns of burial during the Late Chalcolithic period c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

The following section will present a quantitative analysis of the burial data for the Late Chalcolithic period (c. 4400-3000 cal. BC) in the Greater Mesopotamian region, which will be based upon available published records for skeletal information, context, burial methods and grave goods. As in earlier chapters, the primary objective of the analysis will be to investigate the changing relationship between funerary rituals and the removal of wealth from circulation over the long-term. The analysis will also provide the foundations for a detailed discussion of particular burial groups that will follow in Chapter 8 (the early-mid fourth millennium BC) and for a consideration of changing cultures of capital accumulation in the transition from village to urban life in Chapter 9 (the mid-late fourth millennium BC). Methodological considerations, such as the limits of what can reasonably be attained from a long-term analysis of the burial record when considering the overall quality of the data collected from publications, is outlined in Chapter 1, Section 1.3.3. A discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories (section 1.3.3.3); grave-good inventories (section 1.3.3.4); burial methods (section 1.3.3.5) and the spatial context of burials (section 1.3.3.6) was also outlined in Section 1.3.3. The analysis will be structured to address four points:

1. **To assess the scale of funerary consumption over the long-term.**

2. **To identify patterns in the types of objects removed from circulation through funerary rites.**

3. **To identify patterns in the spatial context of burials, such as variations in the scale of intramural (i.e. habitation zone) or extramural burials through time.**

4. **To broadly determine the principal methods of burial and the extent to which burial methods varied through time**.

As this study aims to account for long-term changes in the relationship between funerary rites and wealth removal, burial groups will be analysed in 200 year periods between c. 4400-3000 cal. BC, with the aim of providing greater temporal resolution than the conventional cultural periodisation allows. The periods under analysis are given below:

Period 11. Date cal. BC = c. 4440 - 4200 (LC1)
Period 12. Date cal. BC = c. 4200 - 4000 (Early LC 2)
Period 13. Date cal. BC = c. 4000 - 3800 (Late LC2)
Period 14. Date cal. BC = c. 3800 - 3600 (Late LC2 – Early LC3)
Period 15. Date cal. BC = c. 3600 - 3400 (LC3 – Early LC4)
Period 16. Date cal. BC = c. 3400 - 3200 (LC 4 - Late LC4)
Period 17. Date cal. BC = c. 3200 - 3000 (LC5)

7.2.1 The Late Chalcolithic burial data c. 4400-3000 cal. BC: preliminary comments

The burial data was obtained from a sample of 24 Late Chalcolithic sites (LC 1 - LC 5) located in the Greater Mesopotamian region (see Fig. 7.8 and Tables 7.1 to 7.7 below). The number of burials from each site used in the analysis for each 200 year chronological phase, and the basis for dating each site, is presented in Tables 7.1 to 7.7 below.

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Grai Resh	Northern Iraq	1	0.73	Akkermans 1988: 131; Kepinski 2008; 288; 2009: 123, 125
Kashkashok II	Khabur	18	13.14	Matsutani 1991: 59-61; Koizumi 1996
Kenan Tepe	Southeast Turkey	4	2.92	Parker *et al.* 2009: 114-5
Kosak Shamali	Middle Euphrates	1	0.73	Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Fig. 5.2; Campbell 2007: 124, fig. 9; Hammade and Yamazaki 2006: 122
Qalinj Agha	Northern Iraq	4	2.92	Abu al-Soof 1969; Abu al-Soof and Es-Siwwani 1967: 71-3; Lupton 1996: 32
Tell Brak	Khabur	11	8.03	McMahon and Oates 2007: 153-155;
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	98	71.53	Peasnall 2002; Rothman 2001; 2002a; 2002b; Rothman and Peasnall 1999

Table 7.1 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 4400-4200 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Korucutepe	Upper Euphrates	1	1.61	Algaze 1986: 126; 2005b: 72; Brandt 1978: 62; Lupton 1996: 28; Van Loon 1973: 360-361; 1978: 8
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	61	98.39	Peasnall 2002; Rothman 2001; 2002a; 2002b; Rothman and Peasnall 1999

Table 7.2 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 4200-4000 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Abu Salabikh	Southern Iraq	1	0.46	Pollock 1990: 85
Hacinebi Tepe	Southeast Turkey	12	5.48	Stein 1996; Stein and Misir 1994: 175-7; Stein *et al.* 1996a: 95-6; Stein *et al.* 1996b: 210-211; Stein *et al.* 1997: 119
Korucutepe	Upper Euphrates	3	1.37	Algaze 1986: 126; Brandt 1978: 62; Lupton 1996: 28; Van Loon 1973: 360-361; 1978: 8
Qalinj Agha	Northern Iraq	47	21.47	Abu al-Soof 1969; Abu al-Soof and Es-Siwwani 1967: 71-3; Lupton 1996: 32
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	156	71.23	Peasnall 2002; Rothman 2001; 2002a; 2002b; Rothman and Peasnall 1999

Table 7.3 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 4000-3800 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Grai Resh	Northern Iraq	1	1.2	Lloyd 1940: 18; Rothman 2002b: 52 (Table II).
Hacinebi Tepe	Southeast Turkey	1	1.2	Stein 1996; Stein and Misir 1994: 175-7; Stein *et al.* 1997: 119; Wright and Rupley 2001: 105-110
Hamoukar	Khabur	2	2.4	McGuire Gibson and Maktash 2000: 477; Gibson *et al.* 2002: 17, 53; Reichel 2004*:* 85; 2007: 64-5; 2009: 79; 83
Tell Brak	Khabur	4	4.8	Emberling and McDonald 2003: 33-35; Oates 2002; Oates and Oates 1997: 287, 290; Matthews 1996: 70; Matthews (ed.) 2003 : 66-77
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	75	90.4	Peasnall 2002; Rothman 2001; 2002a; 2002b; Rothman and Peasnall 1999

Table 7.4 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 3800-3600 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Arslantepe	Upper Euphrates	2	5.7	Frangipane 1993; Rothman 2001: 7 (Table 1.1); Wright and Rupley 2001: 114-120
Farukhabad	Khuzistan	5	14.3	Wright 1981: 88-89
Hacinebi Tepe	Southeast Turkey	1	2.9	Stein 1996; Stein and Misir 1994: 175-7; Stein *et al.* 1997: 119
Khirbet Hatara	Northern Iraq	3	8.6	Fiorina 1997: 10, 49-60
Norşuntepe	Upper Euphrates	12	34.3	Hauptmann 1976: Pl.42, 1, 2; 1979: Pl 28, 3; 1982: Pl. 20); Lupton 1996: 26-28.

Susa	Khuzistan	1	2.9	Steve and Gasche 1990: 22
Tell Hassan	Central Iraq	10	28.6	Fiorina 2007: 103-108
Tepecik	Upper Euphrates	1	2.9	Esin 1979: 109

Table 7.5 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 3600-3400 cal. BC

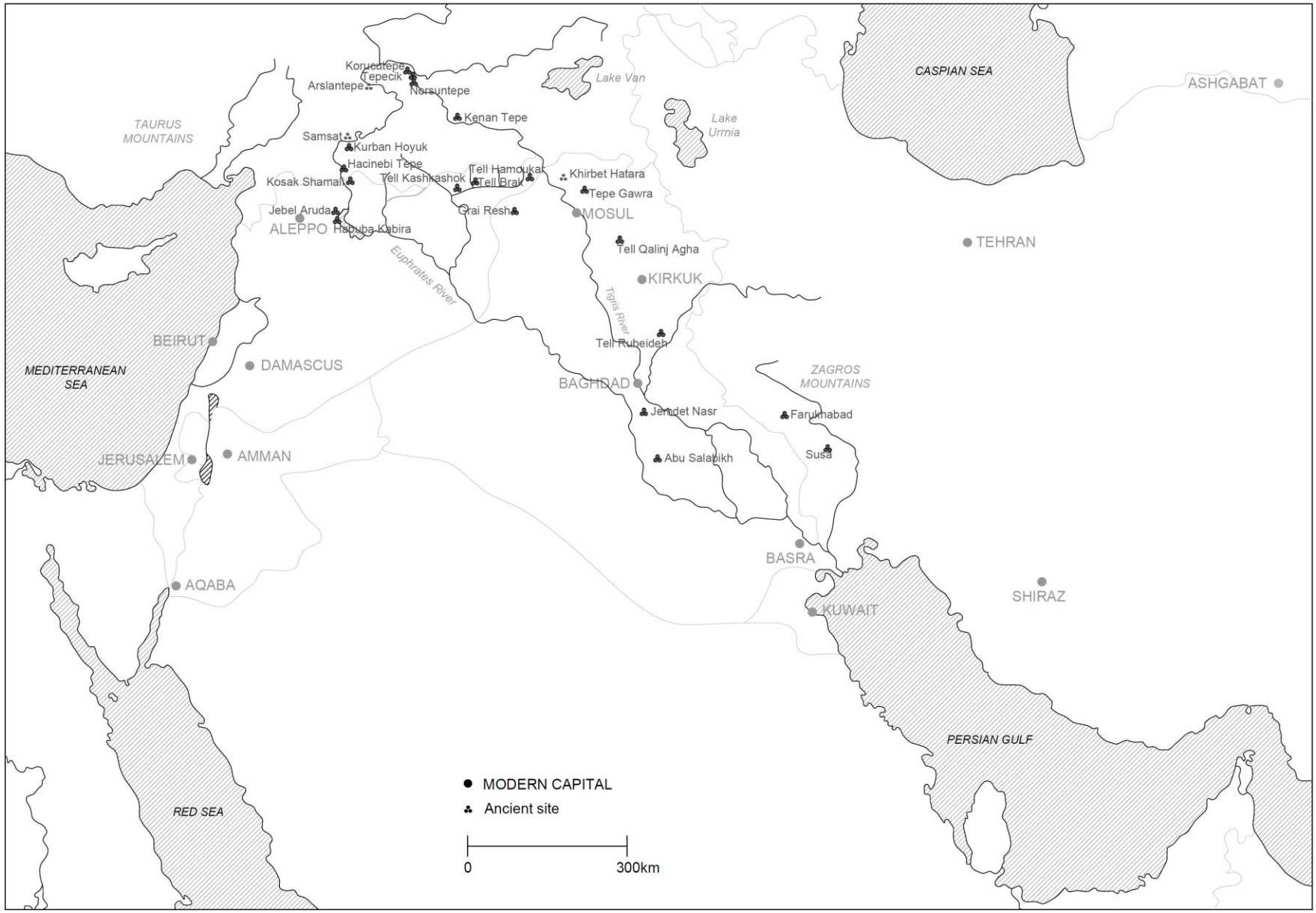
Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Kurban Hoyuk	Southeast Turkey	1	33.33	Algaze *et al.* 1990: 32
Khirbet Hatara	Northern Iraq	1	33.33	Fiorina 1997: 10, 49-60
Jebel Aruda	Middle Euphrates	1	33.33	Van Driel 1983: 19; Wright and Rupley 2001: 103-104

Table 7.6 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 3400-3200 cal. BC

Site	Region	Number of Burials	Proportion of Sample (%)	Source of Dating
Arslantepe	Upper Euphrates	1	1.9	Frangipane 1990: 212; Rothman 2001: 7 (Table 1.1)
Jemdet Nasr	Southern Iraq	1	1.9	Matthews 1990: 36
Jerablus Tahtani	Middle Euphrates	1	1.9	Peltenburg *et al.* 2000: 58
Kenan Tepe	Southeast Turkey	13	24.5	Parker *et al.* 2008: 18-26
Khirbet Hatara	Northern Iraq	11	20.8	Fiorina 1997: 10, 49-60
Samsat	Southeast Turkey	25	47.2	Lupton 1996: 61; Mellink 1989: 113; 1991: 135
Tell Rubeideh	Central Iraq	1	1.9	Killick *et al.* 1988

Table 7.7 Table showing Late Chalcolithic sites used for the analysis c. 3200-3000 cal. BC

Figure 7.8 Below: Map showing geographical distribution of sites used in the analysis (adapted from Carter and Phillip [ed.] 2010: x)


Korucutepe
Tepecik
Arslantepe
Norsuntepe
Kenan Tepe
Lake Van
Lake Urrnia
CASPIAN SEA
ASHGABAT
TAURUS MOUNTAINS
Samsat
Kurban Hoyuk
Hacinebi Tepe
Kosak Shamali
Tell Kashkashok
Tell Hamoukar
Tell Brak
Khirbet Hatara
Tepe Gawra
Jebel Aruda
Grai Resha
MOSUL
ALEPPO
Habuba Kabira
Tell Qalinj Agha
TEHRAN
Euphrates River
KIRKUK
Tigris River
Tell Rubeideh
BEIRUT
DAMASCUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAGHDAD
ZAGROS MOUNTAINS
Jemdet Nasr
Farukhabad
Susa
JERUSALEM
AMMAN
Abu Salabikh
BASRA
AQABA
SHIRAZ
KUWAIT
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
MODERN CAPITAL
Ancient site
0
300km

Overall, 592 burials have been recorded from a sample of 24 Late Chalcolithic sites dating approximately between c. 4400-3000 cal. BC (LC1 - LC5). A total of 588 individuals are associated with the 592 burials recorded for this period: 351 infants, 127 children, 15 adolescents, and 95 adults. In 29 cases either the age of the skeleton could not be determined or no skeletal remains were recorded from the burial context (see Chart 7.1 below; see discussion of the nature and reliability of age categories in section 1.3.3.3).

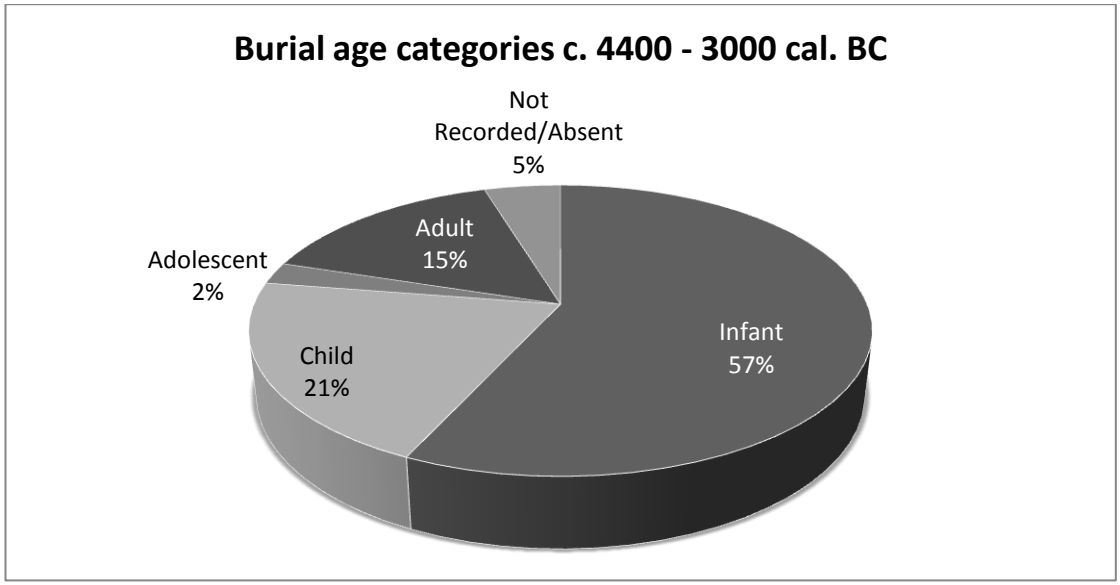


Chart 7.1 Approximate age of individuals from Late Chalcolithic funerary contexts c. 4400-3000 BC

As discussed in sections 3.3.1 and 5.3.1, the categorization of burials according to their spatial context – such as burials associated with architectural units – is primarily based on descriptions provided in the published material. It should be noted, however, that publications rarely provide a detailed record of stratigraphic relationships between burials and architectural features. At Tepe Gawra, for example, while it is often possible to discern the spatial distribution of burials from a given phase of occupation, there is little or no information on the relationship between burials and architectural features. It is therefore impossible to verify whether burials were actually interred below the floors of buildings, or whether they merely cut into architectural features and building fills. As such, the majority of burials at Tepe Gawra are recorded as having been made within the general area of settlement. Non-standard burials made in architectural features - such as grain-bins, ovens or house floors - will be categorised on the basis of their

association with architectural features (e.g. 'grain-bin burial', 'floor-burial' and 'oven-burial') in order to distinguish them from more standard methods of burial (e.g. burial pits or tombs).

A further point that requires explanation is the categorization of burials that contain multiple individuals. 14 burial contexts (2.4% of the sample) dating between c. 4400-3000 were categorised as multiple-burials: burial contexts whereby a concentration of skeletal remains belonging to multiple-individuals can be associated with a specific context such as a burial pit, or architectural features (e.g. remains of multiple individuals placed within a grain bin or on a house floor). The majority of these burials comprise multiple individuals interred within the same burial pit or tomb, and can therefore be identified as multiple burials with some confidence. At Tell Brak, however, a pit cut at least after the Level 3 occupation contained the skeletal remains of five children. Two of the children lay on their backs in the bottom of the pit, while the third child lay directly on top of two children in a flexed position. The fourth child lay directly on top of the third burial and was also flexed, while the fifth child was placed in-between the fourth child and the side of the pit (Matthews [ed.] 2007 :66). As the bodies appear to have been carefully placed upon one another in the same pit, this context has been categorised as a multiple burial.

7.2.2 Long-term patterns in funerary consumption c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

As table 7.8 demonstrates, in total, 1341 objects were removed from circulation in the 592 burials recorded between c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

Period	Number of Burials	Number of Objects	Average
4399-4200	137	98	0.72
4199-4000	62	79	1.27
3999-3800	219	605	2.76
3799-3600	83	457	5.51
3599-3400	35	38	1.10
3399-3200	3	3	1
3199-3000	53	61	0.11
Total	**592**	**1341**	**2.66**

Table 7.8 Table showing the number of grave-goods recorded between c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

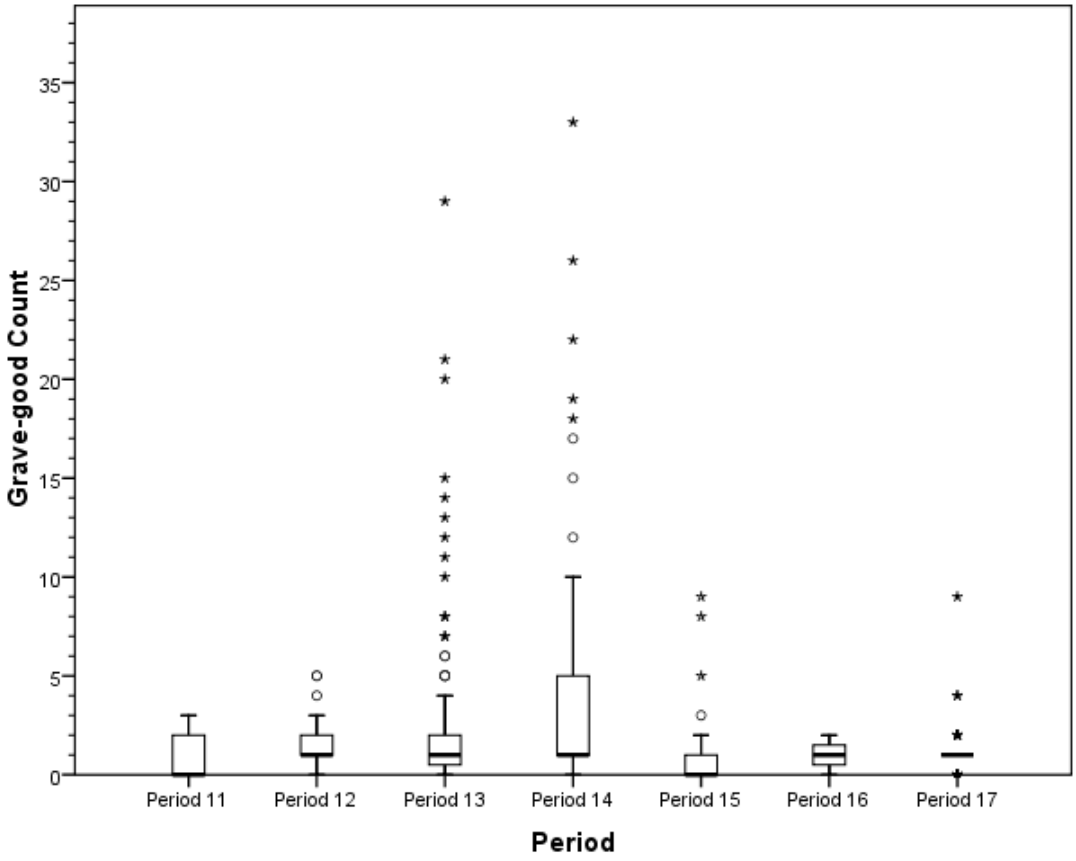


Chart 7.2 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

Chart 7.2 illustrates a boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption between c. 6400-5400 cal. BC. The box represents the interquartile range of the distribution while the lines extending from the boxes, or 'whiskers', indicate the maximum and minimum values that are less than 1 interquartile range from the nearest quartile. The line across the box marks the median value of the distribution, while probable outliers are indicated by open circles, and extreme values by asterisks. Period 11 on the chart, and those that follow, represents the period 4400-4200 cal. BC; Period 12: 4200-4000 cal. BC; Period 13: 4000-3800 cal. BC; Period 14: 3800-3600 cal. BC ; Period 15: 3600-3400 cal. BC; Period 16: 3400-3200 cal. BC and Period 17: 3200-300 cal. BC. The chart indicates that while on average grave-good consumption was broadly similar for all periods, there is greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded in Periods 13 and 14. Notably, there are a significant number of outliers and extreme values present for Periods 13 and 14, which indicates that grave-good consumption was relatively high for certain burials.

Age category	Number of individuals	Percentage of individuals %	Number of objects	Percentage of objects %
Infant	287	59.1	424	38.2
Child	112	23.1	229	20.7
Adolescent	13	2.7	67	6.0
Adult	74	15.2	389	35.1
Total	486	100	1109	100

Table 7.9 Table showing number of grave goods per age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

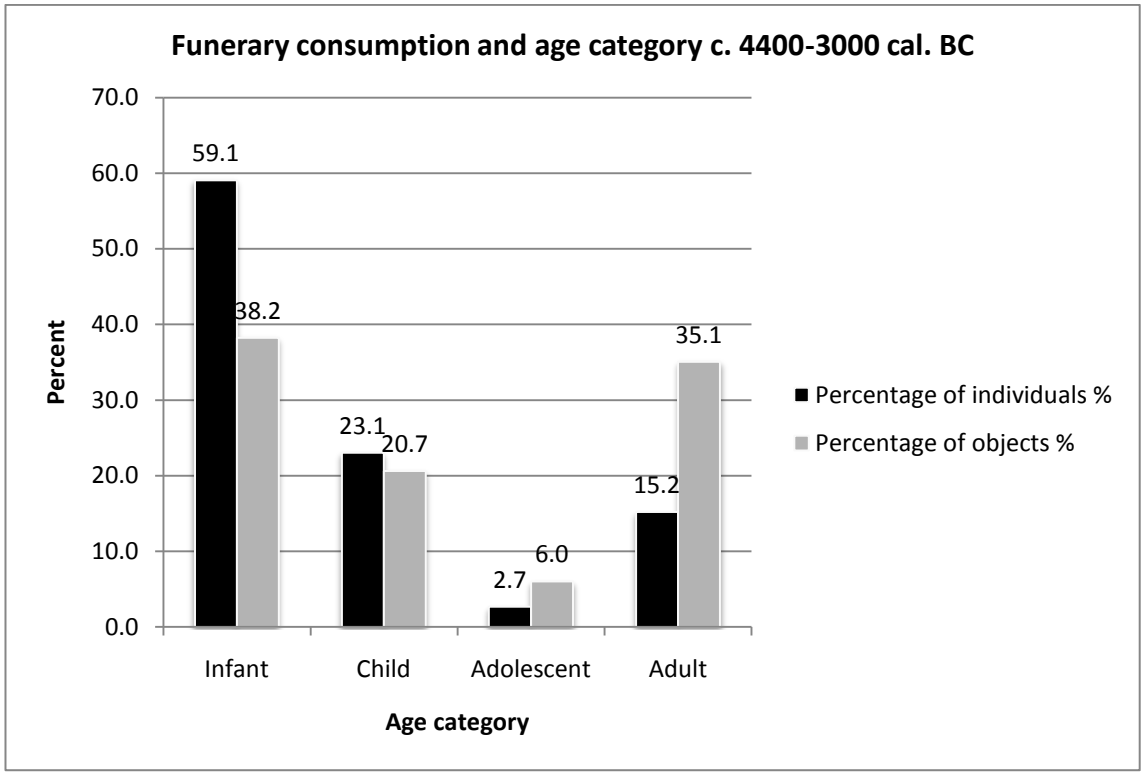


Chart 7.3 Chart showing funerary consumption and age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

The number of objects consumed in funerary contexts that can be associated with individuals by age category totalled 1109. Table 7.9 and Chart 7.3 shows that the highest percentage of grave goods (38.2%) were recorded from infant burials, which make up 59.1% of the total sample recorded for burial age categories. While adults make up only 15.2% of the total sample, 35.1% of all grave-goods were recorded from adult burials. Again, the percentage of adolescents (2.7%) recorded from the total sample is very low, which is likely to relate to the variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains. The nature and reliability of age-categories is outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.3.

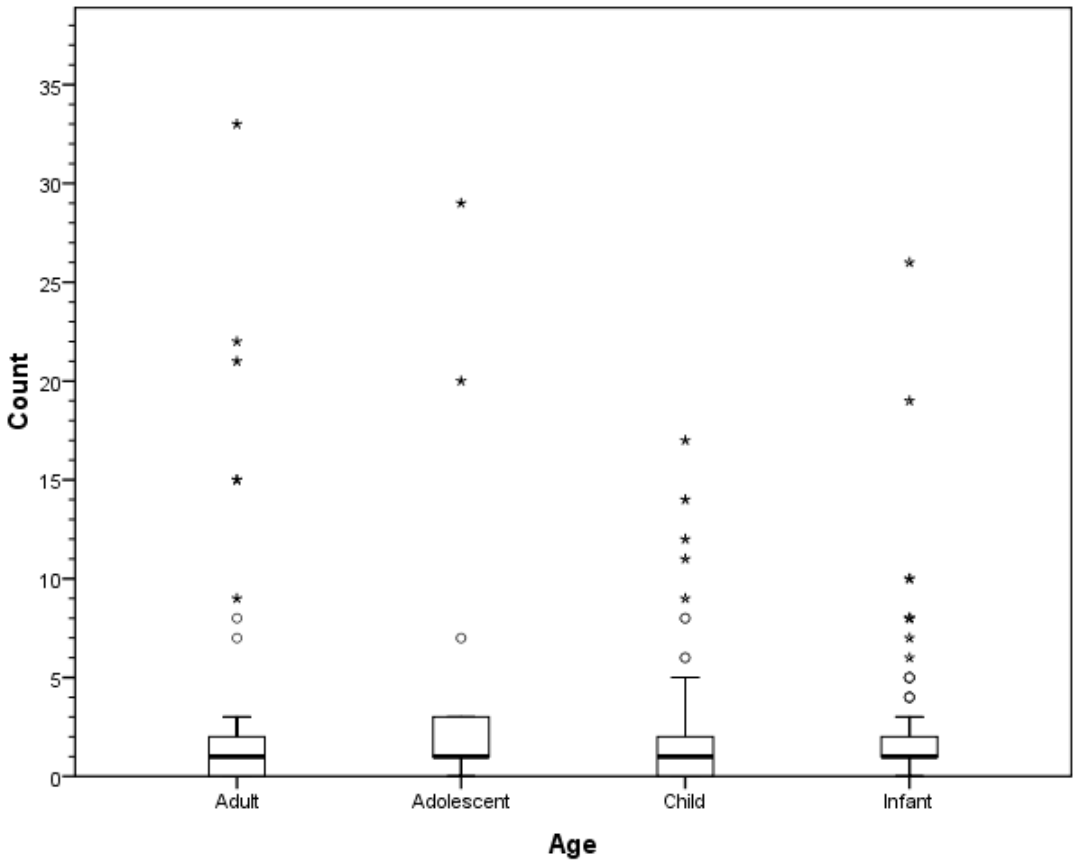


Chart 7.4 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption by age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Chart 7.4 demonstrates that while on average the number of grave-goods recorded from burials is comparable across all age-groups, the variability in grave-good numbers recorded from child burials is greater than other age categories. There are a remarkable number of outliers and extreme values present for all age-groups, which indicates that grave-good consumption was relatively high for certain burials.

7.2.2.1 Infant burials and funerary consumption c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
4400-4200	33	49	1.48
4200-4000	27	38	1.41
4000-3800	131	144	1.1
3800-3600	44	149	3.39
3600-3400	15	6	0.10
3400-3200	1	2	2
3200-3000	36	36	1
Total	287	424	1.48

Table 7.10 Table showing the average number of grave goods in infant burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

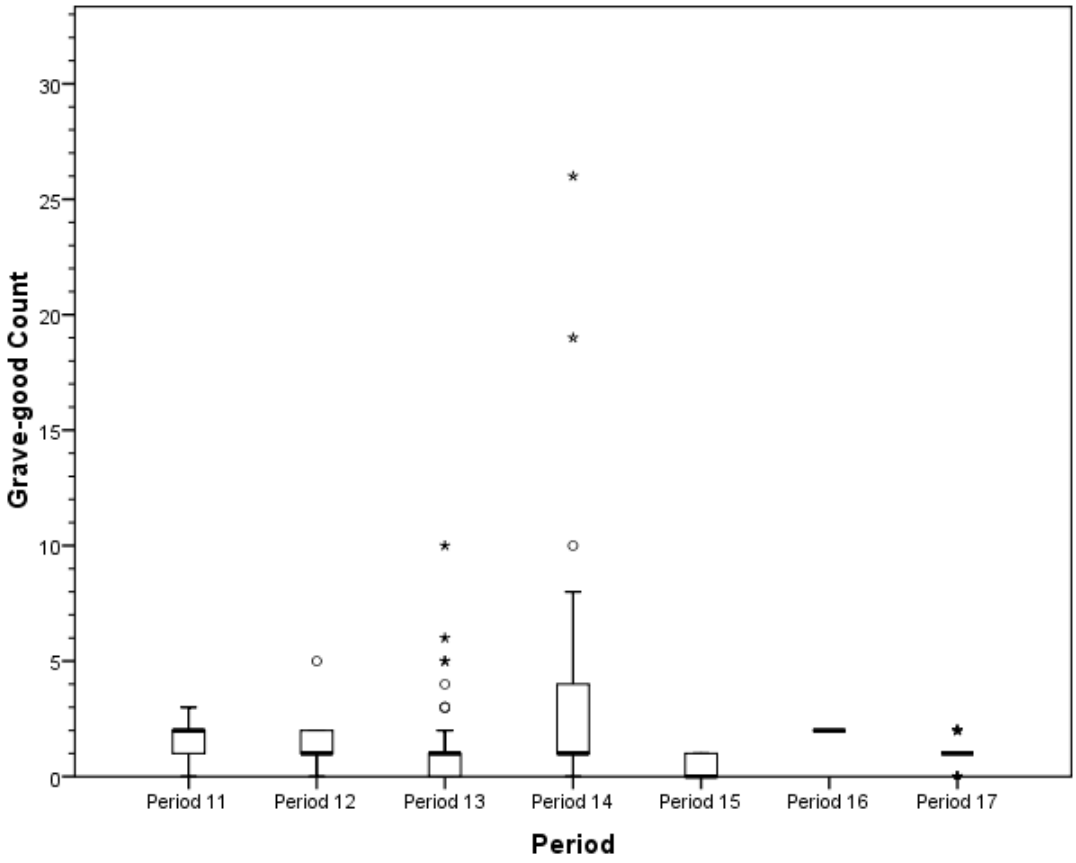


Chart 7.5 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in infant burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

Chart 7.5 shows that while the average number of grave-goods recorded from infant burials is broadly comparable for all periods, there is a much greater variability in the number of grave good-goods recorded in infant burials for Period 14. Furthermore, there are a higher number of outliers and extreme values present for Periods 13 and 14.

7.2.2.2 Child burials and funerary consumption c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
4400-4200	18	15	0.83
4200-4000	17	29	1.71
4000-3800	55	116	2.11
3800-3600	17	61	3.59
3600-3400	3	2	0.66
3400-3200	0	0	0
3200-3000	2	6	3
Total	**112**	**229**	**2.04**

Table 7.11 Table showing the average number of grave goods in child burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

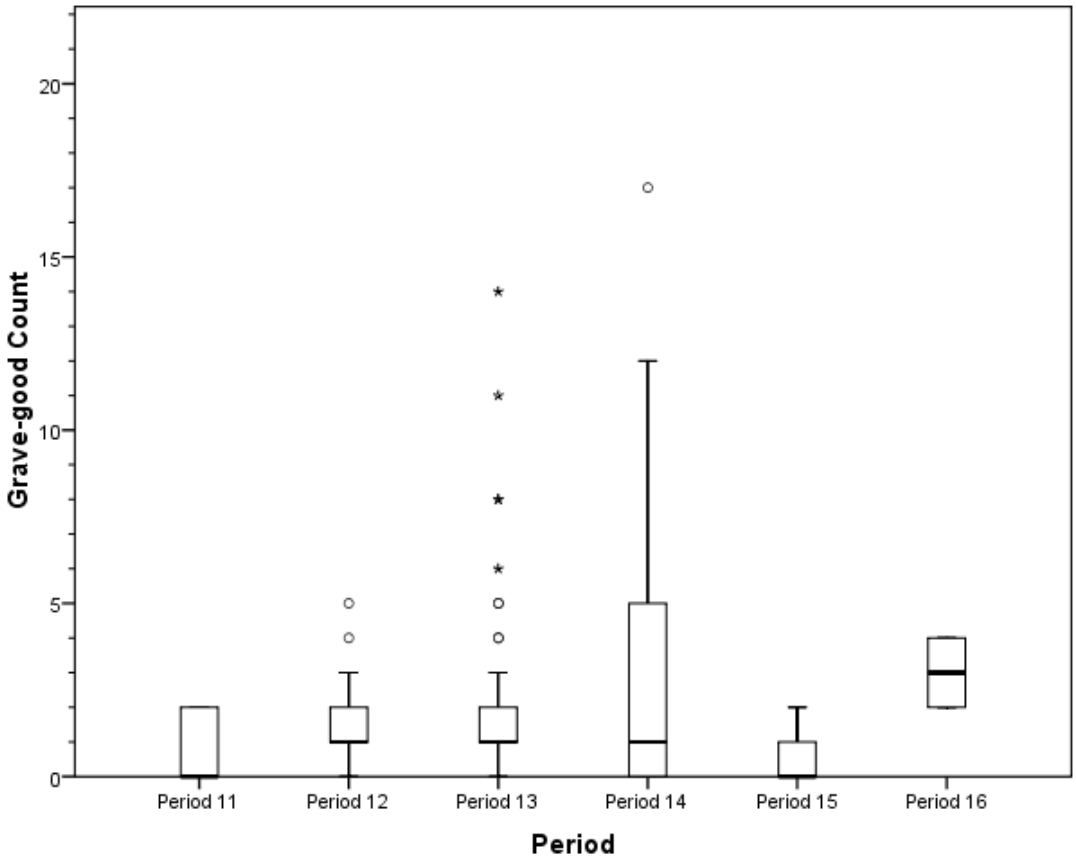


Chart 7.6 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in child burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

Chart 7.5 shows that the interquartile and accepted ranges are significantly larger in Period 14 compared to other periods, suggesting that the variability in the number of grave-goods recorded from child burials during this period is much greater. It is notable that there are a higher number of outliers and extreme values present for Period 13 compared to other periods.

7.2.2.3 Adolescent burials and funerary consumption c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
4400-4200	0	0	0
4200-4000	1	2	2
4000-3800	7	62	8.86
3800-3600	4	3	0.75
3600-3400	1	0	0
3400-3200	0	0	0
3200-3000	0	0	0
Total	13	67	5.15

Table 7.12 Table showing the average number of grave goods in adolescent burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

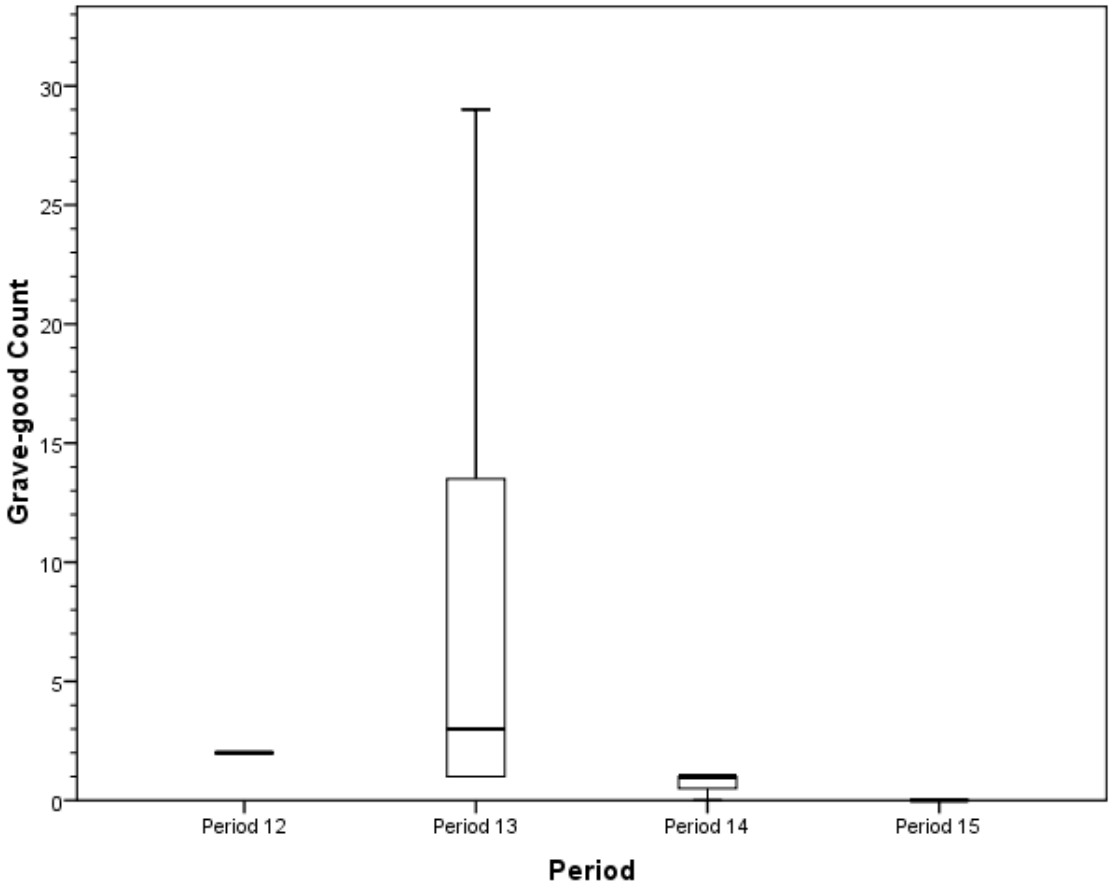


Chart 7.7 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption in adolescent burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

Due to the limited number of adolescent burials recorded for all periods, it is difficult to compare variation in the scale of funerary consumption in adolescent burials over time (see Table 7.12 above). It is notable, however, that for Period 13 there is a much greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded than for other periods.

7.2.2.4 Adult burials and funerary consumption c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Period	Number of Individuals	Number of Objects	Average
4400-4200	20	33	1.65
4200-4000	11	4	0.36
4000-3800	14	251	17.93
3800-3600	7	73	10.43
3600-3400	11	23	2.09
3400-3200	1	0	0
3200-3000	10	5	0.5
Total	74	389	5.26

Table 7.13 Table showing the average number of grave goods in adult burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

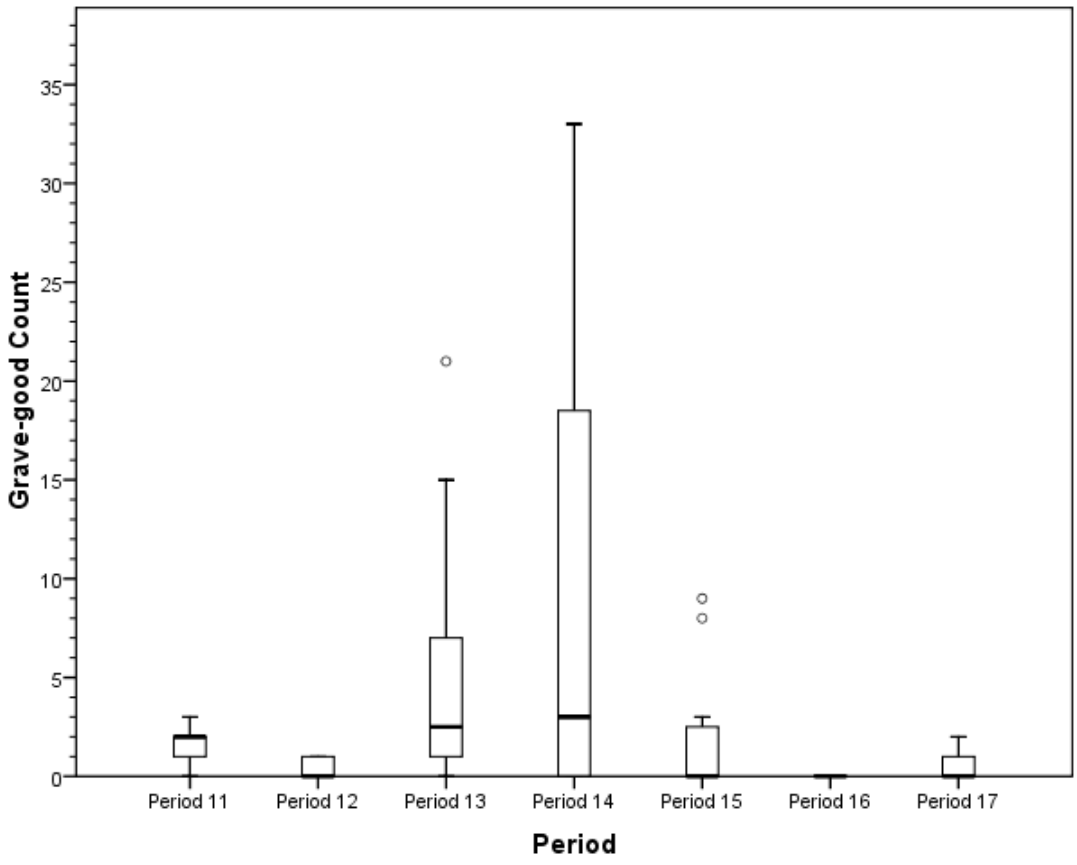


Chart 7.8 Chart showing funerary consumption in adult burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC.

Following the patterns observed for other age groups, Chart 7.8 clearly shows that the interquartile and accepted ranges are significantly larger in Periods 13 and 14, suggesting that the variability in the number of grave-goods recorded from adult burials during Period 13 and 14 is much greater compared to other periods. This is particularly marked in Period 14.

7.2.3 Grave-good types c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

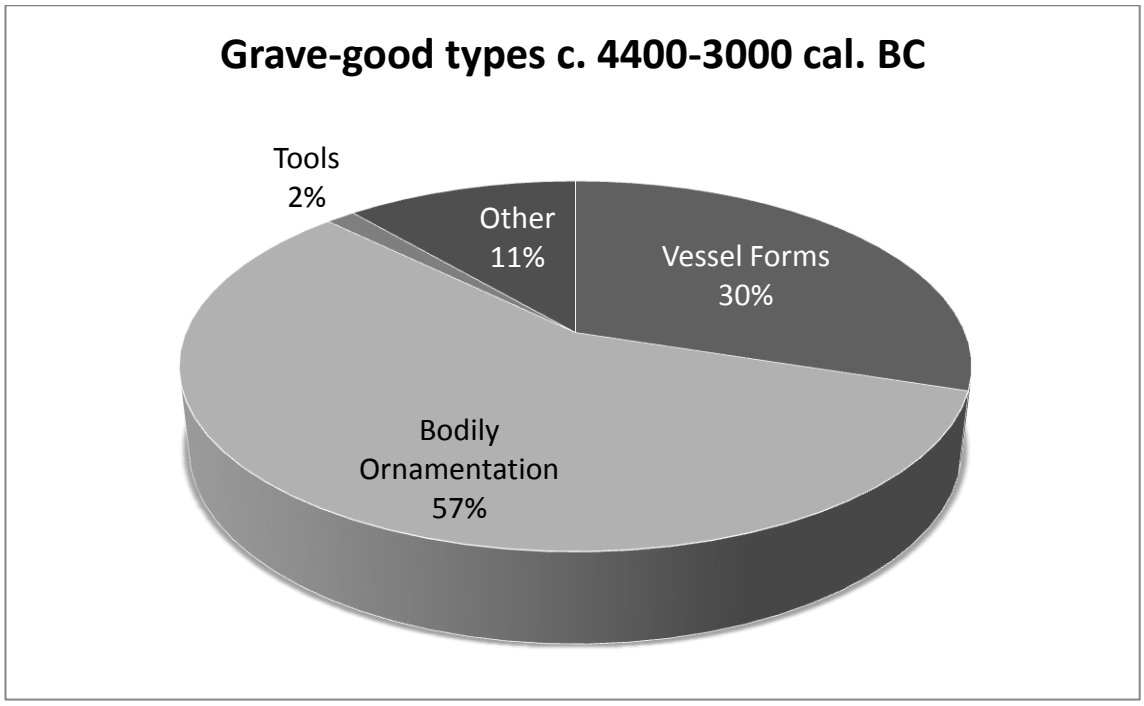


Chart 7.9 Chart showing grave-good types c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

A review of the types of grave-goods recorded between c. 4400 and 3000 cal. BC demonstrate that compared to earlier periods - where vessel forms predominate grave-good assemblages - over half (57%) of the objects recorded from burials are now related to bodily display and ornamentation.

Period	Vessel Forms	Ornamentation	Tools	Other	Total
4400-4200	83	11	1	3	98
4200-4000	55	19	1	4	79
4000-3800	127	386	12	80	605
3800-3600	64	329	3	61	457
3600-3400	17	18	1	2	38
3400-3200	3	0	0	0	3
3200-3000	53	6	1	1	61
Total	412	778	24	122	1341

Table 7.14 Table showing grave-good types c. 4400-3000 BC

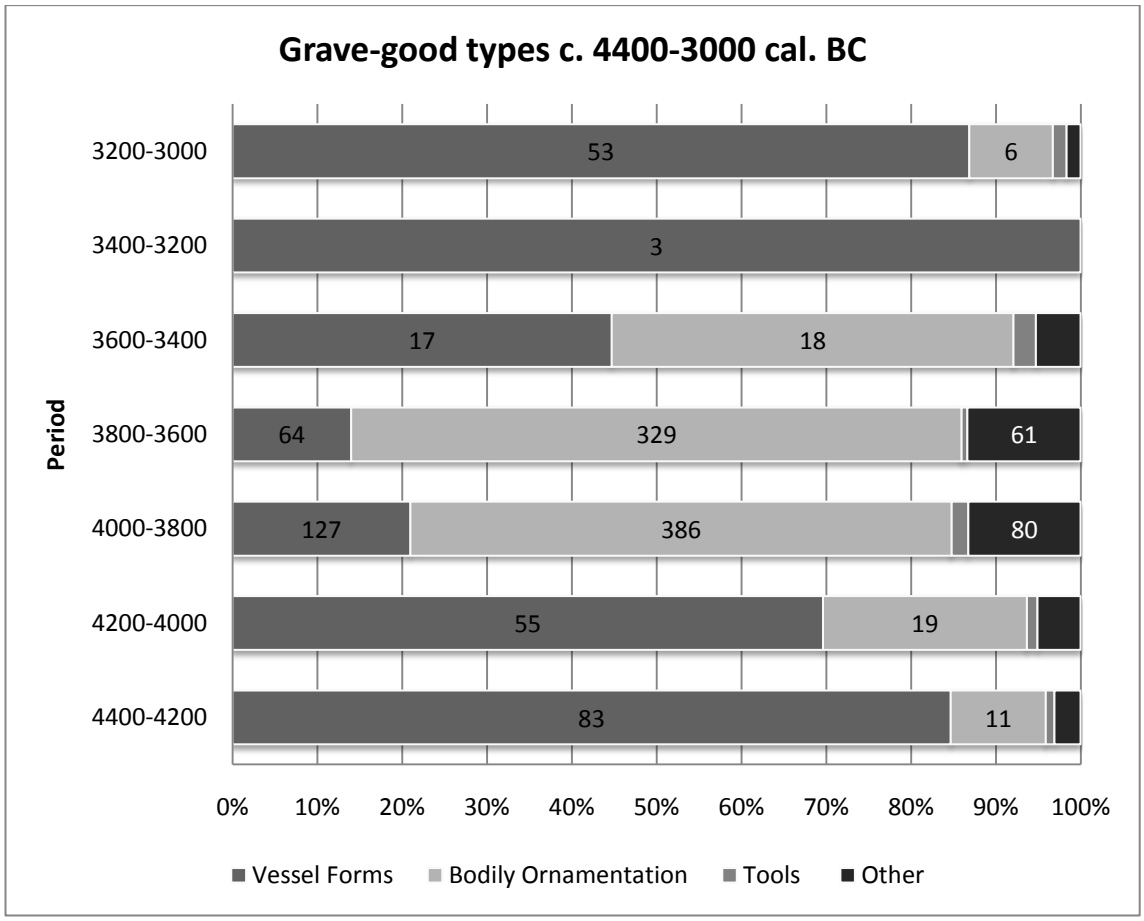


Chart 7.10 Chart showing variation in grave-good types through time c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Table 7.14 and Chart 7.10 demonstrate that between c. 4000-3800 cal. BC and c. 3800-3600 cal. BC there was a considerable increase in the number of objects associated with bodily display and ornamentation consumed as part of funerary rites (total n=715 or 67% of grave-good assemblages). In addition, during this phase there is a significant increase in the range of objects associated with bodily display, and in the variety of

materials used to manufacture these items, which include gold, silver, lapis, turquoise, electrum, ivory and copper.

7.2.4 Long-term patterns in the spatial context of burials c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Burial Context c. 4400-3000 BC	Number of Burials	Percentage
Associated with architectural unit	70	12.8
Below floor of architectural unit	15	2.8
Below foundations of architectural unit	2	0.4
Cemetery	20	3.7
Cut into architectural layers	5	0.9
On floor of architectural unit	1	0.2
Outside architectural unit	7	1.3
Settlement area	413	75.6
Unoccupied area	9	1.7
Within room of architectural unit	1	0.2
Within wall of architectural unit	3	0.6
Total	**546**	100

Table 7.15 Table showing burial context types c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

A review of the spatial context of burials between c. 4400-3000 cal. BC (Table 7.15 above) demonstrates that the significant majority of burials recorded for this period were located within settlement areas (n=413; 75.6%). A number of burials were also variously associated with architectural features (n=70; 12.8%) and more directly associated with architectural features (e.g. below floors of architectural units). Compared with the preceding Ubaid period, very few burials are now recorded from cemeteries located on or beyond the margins of architecturally defined habitation zones (n=20; 3.7%).

Burial Context c. 4400-3000	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Total
Associated with architectural unit	35	24	3	4	66
Below floor of architectural unit	16	1	0	0	17
Below foundations of architectural unit	1	0	0	1	2
Cemetery	1	0	0	20	21
Cut into architectural layers	2	5	1	0	8
On floor of architectural unit	0	0	0	1	1
Outside architectural unit	4	2	1	0	7
Settlement area	265	82	9	52	408
Unoccupied area	5	1	0	3	9
Within room of architectural unit	1	0	0	0	1
Within wall of architectural unit	1	1	0	1	3
Total	**331**	**116**	**14**	**82**	**543**

Table 7.16 Table showing burial context types and age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Age Group	General Settlement Area	Architectural features	Burial Ground
Infant	270	60	1
Child	83	33	0
Adolescent	9	5	0
Adult	55	7	20
Total	**417**	**105**	**21**

Table 7.17 Table showing general burial context types and age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

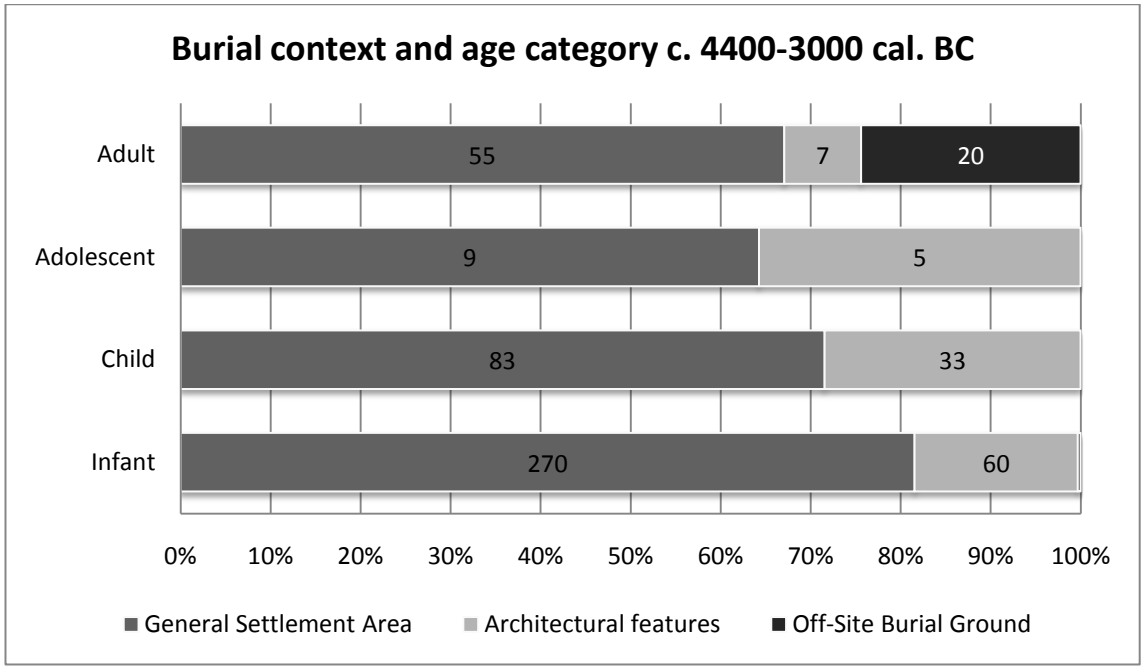


Chart 7.11 Chart showing general burial context types and age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

An analysis of burial contexts in relation to the approximate age of skeletal remains between c. 4400 and 3000 cal. BC (Tables 7.16 and 7.17; Chart 7.11 above) demonstrates that all age groups were predominantly buried within areas of settlement. A higher number of infants (n=60) and children (n=33) were buried in spatial contexts associated with architectural features compared to adolescents (n=5) and adults (n=7). Of the few burials located in extra-mural burial grounds (n=21), the majority are adult burials (n=20). Again, the variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains means that any broad survey of age-orientated funerary contexts must be treated as an approximation, and with due caution. The nature and reliability of age-categories is outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.3.3.

7.2.5 Long-term trends in burial types c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Burial Types c. 4400-3000BC	Number of Burials	Percentage
Basket burial	2	0.4
Stone cist burial	8	1.7
Libn tomb burial	71	15.2
Object burial	1	0.2
Piśe lined burial	8	1.7
Pit burial	125	26.8
Pot burial	209	44.8
Pot fragment burial	5	1.1
Secondary burial	2	0.4
Tomb burial	20	4.3
Wall burial	16	3.4
Total	**467**	100.0

Table 7.18 Table showing burial types c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

An analysis of burial methods for the period spanning c. 4400-3000 cal. BC (see Table 7.16 above) indicates that interments were most frequently made within ceramic vessels (n=209; 44.8%) or simple pits (n=125; 26.8%). Notably, a small number of interments were made in elaborate funerary structures such as libn-built tombs (n=71; 15.2%), tombs (n=20; 4.3%), and stone-built cists (n=8; 1.7%).

Burial Type	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Total
Basket burial	2	0	0	0	**2**
Stone cist Burial	0	8	0	0	**8**
Libn tomb burial	18	21	5	23	**67**
Piśe lined burial	0	5	1	3	**9**
Pit burial	54	41	6	27	**128**
Pot burial	178	23	1	5	**207**
Pot fragment burial	5	0	0	0	**5**
Secondary burial	1	0	0	0	**1**
Tomb burial	1	0	0	20	**21**
Wall burial	2	10	1	3	**16**
Total	**261**	**108**	**14**	**81**	**464**

Table 7.19 Table showing burial types and age category c. 4400-3000 cal. BC

Broken down by age category, the data shows that infants were afforded a greater variety of burial methods than other age categories between c. 4400 and 3000 cal. BC (see Table 7.19 above). Infants were primarily interred within ceramic vessels, whereas other age categories were mainly interred within simple pits. While all age categories were interred within libn tombs, only children were interred within stone-built cist-tombs.

7.2.6 Concluding remarks and points to be addressed in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9

Point 1: The scale of funerary consumption over time

The analysis shows that, over time, there is a marked increase in grave-good consumption and greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded between c. 4000-3600 cal. BC. Surprisingly, this trend is reversed from c. 3600 through to 3000 cal. BC, when there is significant decline in funerary consumption. While on average the number of grave-goods recorded from burials is comparable across all age-groups, the variability in grave-good numbers recorded from child burials is greater than other age categories. Over time, variability in the numbers of grave-good recorded for all age categories is greater between c. 4000-3600 cal. BC. The data suggest, therefore, that it would useful to explore this phase of increased funerary consumption during the early-

mid fourth millennium BC (Chapter 8), and additionally, why this trend is reversed towards the end of the fourth millennium BC (c. 3600-3000 cal. BC; Chapter 9).

Point 2: Grave-goods

Contrasting markedly with earlier periods, the data indicates that the majority of objects consumed in burials between c. 4400 and 3000 cal. BC are associated with bodily display and ornamentation (n=778 or 58% of all object types). On closer inspection, the data reveals that between c. 4000 and 3600 cal. BC, there was a considerable increase in the number of items associated with body orientated display and ornamentation consumed in burials. Furthermore, there is a significant increase in the variety of items associated with ornamentation and the range of materials used to manufacture personal objects. For the first time, grave-goods commonly include objects made from exotic materials such as gold, silver, lapis, turquoise, electrum, ivory and copper. Again, it is notable that there is a marked decline in the number of objects associated with personal display between c. 3600-3400 cal. BC. It is therefore worth considering the growing importance of personal display in death during the early-mid fourth millennium BC (Chapter 8), and why towards the end of the fourth millennium (c. 3600-3000 cal. BC) this trend is reversed (Chapter 9).

Point 3: Trends and deviations in the spatial context of burials through time

A review of the spatial context of burials between c. 4400 and 3000 cal. BC demonstrate that the majority of burials recorded for this period were located within habitation zones and associated with architectural features. Compared with the Ubaid burial record (c. 5400-4400 cal. BC), there are now far fewer burials interred in communal cemeteries on the margins of settlements. The data also demonstrates that a significantly higher number of infants and children were buried in spatial contexts associated with architectural features compared to adolescents and adults. The analysis suggests, therefore, that it would be useful to investigate the relationship between infant/child burials and architectural features such as domestic dwellings (Chapter 8).

Point 4: Trends and deviations in burial methods

The analysis demonstrates that between c. 4400-3000 cal. BC the most common methods of burial are vessel burials and interments made in simple pits. The data indicates that infants are predominantly interred in ceramic vessels, while all other age categories are mostly interred in simple pits. In addition, a small number of interments were now made in elaborate funerary structures such as libn and stone-built tombs, which may indicate that a segment of the population was selected for special mortuary rites.

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8 Mortuary rites, funerary consumption and wealth transmission during the early-mid fourth millennium BC

This chapter will provide a detailed analysis of burial practices for the early-mid fourth millennium (LC1-3; c. 4400-3600 cal. BC), which will be guided by the data analysed in Chapter 7. The penultimate chapter (Chapter 9) considers cultures of capital accumulation in the Late Uruk period against the background of the thesis as a whole, in order to address more fully the key social transformations that occurred throughout the region of Greater Mesopotamia at this time.

8.1 Emergent complexity and funerary consumption during the early-mid fourth millennium BC

As the focus of archaeological research in the Near East moved way from Iraq and towards Syria and south-eastern Turkey, there is mounting evidence to suggest that urbanisation and complex forms of social organisation developed in Upper Mesopotamia during the first half of the fourth millennium (Frangipane 1997; Gibson and Maktash 2000; Oates and Oates 1997; Oates *et al.* 2007; Rothman [ed.] 2001; Stein 2001; Ur, Karsgaard and Oates 2008). In light of this new data, recent discussions of the burial record have equated the increasing consumption of wealth in burials with the emergence of elite status groups during this phase (Rothman 2001: 390-1; 2002: 147; Rothman and Peasnall 1999: 110; Peasnall 2002: 233; Stein 1999: 125; 2001: 274; 2002: 150; Kepinski 2009: 123). This supposition, at first glance, appears to be confirmed by the burial data presented in Chapter 7, which clearly shows that compared to earlier periods, a considerable degree of wealth was now removed from circulation in funerary contexts during the first half of the fourth millennium BC (Chapter 7, Section 7.2.2). Furthermore, the data indicates that there was increasing variation in the burial

record in terms of the quantity and types of objects consumed in mortuary rituals (Chapter 7, Section 7.2.3).

However, this chapter, and those which follow, will cast doubt upon this current interpretative consensus, drawing upon the long-term perspective developed throughout the thesis as a whole. The focus of my discussion here will be upon the rich burial record of Tepe Gawra and comparable mortuary practices from contemporary sites in the northern Mesopotamian region. The burial record of the initial phases of the Uruk Period (Early Uruk c. 3900-3600 BC) in southern Mesopotamia remain poorly understood by comparison, as this period in known primarily through archaeological survey. The extensive horizontal exposures excavated at Tepe Gawra provide an as yet incomparable insight into the spatial organisation and development of a Late Chalcolithic settlement over time. The Late Chalcolithic sequence at Tepe Gawra charts the developed of the settlement from a community comprised of large extended families living in multi-functional tripartite dwellings (Level XII, Terminal Ubaid/LC1) to a small non-urban centre with special function buildings and very few dwellings (Level VIII, LC 3 Period; Frangipane 2009: 137; Rothman 2001: 387).

8.1.1 Burial rites and wealth consumption at Late Chalcolithic Tepe Gawra

8.1.1.1 Level XII (Terminal Ubaid-LC1)

Tepe Gawra is a small 1.5 hectare site that is located in the piedmont zone of northern Iraq. The earlier ‘Ubaid related occupation at Tepe Gawra span Levels XIX to XIII, with Level XII representing at transitional phase between the Ubaid and Late Chalcolithic phases. Level XIA/B through to Level VIII represents the Late Chalcolithic occupation of the site (LC1-3). The Level XII phase of occupation at Gawra marks the founding of a new settlement after the abandonment of Level XIII. Approximately 40% of the Level XII settlement was excavated, revealing a densely packed occupation composed of agglutinated buildings. The settlement was dominated by a series of tripartite structures (Rothman’s Buildings C, E and F), the largest of these being the ‘White Room Building’ (Rothman’s Building C). While the material remains

from these structures point to their function as domestic dwellings for extended households, it is evident that ritual practices, craft production and economic activities were also performed within the confines of the home. A re-analysis of the data from Tepe Gawra by Rothman (2002), suggests that besides dwellings, certain structures in the Level XII settlement were used for the storage of goods (Structures B and I), the redistribution of rations (Structure B), and the production and processing of goods (Structure B and J; see Fig. 8.1 below). Rothman (2002) points out that the distribution of seals and sealings recovered from Level XII does not appear to correspond to a specific functional area of the settlement, which implies that the Level XII settlement was not centrally administered.

A total of 187 burials have been documented for Levels XVIII through to XII, which represents the Ubaid period settlement at Tepe Gawra. Table 8.1 below illustrates the numbers of burials recorded at Gawra for the Ubaid related strata by age category, and clearly shows that the number of burials excavated increases dramatically in Level XII. Although there are no significant variations in the number of burials per age category from Level XVIII to XIII, the burial data demonstrates that by Level XII a significant proportion of the burials recorded were those of infants and children.

Level	Infant	Child	Adult	Total
XII	76	25	19	**120**
XIII	4	3	1	**8**
XIV	3	0	1	**4**
XV	6	1	3	**10**
XVI	2	3	2	**7**
XVII	5	7	19	**31**
XVIII	5	0	2	**7**
Total	**101**	**39**	**47**	**187**

Table 8.1 Table showing the number of burials by age-group at Tepe Gawra during the fifth millennium

Three general types of interment were recorded for the Ubaid period occupation at Gawra: inhumation burials, urn burials and piśe burials (see table 8.2 below for summary). With inhumation burials, bodies were placed in simple pits that were occasionally covered with either a layer of matting, libn bricks or plaster. As the table below demonstrates, simple inhumations were the most common form of burial before

Level XII. Urn burials can be distinguished predominantly by the types of cover that served to seal the burial vessel. Open vessel burials were the most common form of urn burial, closely followed by vessels covered with an inverted bowl or vessel sherd. In some cases, an inverted vessel was placed on top of a similar pot to form a burial capsule, the join between both vessels often being sealed with clay plaster. Vessels were also sealed with baskets, and sealed or enclosed with stones and mudbrick (compare with the sealing of burial vessels at Tell Abada, discussed in Chapter 6). In some cases burials were covered with an upturned bowl or large vessel sherd. 'Piśe burials' are typically graves featuring low walls made of piśe that enclose the burial entirely (for a detailed discussion of all grave types see Tobler 1950: 106-111).

As the table below demonstrates, the vast majority of urn burials and piśe burials occur in Level XII. Unfortunately, there is little information from existing publications regarding the distribution of burial types by age category. However, being that 102 out of 120 burials recorded for Level XII were urn burials, and furthermore, that 101 of the 120 burials were either those of infants or children, it may be assumed that the vast majority of urn burials can be attributed to either infants or children. In fact Tobler, (1950: 108) remarks that of only five adult urn burials can be attributed to Levels XVIII-VIII, three of which derived from Level XII, where they were found in vessel 'capsules'.

Inhumations					Urn Burials					Other			
Level	Simple	Matt cover	Libn cover	Plaster cover	Open	Lidded	Capsule	Under Urn/Sherds	Basket cover	Stone Encl.	Brick Encl.	Piśe	Misc.
XII	7	1	1	-	49	38	8	2	2	3	-	8	1
XIII	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	1
XIV	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
XV	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
XVI	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
XVII	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1
XVIII	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	**55**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**54**	**40**	**8**	**8**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**8**	**4**
	58				**116**					**12**			

Table 8.2 Burial Types recorded at Tepe Gawra during the fifth millennium

The spatial distribution of the Level XII burials is difficult to discern due to the varying amount of information provided in the available publications (see Tobler 1950: 98-106; 117-121), making it difficult if not impossible to link burials with specific locations. Nevertheless, Tobler (1950: 103) does mention that 25 burials were associated with the White Room building, 10 of which were the deepest (suggesting earliest) burials attributed to Level XII, being intrusive into Level XIII. This burial group was located in Square 4-O and 4-Q, placing them in association with the White Room Building and the rooms to the northwest of this structure. It is possible that these 10 deeper burials were in fact associated with the intermediate phase XIIA, or that the burials served as a foundation deposit preceding the construction of the White Room building. A further 15 burials were associated with the White Room building, 11 of which were recovered from Rooms 42-49, Room 38 and Room 19. The remaining four graves were located outside, to the rear of the White Room building (Chiocchetti 2007: 133; Tobler 1950: 103). As for the other 85 graves attributed to Level XII, Tobler notes that they are widely scattered throughout this layer, with denser concentrations present in Squares 4-K and 4-J, which correspond to the location of two tripartite structures that have as their central hall Rooms 26 and 28. It may be cautiously stated therefore, that the burials of Level XII were primarily concentrated in areas associated with large domestic dwellings that were likely to have housed extended families (see Figs. 8.1). Notably, these structures were also associated with concentrations of imported materials (see Fig 8.2).

Figure 8.1 Plan of Tepe Gawra Level XII showing concentration of burials (adapted from Rothman 2001, Fig 10.9

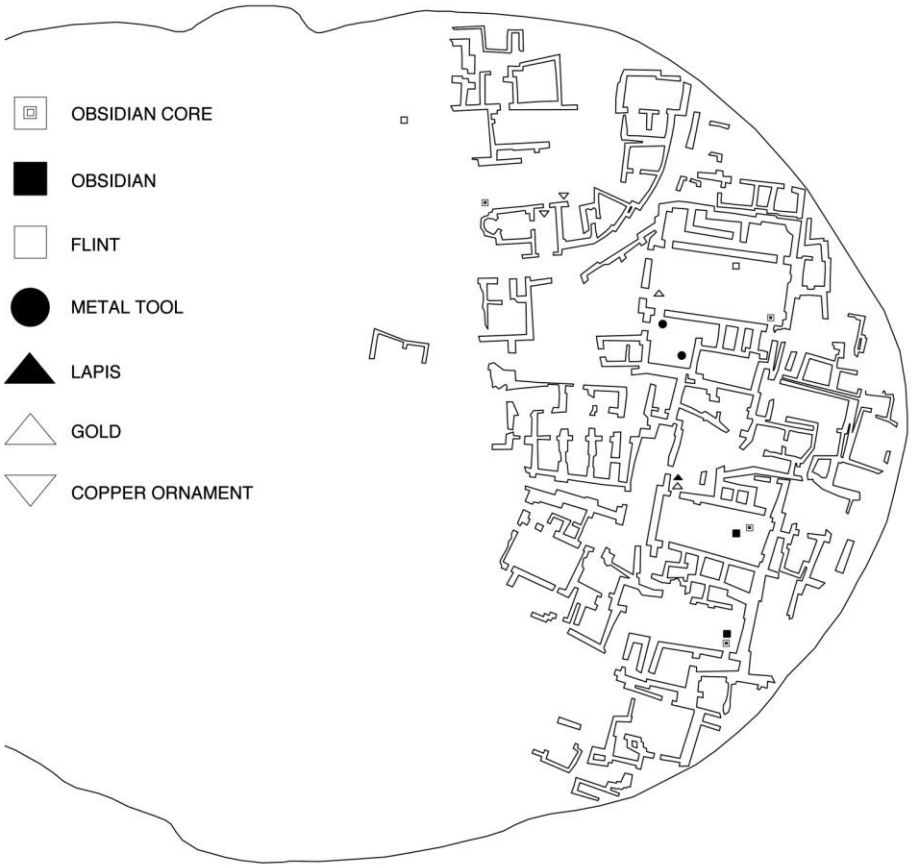

Figure 8.2 Plan of Tepe Gawra Level XII showing distribution of exotic materials (adapted from Rothman 2001, Fig 10

The largest concentration of burials appears to be associated with the prominent 'White Room Building', a tripartite structure that featured large central room that was coated with a layer of white plaster. The White Room Building is notable for being much larger and more elaborately constructed than other buildings in the settlement, inviting comparisons with Building A from Tell Abada (discussed in Chapter 6). While the White Room Building boasts a number of architectural features commonly associated with ritual activities, such as a channel rim bowl set into a bench in one of the side rooms and a niche in the back wall, it is clear from its contents that the building functioned as a residence. This interpretation is supported by the variety of domestic items found within its walls, which include spindle whorls, a spatula, ceramic vessels, obsidian cores and four small celts. A number of clay sealings and stamp seals were also recovered from this structure, which suggests that households were implicated in the packaging and administration of goods (Rothman 2002: 77; Tobler 1950: 28).

The White Room structure appears to have been destroyed by a fire, as the floor of Room 18 was covered with a layer of ash some 40 centimetres deep and the walls fire-marked. (Bache 1935: 8; Tobler 1950: 25). Objects were also scattered on the floors of rooms, and the skeleton of an infant and a 'child' aged 12-14 years lay on the floors of Rooms 44 and 42. Tobler (1950: 26) believed that this was clearly evidence for an attack on the village, a notion further supported by the remains of an adolescent that was found in Room 80 with a stone in its back, and the sprawled skeleton of an adolescent found in-between Areas 63 and 65. It is intriguing, however, that only the White Room Building showed evidence for conflagration, and that no adult skeletons were amongst the supposed victims of violence.

8.1.1.2 Level XIA/B (LC1 Period)

The Level XII occupation at Tepe Gawra marks a transitional phase between the end of the Ubaid period and the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic Period, and the spatial organization of the settlement can be understood as a culmination of the social changes that developed throughout the Ubaid period, which was discussed in Chapter 6. A notable divergence from the organisation of fifth millennium villages occurs in the

Level XIA/B settlement at Gawra with the construction of a large fortified building (the so-called 'Round House'), which has been interpreted as a central storage silo (Rothman 2001: 387; 2002: 145; 2009: 24). Despite the fact that the Level XIA/B settlement was clearly a residential village, there are significant changes in the way production was organised, as craft activities became increasingly separated from the domestic sphere. Domestic dwellings are now smaller when compared to the earlier Level XII settlement, and show little evidence for the 'cottage industry' scale of production typical of many late fifth millennium houses. Material evidence for craft production is now concentrated in buildings and areas of settlement that are distinct from domestic dwellings, implying that a degree of specialisation existed in this phase (Rothman 2002: 90). Despite the reorganisation of production away from household contexts, sealing mechanisms were widely dispersed throughout the settlement and often found in dwellings, implying that control over the circulation of goods was fundamentally decentralised (Rothman 2002: 92).

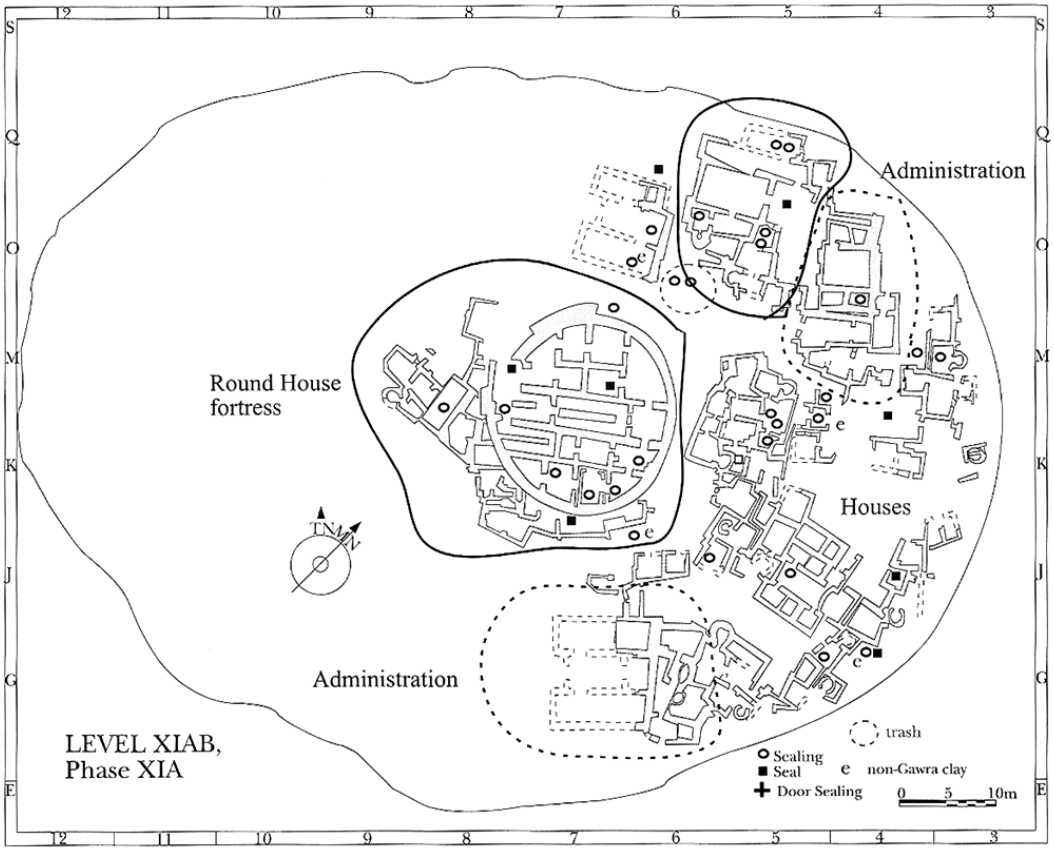

Figure 8.3 Tepe Gawra Level XIA/B Phase XIA functional areas and seal distribution (reproduced from Rothman 2009: 37. Fig 6)

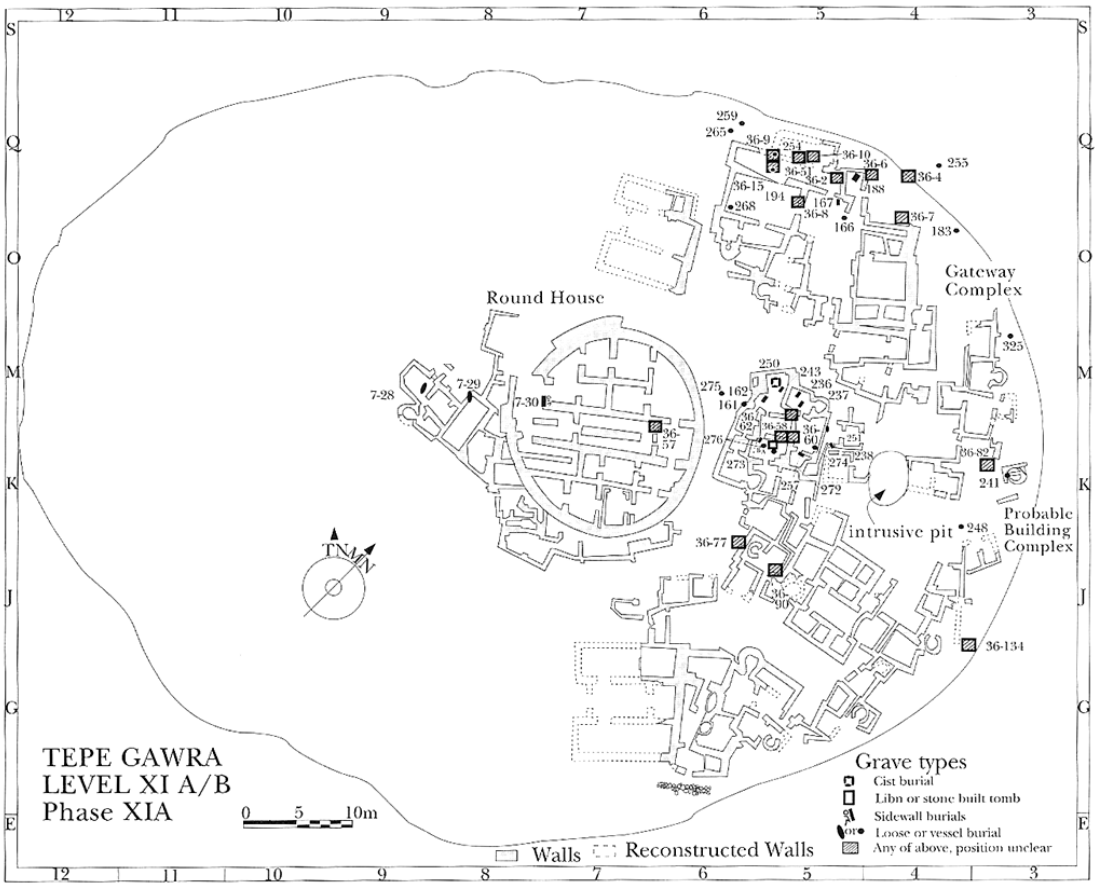

Figure 8.4 Tepe Gawra Level XIA/B Phase XIA grave distribution (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 207. Fig A.24)

Burial rites during the Level XIA/B occupation at Gawra show elements of continuity and divergence with earlier fifth millennium traditions. A total of 64 burials are recorded for this period, the majority of which, like earlier occupation levels, are infant vessel burials. However, compared to earlier phases, Level XIA/B burial methods become increasingly complex, as interments were now also made in Libn Tombs and Stone Cist Tombs (see Table 8.3 below).

Age	Libn Tomb	Piśe Burial	Stone Cist	Pit Burials	Vessel Burials	Wall Burials	Total
Adult	4	2	-	3	2	2	13
Adolescent	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Child	1	-	1	7	8	-	17
Infant	3	-	-	3	23	-	29
Not Recorded	2	-	-	1	1	-	4
Total	10	2	1	15	34	3	64

Table 8.3 Tepe Gawra Level XIA/B burial type and age group.

A distinct pattern in the spatial distribution of graves can be observed in the two groups of burials located in association with a tripartite building in squares 5/6 Q and a complex of dwellings from Squares 5/6K (see Fig 8.4 above and Table 8.4 below). The tripartite building associated with the first burial group has been interpreted as functioning (in separate phases) as a residence and as a space where goods were produced. Finds associated with this building include large quantities of 'Wide Flower Pot' vessels in the proximity of a large oven, suggesting that the area was used for the preparation and consumption of foodstuffs (Peasnall 2002: 198; Rothman 2002: 84). The second cluster of burials was associated with a complex of three interlocking houses with two ovens located in Squares 5/6K. Associated finds from this complex include items typical of dwellings, such as a spatula, grinding stone, a channel-rimmed bowl, and spindle whorls (Peasnall 2002: 198; Rothman 2002: 86).

Burial Group 1			Burial Group 2		
Burial	**Burial Type**	**Age**	**Burial**	**Burial Type**	**Age**
36-2	Vessel Burial Stone Cover	Child	36-58	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Infant
36-4	Vessel Burial	Infant	36-60	Libn-Stone Burial Libn Cover	Child
36-6	Unrecorded	Infant	36-62	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Infant
36-7	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Infant	161	Pit Burial	Child
36-8	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Infant	162	Not recorded	Not recorded
36-9	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Child	236	Pit Burial	Infant
36-10	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Uncertain	237	Pit Burial	Infant
36-15	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Infant	243	Pit Burial	Child
36-51	Vessel Burial	Infant	238	Pit Burial	Adolescent
166	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Child	250	Cist Burial	Child
167	Pit Burial	Child	251	Pit Burial	Child
188	Pit Burial	Adult x 2	257	Pit Burial	Child
194	Vessel Burial	Infant	272	Pit Burial	Infant/Child
254	Vessel Burial	Infant/Child	273	Vessel Burial	Infant/Child
259	Vessel Burial	Infant/Child	274	Vessel Burial Vessel Cover	Infant/Child
265	Vessel Burial	Adult	275	Pit Burial	Infant/Child
268	Pit Burial	Adult	276-A	Vessel Burial	Infant/Child
			276-B	Pit Burial	Infant/Child

Table 8.4 Tepe Gawra Level XIA/B burial groups

It is notable that the significant majority of burials in both clusters belonged to infants and children, a pattern consistent with that observed for the preceding Level XII settlement, where an association between large tripartite dwellings and infant/child burials was observed. The burial record of Level XIA/B is similarly suggestive of a

close association between dwelling structures and the sub-floor burial of infants and children. The principal divergence from earlier funerary traditions at Gawra is that particular burials were afforded increasingly elaborate burial methods (Libn-stone burials, Cist burials), and are furnished with a greater variety and quantity of grave goods (see Table 8.5 below). Child burials 243 and 36-60, for example, are both associated with the group of burials spatially related to the complex of domestic dwellings in Squares 5/6K. Both burials are remarkable for the quantities of beads and personal ornaments that were either placed in graves or formed part of a funerary costume. Some 1,700 beads made from obsidian and other materials were at the chest of the skeleton in Burial 243 (forming some form of ornament or beadwork attached to garments) and over 6,300 beads and other ornaments were found at the neck and wrists of the skeleton from Burial 36-60.

Burial	Level	Square	Burial Type	Age	Grave Goods
243	XIA/B	5M	Loose	Child	511 small white ring beads
					1 shell ring bead
					588 tiny white ring beads
					605 small obsidian ring beads
					Reed matting
36-060	XIA/B	5M	Libn and Stone Tomb	Child	1 small brown ware jar
					3075 beads
					3300 ring beads
					1 yellow paste rosette pendant
					1 ivory rosette ornament
					Reed matting

Table 8.5 Tepe Gawra Level XIA/B high ranking burials (based on analysis by Peasnall 2002: 229)

8.1.1.3 Level XI/XA (LC2 Period)

The functional segregation of buildings increased in Level XI/XA with the construction of a structure interpreted as a 'temple' in addition to a number of special function buildings associated with craft production (spinning, weaving, wood-working, knapping) and secular public functions (see Fig 8.5 below; Rothman 2001: 387; 2002: 145; 2009: 24). Fewer residences were identified during this phase, and those that could be identified as dwellings are significantly smaller that the tripartite houses typical of the Ubaid related occupation at Gawra (Rothman 2002: 94). These changes are reflected

in the distribution of seals and sealings throughout the Level XIA/B settlement, which are absent from domestic contexts and now associated with special function buildings such as ‘temples’ and workshops (Rothman 1988: 507, 2002: 106; 112).

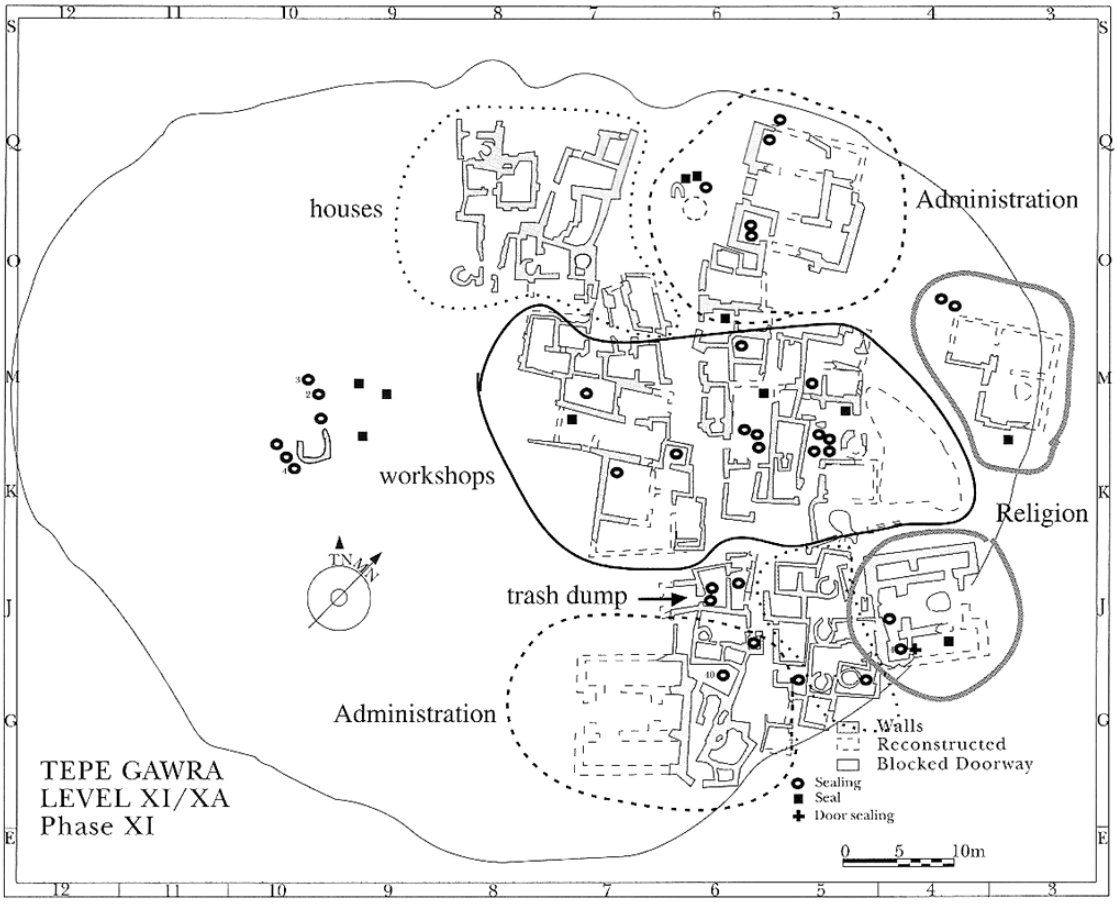

Figure 8.5 Tepe Gawra Level XI/XA Phase XI functional areas and seal distribution (reproduced from Rothman 2009: 38. Fig. 7.)

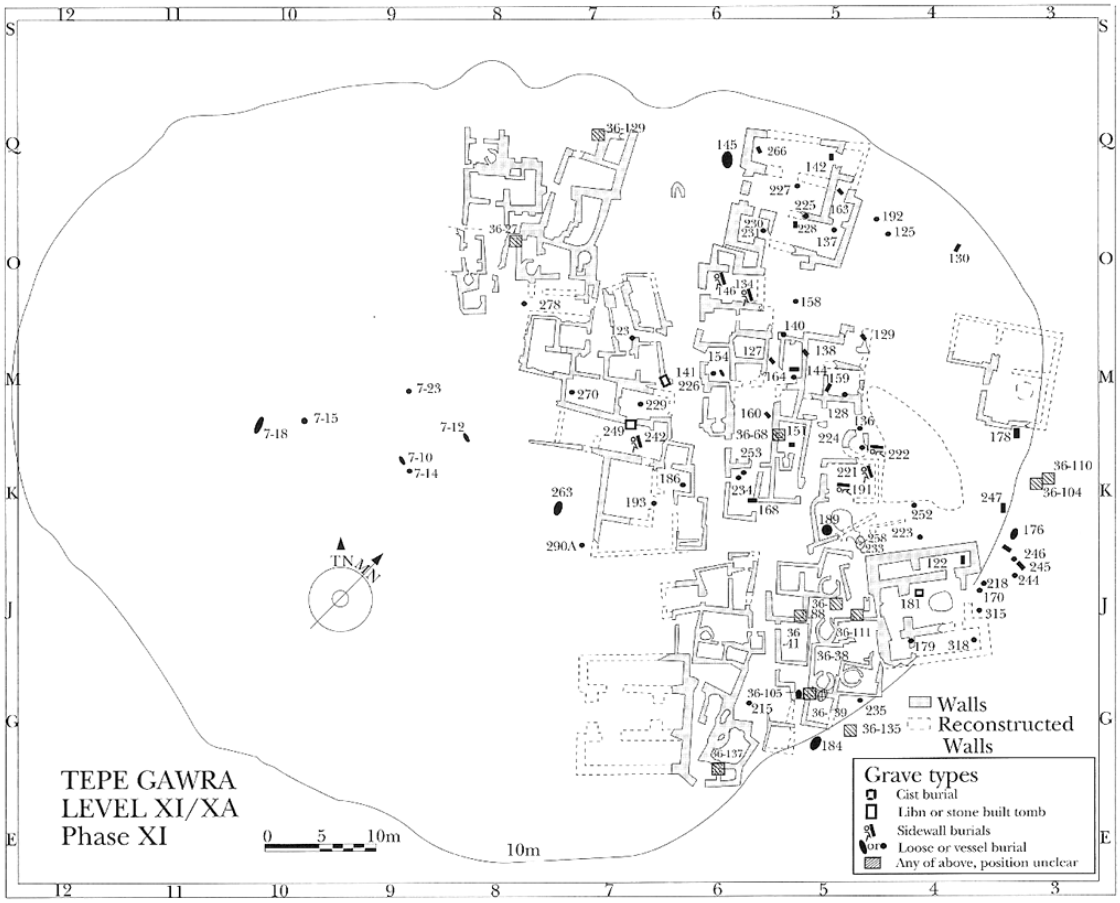

Figure 8.6 Tepe Gawra Level XI/XA Phase XI grave distribution (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 206. Fig. A.23.

It is notable that in the absence of large dwelling structures, burials tend to be spatially dispersed throughout the settlement and do not appear to cluster into distinguishable burial groups (see Fig 8.6 above). It is difficult to determine any clear associations between burials and architectural features due to the extensive re-organisation of the settlement from Level XI/XA phase XI and Level XI/XA phase XA. However, two large tripartite buildings that remained in use throughout these phases can be associated with a number of burials. These structures will be discussed in detail below. Of the 107 burials (108 skeletons) recorded for the Level XI/XA occupation at Gawra, the majority were those belonged to infants and children. While interments were primarily made within ceramic vessels and simple pits, it is notable that the number of interments made in libn tombs increase during this phase (see Table 8.6 below).

Age	Libn Tomb	Piśe Burial	Stone Cist	Pit Burials	Vessel Burials	Wall Burials	Total
Adult	4	1	-	3	1	-	9
Adolescent	-	1	-	3	-	1	5
Child	8	2	1	14	4	4	33
Infant	4	-	-	16	35	1	56
Not Recorded	4	-	-	-	1	-	5
Total	20	4	1	36	41	6	108

Table 8.6 Tepe Gawra Level XI/XA burial type and age group.

By Level XI/XA, it is clear that material wealth was increasingly channelled into mortuary rites in the form of grave furnishings and funerary costumes. Again, the wealthiest graves from this phase were those of infants and children, and the objects recovered are predominantly associated with personal display, such as elaborate bead ornaments, pendants, earrings and head-ornaments (see Table 8.7 below). The prestigious character of these ornaments is implied by the increasing array of exotic materials used in their manufacture, such as gold, lapis, carnelian and copper. In child burial 142, thousands of beads of various materials were recovered, and a gold rosette ornament was placed on the head of the skeleton as part of an elaborate head adornment. An ornament comprised of large beads and a lapis pendant was placed with child burial 180, while a gold earring, a copper and lapis bracelet (found at the left wrist) and a macehead (placed in the left hand) adorned the body of the infant/child burial 266.

Burial	Level	Square	Burial Type	Age	Grave Goods
142	XI/XA	5Q	Loose Burial	Child/Adolescent	1348 tiny white ring beads
					129 small white carinated beads
					733 small black stone ring beads
					1 carnelian ring bead
					1 lapis grooved bead
					1 gold rosette ornament
					1 slate axe head
180	XI/XA	4J	Libn Tomb	Child	Various types of large beads
			Libn Cover		1 lapis pendant
					320 small white ring beads
					378 small white carinated beads
					1 white stone irregular bead
					29 carnelian ring beads
					10 carnelian carinated beads
					1 lapis cylinder bead
					20 dentalia shells
					Various kinds of beads
181	XI/XA	4K	Libn Tomb	Child	2 alabaster stone objects
					2 alabaster sphere

					2 marble sphere
					2 alabaster hemispheres
					1 gold rosette ornament
					1 gold disk ornament
					Shell beads
					Carnelian beads
					Gold Beads
266	XI/XA	5S	Loose Burial	Infant/Child	1 mace head
					White beads
					Lapis beads
					Copper beads
					1 Gold earring
					Reed matting

Table 8.7 Tepe Gawra Level XI/XA high ranking burials (based on analysis by Peasnall 2002: 230)

The wealthiest burials from this phase were no longer associated with typical dwelling structures, but were now spatially related to the non-domestic special function buildings. Burials 180 and 181, for example, are associated with a large tripartite building interpreted by Rothman (2002: 93) as a 'temple' or cult house. This thick-walled building was tripartite in plan and orientated to the cardinal points. Its function as a space where religious activities were preformed is implied by architectural features such as a recessed portico entrance, a large hearth or podium, a niche in the back wall facing the door, a large vessel set into the floor, plastered and painted walls, and the absence of materials associated with domestic or craft activities (Rothman 2002: 93). Burials 142 and 266 on the other hand, were associated with a large tripartite structure from the northern area of the settlement, interpreted by Rothman (2002: 96) as a secular public building. This structure, like the Level XI/XA 'temple', was tripartite in plan and similarly orientated to the cardinal points. The structure did not, however, feature any of the architectural features characteristic of temples, and its material contents included objects commonly associated with domestic and craft activities (elite residence?; Rothman 2002: 94-6).

8.1.1.4 Level X (Late LC2)

Marking a departure from Level XI/XA, where large public buildings were located on the periphery of the settlement, the Level X occupation at Gawra was dominated by a large structure (interpreted as a temple) located in the centre the mound (see Fig. 8.7; Rothman 2002: 112). Compared to earlier levels there are now fewer special function

buildings associated with the manufacture and transhipment of goods in the Level X settlement, and a number of smaller dwelling structures engaged in craft production returned to the mound (Rothman 2001: 388; 2002: 119-20; 146; 2009: 24). A large 'secular public building' similar plan to the large tripartite building of Level XI/XA is suggested by Rothman (2002: 114) to have functioned as a residence for an important individual or family unit within the community. A concentration of seals and sealings were recovered in a trash deposit directly south of the central building interpreted as a 'temple' building. Sealings were also recovered from the 'secular public' tripartite structure (elite residence?) and residences engaged in craft production (Rothman 1988: 619; 2002: 121).

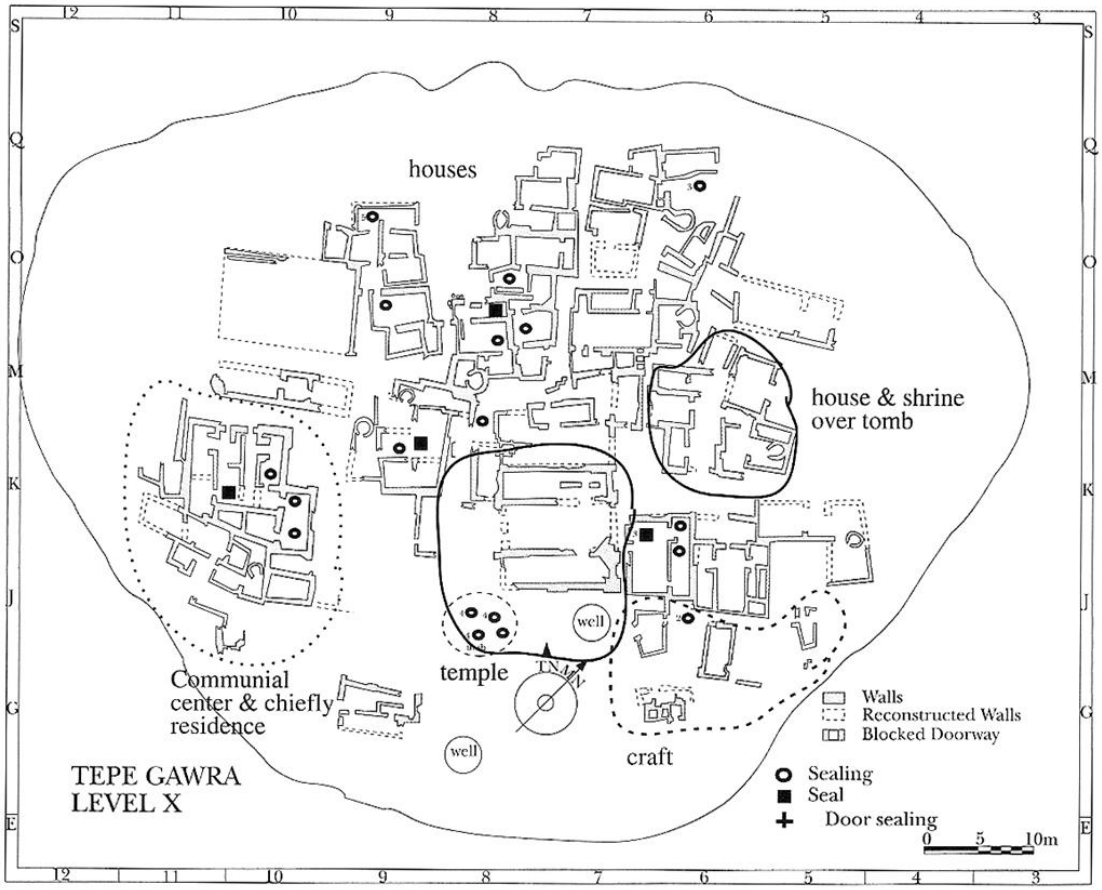

Figure 8.7 Tepe Gawra Level X functional areas and seal distribution (reproduced from Rothman 2009: 38, Fig.7.)

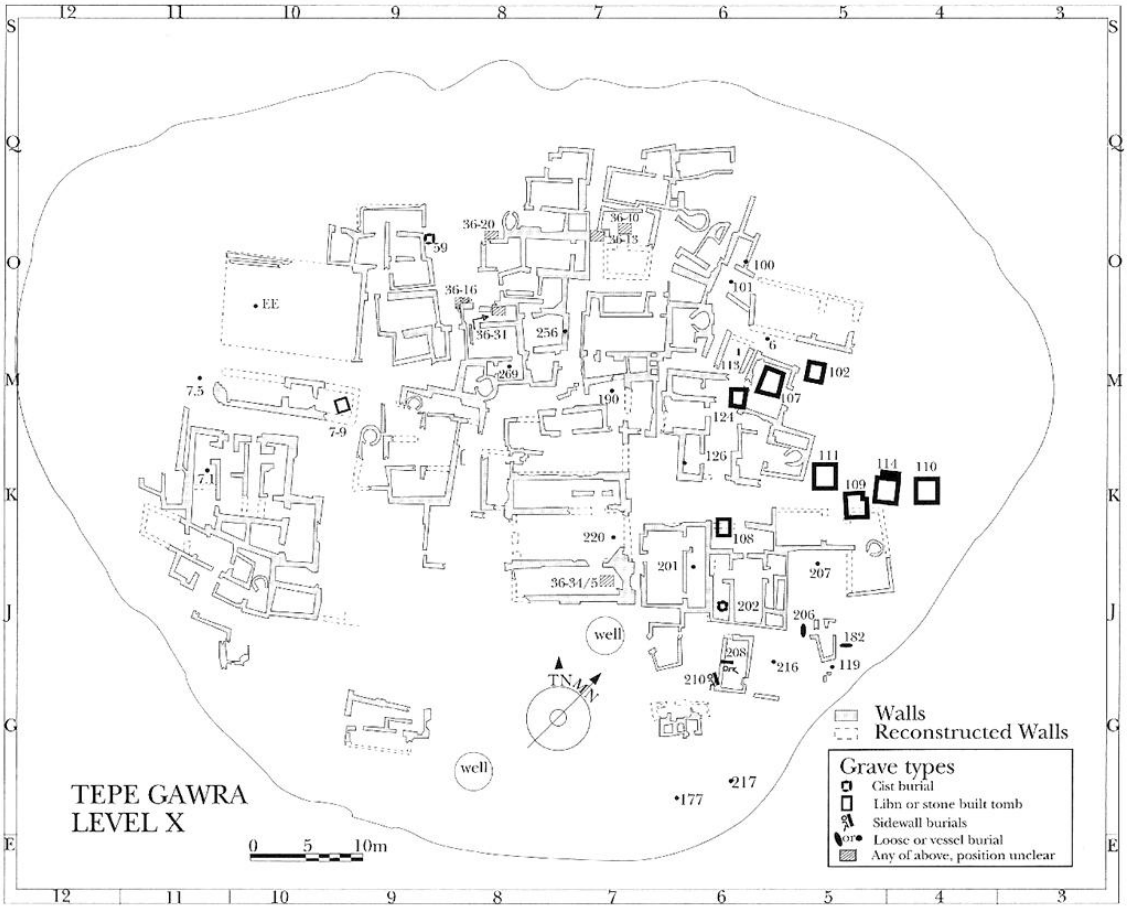

Figure 8.8 Tepe Gawra Level X grave distribution (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 204. A.21.)

The development of centralised institutions in the form of a temple and elite residence, both of which are clearly distinct from other habitation structures in the Level X settlement, appears to be reflected in the burial record of this phase. A total of 51 burials (53 individuals) are recorded for this level, the majority of which belonged to infants and children. On the whole, burial methods remain broadly comparable to those in preceding periods although a higher proportion of inhumations were now made in libn tombs. Notably, six of the seven adult burials recorded for this level were interred within libn tombs (see Table 8.8 below). While the majority of burials from this level are widely distributed throughout the settlement, two burial groups stand out as being spatially related (see Fig. 8.8 above, and Tables 8.8 and 8.9 below). The first group of burials consist of three libn tombs (124, 107, and 102) associated with an unusual series of rooms and an open court in Squares M5 and M6. Room 1003 of this complex has been interpreted as a shrine that was built up around Tomb 107. The entrance of this room contained a small niche typical of 'Temple' structures at Gawra, a low bench, and a floor platform constructed of libn bricks that was a meter in depth and level with the

top of Tomb 107. Adjacent to this shrine complex two further interments were made in libn tombs (124 and 102; Rothman 2002: 116; Tobler 1950: 11-12). The second burial cluster that can be distinguished from the Level X settlement are made up of four adjacent libn tombs that were located in an area of settlement devoid of architectural features (albeit relatively close to the 'shrine complex'), which implies that this area of settlement was allocated to an important (and originally visible?) group of tombs.

Age	Libn Tomb	Piśe Burial	Stone Cist	Pit Burials	Vessel Burials	Wall Burials	Total
Adult	6	-	-	1	-	-	7
Adolescent	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Child	3	2	3	9	2	4	23
Infant	1	-	-	5	10	-	16
Not Recorded	1	-	-	3	-	-	4
Total	14	2	3	18	12	4	53

Table 8.8 Tepe Gawra Level X burial type and age group

Burial Group 1			Burial Group 2		
Burial	**Burial Type**	**Age**	**Burial**	**Burial Type**	**Age**
102	Libn Burial	Adolescent	111	Libn Burial	Adult x 3
124	Libn Burial	Not Recorded	109	Libn Burial	Adult
107	Libn Burial	Adult	114	Libn Burial	Adult
			110	Libn Burial	Adult

Table 8.9 Tepe Gawra Level X burial groups

The remarkable corpus and variety of grave-goods recorded from these two groups of tombs further differentiate them from other burials attributed to this level. Tomb 102, from the first burial group discussed, is associated with a wealth of objects that included vessels crafted from obsidian and thousands of beads made from carnelian, shell and other materials. The corpus of objects recovered from the second burial group, comprising of Tombs 109, 110, 111 and 114, included vast amount of personal ornaments that include beads, pendants, bangles, studs, seals and elaborate head-dresses fashioned from exotic materials such as gold, lapis, electrum, carnelian and turquoise. The exceptional variety of objects recorded from these tombs include a finely crafted electrum wolf-head ornament, a gold and lapis fly ornament, eye-shaped ornaments made from gold and lapis, in addition to an elaborate hair ornament crafted from bone, gold, lapis and turquoise (see Fig 8.9 below).

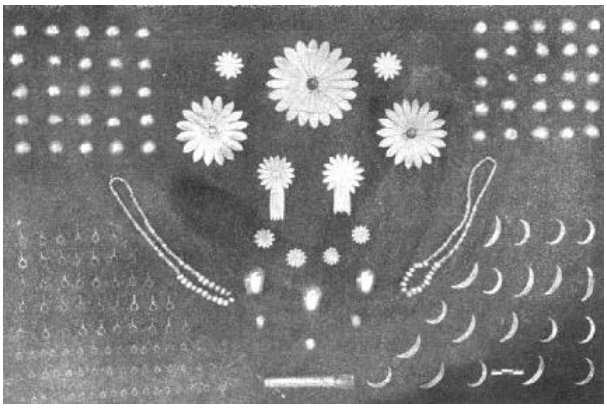

Figure 8.9 Gold and electrum ornaments, including electrum 'wolfs head', from the Level X tombs at Tepe Gawra (Bache 1935a: 188. Fig. 8; 1935b: 17. Fig. 5.)

It is clear that a considerable degree of wealth was removed from circulation and invested in the preparation of the corpse as part of mortuary rites (see Table 8.10 below). As Rothman and Peasnall (1999: 111) point out, the individuals that were furnished with the greatest variety and quantities of grave goods were also interred within the largest libn tombs, which were set apart spatially from other burial groups. Furthermore, these individuals were clearly subjected to more complex forms of bodily treatment as part of funerary rites, as only the richest burial groups revealed traces of red, green and blue pigments used to decorate the body.

Burial	Level	Square	Burial Type	Age	Grave Goods
111-C	X	5M	Libn Tomb	Adult	1 stone bead
					19 carnelian beads
					2 lapis beads
					40 turquoise beads
					4 gold beads
					1 gold hoof pendant
					1 gold spatula pendant
					1 gold spiral pendant
					1 gold spiral ornament
					1 ceramic jar
102	X	5O	Libn Tomb	Adolescent	1 obsidian spouted pot
			Matting Cover		1 obsidian spouted bowl
					1 marble macehead
					7 marble spheres
					2 marble disks
					3 marble stones
					204 shell ring beads
					56 carnelian carinated and ring beads
					24067 white ring beads
					1125 white ring beads
					1 red ware bowl
110	X	4K/4M	Libn Burial	Adolescent	3 gold rosette ornaments
					2 gold rosette ornaments
					1 gold ribbon rosette-ornament

					2 eye ornaments
					1 lapis stamp seal
					6 brown marble spheres
					2 marble mace-heads
					2 serpentine cup
					2 stone beads
					198 carnelian spherical beads
					3 lapis beads
					18 gold cylindrical beads
					1 bone comb
					traces of blue and green pigment
114	X	4K/4M	Libn Tomb	Adult	1 electrum wolf head figurine
			Stone Slab Cover		282 lapis beads
					399 turquoise beads
					88 carnelian beads
					62 gold beads
					45 shell beads
					1 stone with gold band honing stone
					1 hematite macehead
					1 alabaster macehead
					6 red jasper stones
					1 bone with gold bands hair ornament
					3 bone ornaments
					1 gold rosette ornament with lapis centre
					1 lapis stamp seal
109	X	5K	Libn Tomb	Adult	1 marble jar
			Wood Cover		1 oolite bowl
					1 alabaster bowl
					470 turquoise beads
					127 gold beads
					121 electrum beads
					473 lapis beads
					451 carnelian beads
					145 shell beads
					4 gold rosette ornament
					1 gold ribbon-rosette ornament
					50 gold studs
					6 gold ornaments
					1 gold ferrule
					20 gold crescent ornaments
					3 gold and lapis eye shaped ornaments
					90 gold bangles
					1 lapis stamp seal
					3 white carinated beads
					2 obsidian blades
					1 unidentified ceramic object
					1 gold and lapis fly figurine
					1 bone comb
					1 ceramic sphere
					1 bone, gold, lapis and turquoise hair ornament
					traces of blue pigment

Table 8.10 Tepe Gawra Level X high ranking burials (based on analysis by Peasnall 2002: 230)

8.1.1.5 Level VIII/IX (Late LC2-LC3)

The functional organisation of Level IX is difficult to determine having been badly disturbed with the construction of the Level VIII settlement. However, Rothman (2002: 127) suggests that it was broadly comparable to Level X, as a temple structure continued to dominate the centre of the mound and a large public 'secular' structure is again present to the south-west (see Fig. 8.10 below). A building from this occupation level has also been interpreted as a luxury-goods workshop for the manufacture of seals, beads and bone-inlays (Rothman 2002: 121-127). The few seals and sealings recovered from Level IX were primarily associated with these special function buildings (including a door seal from the Level IX 'temple'). The Level IX settlement at Gawra was levelled prior to the establishment of the Level VIII settlement, the construction of which appears to have been pre-planned. The Level VIII settlement can be subdivided into three phases of rebuilding (sub-phases C to A). During phases C to B the settlement featured a large building with a central hall that has been interpreted as a 'temple'. Notably, this structure is the least modified building throughout all three phases of the Level VIII settlement. Two related structures that also remained in use throughout Level VIII appear to have functioned as spaces for religious and economic activities.

A third building that remained in use throughout this level features an unusual plan and was associated with domestic objects, craft tools and high status materials, implying its use as a manufacturing facility (Rothman 2002: 127-132). Notable buildings of the earliest phases of the Level VIII settlement (phases C to B) include a 'warehouse' building of Phase C and a large buttressed structure from phases C to B that was similar in plan to the 'temple' buildings at Gawra, yet did not feature any internal architectural features typically associated with religious buildings. The corpus of objects associated with this structure implies its use for the storage and redistribution of foodstuffs in addition to lithic manufacture ('Flower Pot' vessels associated with grain; flint and obsidian cores and blades; Rothman 2002: 133-136).

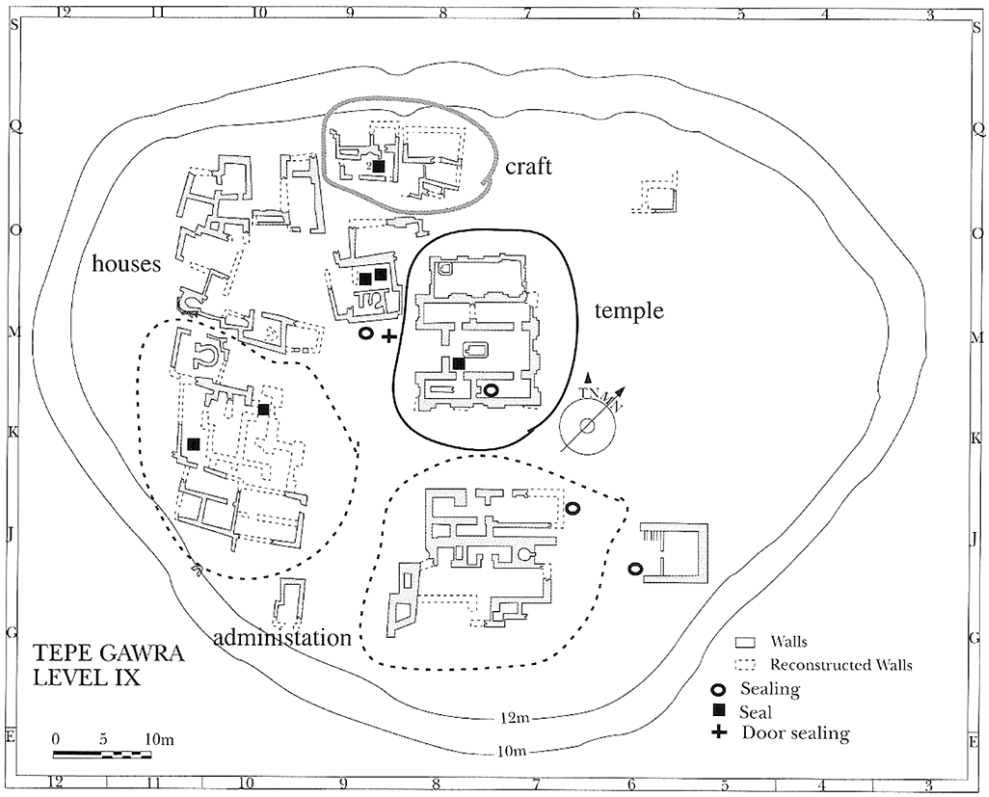

Figure 8.10 Tepe Gawra Level IX functional areas and seal distribution (reproduced from Rothman 2009: 39, Fig. 8)

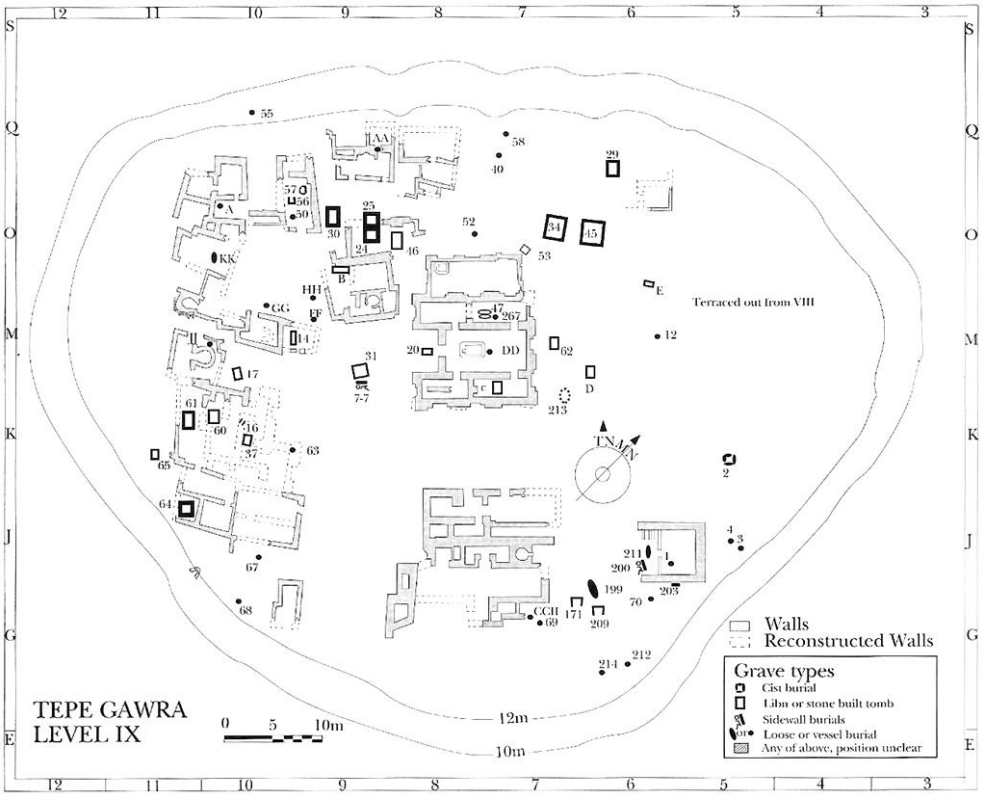

Figure 8.11 Tepe Gawra Level IX grave distribution, minimum possible number of graves (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 203, Fig. A. 20)

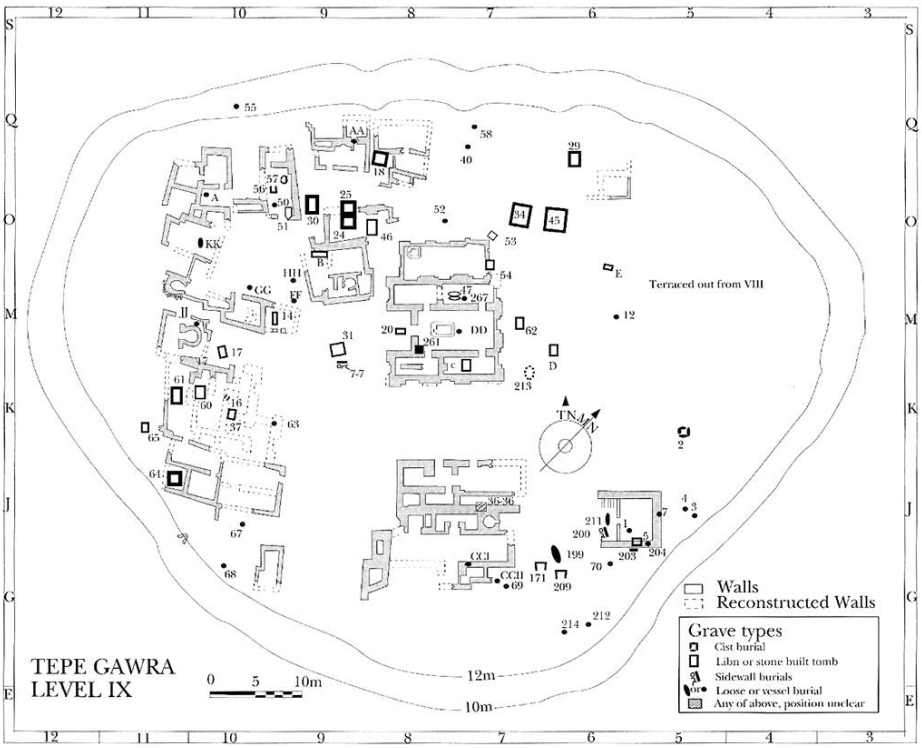

Figure 8.12 Tepe Gawra Level IX grave distribution, maximum possible number of graves (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 202, Fig. A. 19)

The functional centralisation of Tepe Gawra is most evident by Level VIIIA with the division of the settlement into two areas, which can be distinguished by their respective functions (see Fig 8.3 below). The eastern half of the settlement featured the major temple associated with holding pen and a large building complex interpreted as a space where various religious and economic activities were performed. By way of contrast, the buildings located in the western portion of the mound are mostly associated with economic activities. Buildings from the western area include a workshop for the manufacture of commodities (flint and obsidian tools) and a 'warehouse' for the centralized storage and redistribution of goods or rations. A number of large tripartite structures are also located in this sector, which have been interpreted as being either residences or 'public' buildings engaged in crafting (Rothman 2002: 127-142). During phase VIIIA a portion of the western settlement was levelled off for the construction of a building featuring a vaulted court and an open pen, suggesting its use a market or animal corral, and a related structure located directly to the west that also featured an open court (animal pen?) and a number of rooms associated with craft processing (see Rothman 2002: 129-139 for a detailed overview of Level VIII).

By at least Level VIII (LC 3), therefore, Tepe Gawra developed into a small regional centre where a number of specialised and centrally located religious and economic activities were performed. Nonetheless, considering the small number of residential structures recorded during this phase of occupation, the Level VIII settlement at Tepe Gawra is best described as a non-urban regional centre. These changes are also reflected in the spatial distribution of sealing mechanisms, as seals and sealings were associated with all the major special function buildings ('temple', public building and shrine, central storage structure). Furthermore, these structures also yielded sealings impressed with the same seal designs ('bull, dog and snake' motif), which has led Rothman (1988, 2002) to suggests that control over the circulation of goods became increasingly centralised in the Level VIII settlement, being restricted to a single social identity or institution (Rothman 1988: 621; 2002: 140-141).

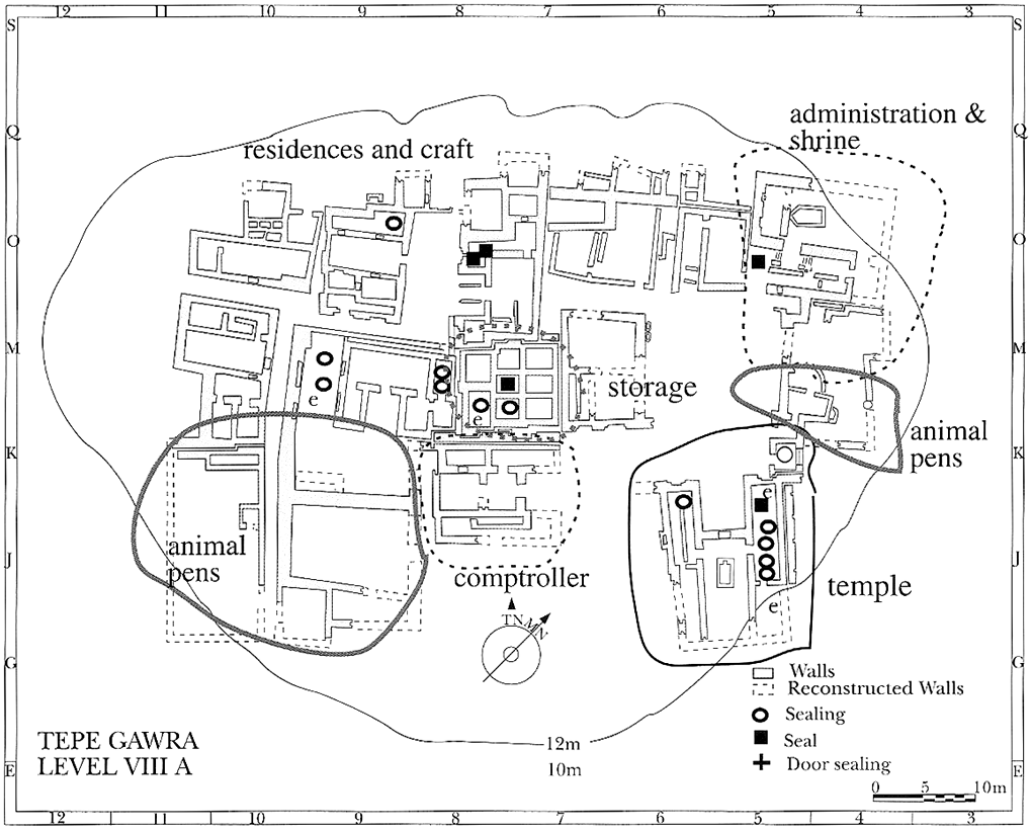

Figure 8.13 Tepe Gawra Level VIIIA functional areas and seal distribution (reproduced from Rothman 2009: 39, Fig. 8)

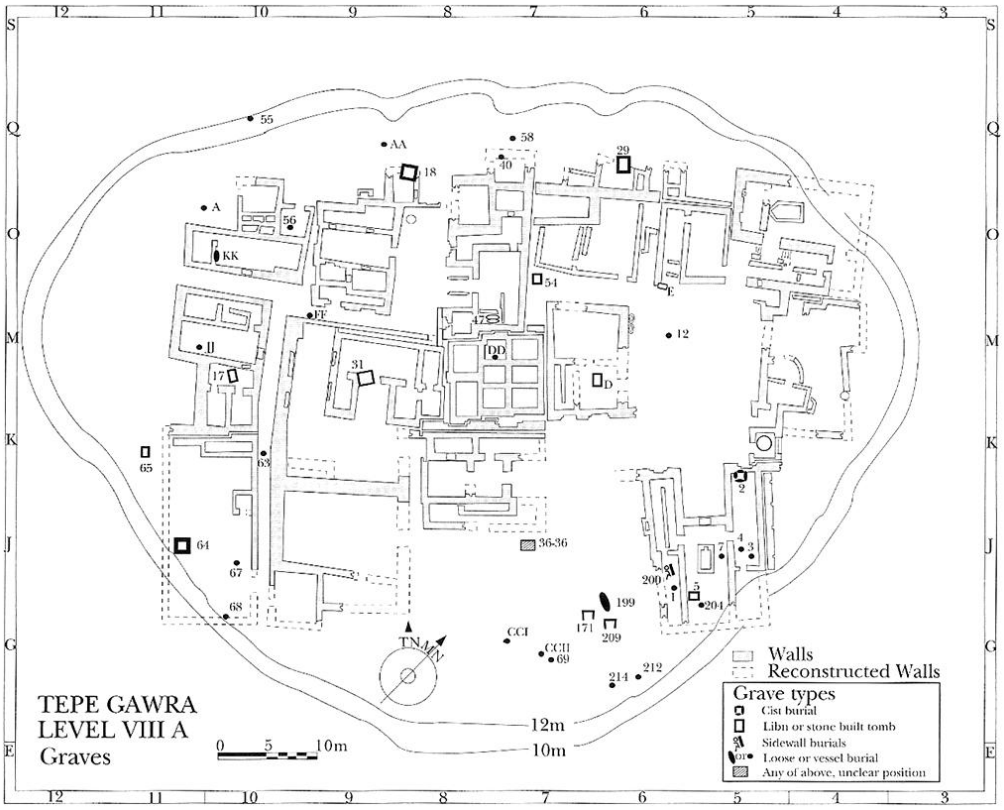

Figure 8.14 Tepe Gawra Level VIIIA grave distribution, minimum possible number of graves (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 197. Fig. A. 14.)

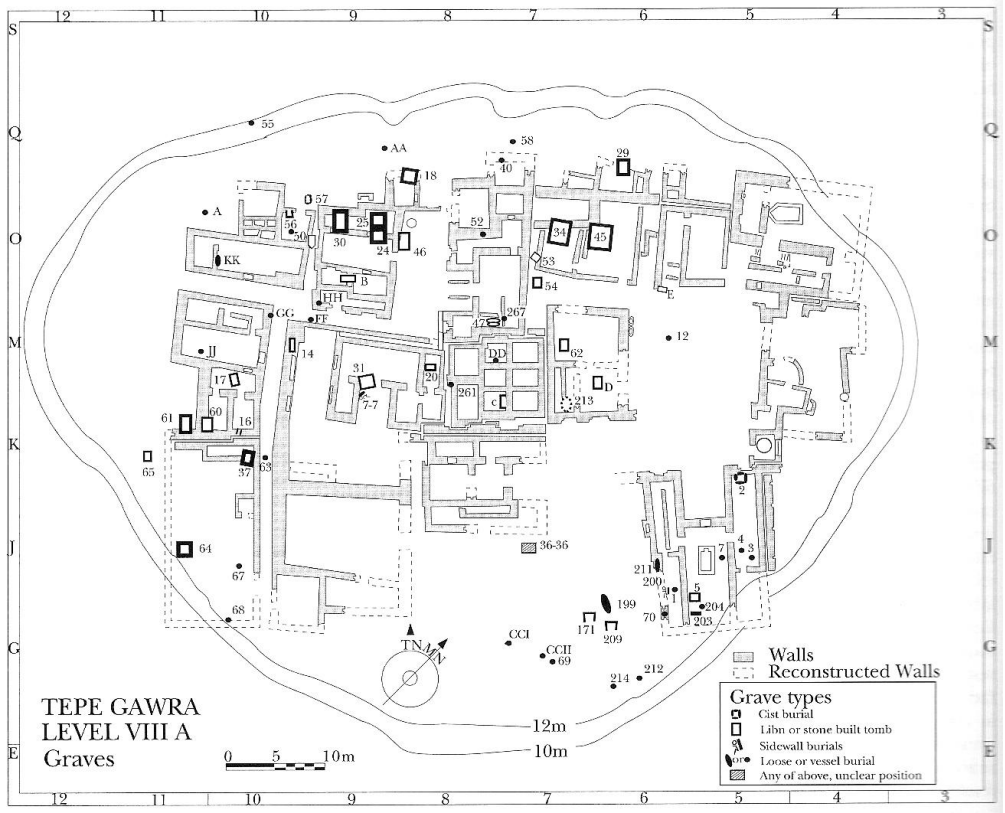

Figure 8.15 Tepe Gawra Level VIIIA grave distribution, maximum possible number of graves (reproduced from Peasnall 2002: 196, Fig. A. 13.)

A total of 73 burials (associated with 78 individuals) are recorded for Levels IX to VIII, the significant majority of which belonged to infants. Contrasting with earlier Late Chalcolithic levels at Gawra, by Levels IX/VIII the predominant method of burial was interments made within libn tombs (see Table 8.11 below). The task of comparing the spatial distribution of burials from this phase to architectural features is highly problematic, given that Levels IX/VIII span four major phases of occupation and rebuilding, not to mention the difficulties faced by the original excavators in assigning burials to sub-phases. In Peasnall's (2002) recent reanalysis of the Tepe Gawra burial record, this issue is partially addressed by his allocation of a maximum and minimum number of burials that can be realistically assigned to a specific phase when considering the depth recorded for burials (see Figs. 8.11, 8.12. 8.14 and 8.15 above). However, despite Peasnall's extensive reanalysis, the majority of the Level VIII/IX burials can still be attributed to more than one phase of occupation. As a result, it is practically impossible to determine any clear patterns in the spatial distribution of burials from this phase, especially the relationship between burials and certain buildings.

Age	Libn Tomb	Piśe Burial	Stone Cist	Pit Burials	Vessel Burials	Wall Burials	Total
Adult	9	-	-	2	-	-	11
Adolescent	2	-	-	2	-	-	4
Child	9	-	3	4	1	1	18
Infant	10	-	-	9	21	1	41
Not Recorded	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	34	-	3	17	22	2	78

Table 8.11 Tepe Gawra Level XIII/IX burial type and age group

Funerary consumption in Levels IX through to VIIIA is comparable in scale to that recorded for Level X, and grave-good assemblages were again dominated by personal ornaments such as beads, pendants and headdresses made of exotic materials (e.g. gold, lapis, carnelian turquoise and copper). Notably, interments of infants and children are once more amongst the wealthiest burials recorded for Levels IX-VIIIA, thereby continuing the tradition of rich infant and child burials observed for Levels XIA/B and XI/XA (see Table 8.12 below). The two infant/child burials, Burials 12 and 13 contained a significant quantity and variety of objects that included large numbers of exotic bead ornaments, gold and bitumen ornaments, lapis bird figurines and a lump of iron ore. The most impressive burial from this phase, however, is that of an adult

interred within a Libn Tomb (Burial 31). It is clear that the body of this adult was elaborately adorned prior to burial, as an elaborate headdress made up of gold, lapis and carnelian beads was originally placed around the head and gold foil placed on the nose. A bracelet of mother of pearl beads was also found near the left hand in addition to a comb, stone 'hut idol', plaque seal, stone cup, and white cylinder bead. Animal remains with traces of green pigment, perhaps a food offering of some kind, was found at the feet of the skeleton (Rothman 2002: 28). Unlike the rich burials of Level X, the wealthiest burials from Levels IX-VIIIA were spatially separate.

Burial	Level	Square	Burial Type	Age	Grave Goods
46	VIII/IX	8O	Libn Tomb	Adolescent/Adult	1 gold foil rosette ornament
					6 shell ring beads
					11 carnelian beads
					48 green stone ring beads
					24 blue stone ring beads
					8 rose quartz ring beads
					1 gold bead
					1 stone frog-shaped bead
					Traces of blue pigment
					Reed matting
13	VIII/IX	11O	Loose	Infant	275 white ring beads
					White stone ring beads
					Shell ring beads
					341 + Black stone ring beads
					5 white shell barrel beads
					16 turquoise beads
					4 'bronze' (copper?) flat band rings
					Green stone ring beads
					2 gray stone ring beads
					3 carnelian ring beads
					12 red and white variegated stone ring beads
					29 white spherical beads
					1 amethyst irregular bead
					1 cowrie shell
					3 gold ornaments
12	VIII/IX	10M	Libn Tomb	Infant/Child	3 Gold over bitumen core ornament
					242 small white beads
					37 turquoise ring beads
					28 carnelian beads
					10 lapis beads
					4 gold beads
					1 turquoise pendant
					1 black stone bead
					2 lapis bird figurines
					1 ivory irregular pendant
					1 carnelian pendant
					1 lump of iron

31	VIII/IX	9M	Libn Tomb	Adult	265 beads
					120 turquoise beads
					57 carnelian beads
					32 white shell beads
					29 lapis beads
					16 gold spherical beads
					1 pink carnelian pendant
					2 crystal beads
					1 alabaster ointment vase
					1 bone zigzag hair ornament
					1 translucent serpentine ointment dish
					1 gold foil ribbon-rosette ornament
					11 gold over bitumen core hemisphere studs
					1 oolite ointment vase
					1 ivory or bone plaque seal
					1 mosul marble double ointment dish
					1 mosul marble 'eye' or 'hut' idol
					2 bone comb
					Traces of green pigment
					Animal bones with traces of green pigment
					Reed matting

Table 8.12Tepe Gawra Level VIII/IX highest ranking burials (based on an analysis by Peasnall 2002: 231)

8.1.2 The consumption of wealth through burials at other early-mid fourth millennium sites

The elaborate forms of funerary treatment attested at Tepe Gawra during the first half of the fourth millennium are not unique, as comparable burials have been recovered at a number of Late Chalcolithic settlements located in northern Mesopotamia. Notably, this pattern is most consistent for 'rich' infant and child burials. A 'rich' infant burial is recorded from the phase A (LC2) settlement at Hacinebi Tepe in southeast Turkey, where an infant vessel burial sealed below the floor of an architectural feature was accompanied by a miniature vessel, a copper ring and two silver earrings (see Fig 8.16 below; Stein *et al.* 1996: 96; Stein 1999: 125; 2001: 273). An infant vessel burial associated with several lumps of copper ore was found at the Late Chalcolithic settlement at Korucutepe, which is located on the Altınova plain in Turkey (Van Loon 1973: 360-361). At Tell Qalinj Agha in northern Iraq, an infant burial from Level II was provided with a number of gold beads and a rod-shaped kohl applicator made of obsidian and decorated with a thin band of gold. A further infant burial was accompanied by a gold rosette ornament, an item frequently recorded from the rich graves at Tepe Gawra (Abu al-Soof 1969). A mud-brick covered grave containing a

'rich' infant burial was recently excavated from Late Chalcolithic (LC1 c. 4200 BC) occupation at Grai Resh in the Sinjar region of northern Iraq, where a bracelet made up of carnelian, lapis and gold beads adorned the wrist of the infant skeleton (Kepinski 2008: 288; 2009: 123).

Figure 8.16Two silver rings and one copper ring from infant jar burial Op. 17 locus 52 (reproduced from Stein *et al.* 1996: 96).

At Late Chalcolithic Tell Brak in northeast Syria, a child burial (aged 5-6 years old) cut from a late sub-phase within TW Level 21 was furnished with some 1500 shell beads that were originally attached to a textile, alongside an ornament made up of a thousand obsidian, soft stone and dentalia beads and two mother of pearl pendants (McMahon and Oates 2007: 155). Infant burials at have also been linked with the ritual preparation of important areas of settlement at Tell Brak. A funerary deposit recovered below the northwest corner of the Basalt Threshold Building in Area TW (late Level 21 or early Level 20), for example, contained three neonates associated a small 'spectacle idol' figurine (comparable 'spectacle idol' figurines were also placed with the dead at Late Chalcolithic Tepe Gawra; McMahon and Oates 2007: 153-4). Preceding the construction of the Area TW Level 17 occupation, the settlement was carefully levelled and prepared with a fine red surface and an 'unusual' number of infant burials, which has led the excavators to suggest that the construction of a new settlement involved its ritual preparation (Oates 2002: 119).

The rich adult tombs at Gawra can be compared with the two Late Chalcolithic burials excavated at Korucutepe (see Fig. 8.17 below). The ceramic vessels recovered from the

Korucutepe tombs suggest that they are broadly contemporary with Levels XI-IX at Tepe Gawra (Algaze 1986: 126; Brandt 1978: 62). Burial K12 4 and 5 from stratum XXXVII at Korucutepe consist of a mud-brick tomb containing two adult skeletons. One skeleton, thought by the excavators to be male, lay on its right side upon a piece of white fabric. An iron-ore macehead and a tanged copper dagger was placed at the hands of the skeleton, a silver band ending in spirals was found around the wrist, and a belt or girdle decorated with small limestone disk-shaped beads was placed upon or beside the body. The second skeleton was placed in a flexed position on its right side and was missing the cranium due to a later pit cut. A stamp seal bracelet in the form of a solid silver cone terminating in two long tabs was found at the wrist of the skeleton. According to the excavators, the design on the seal, which was engraved with a depiction of a horned animal, is comparable to those found at Tepe Gawra in Level IX. A blue-stone spindle whorl with incised petals, a number of small white disk-shaped beads, two small round metal beads and a blue chalk bead were also found besides the bodies. The grave was also furnished with a grey round-bottomed burnished jar and a cream-slipped orange pot-stand (Brandt 1978: 61; Van Loon 1973: 360-361).

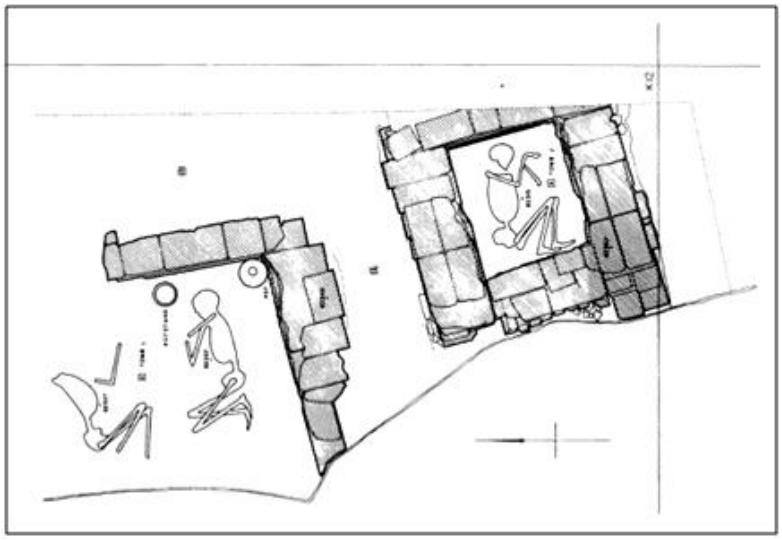

Figure 8.17 Mud brick tombs from Korucutepe in Strata XXXVII-XXXIX (reproduced from Van Loon 1978: 380. Fig. 3.)

A second mud-brick rectangular tomb from Stratum XXXIX (Burial K12 no. 3) contained an adult female skeleton aged between 18 and 21 that lay in a flexed position on its left side. An elaborate head-dress comprising a silver band decorated with red and white beads, disc-shaped bone beads and silver rings was located around the head of the

skeleton (compare with the headdresses recoded from burials at Gawra); a silver crescent-shaped 'gorget' was found at the neck; and a bracelet made up of sixteen pieces of silver thread and shell beads was placed near the right forearm. The body appears to have originally been dressed in a garment decorated with thousands of small disc-shaped limestone beads in addition to a girdle made up of at least ten strings of beads (as indicated by the number of holes found in several bone spacers) and a number of large red and blue beads of a glass-like material (imitation carnelian and lapis beads?). A bent silver pin with a thin silver thread holding a red bead was found next to the pelvis of the skeleton and two lozenge-shaped silver sheet beads were also associated with the body (see Fig. 8.18 below; Brandt 1978: 61-2; Van Loon 1973: 360-361).

Figure 8.18 Grave goods from K12 Tombs at Korucutepe (reproduced from Van Loon 1973: 399-400, Plates 4 and 5.)

8.1.3 Current interpretations of 'rich' early-fourth millennium burials

Recent research in the so-called 'peripheral' regions of Upper Mesopotamia has significantly altered our understanding of emergent complexity during the early fourth millennium BC, and the mounting evidence for urbanisation and complex forms of social organisation in northern Mesopotamia prior to the Uruk expansion was outlined in Chapter 7. In light of this new evidence, current interpretations of Late Chalcolithic burial record equate the presence of 'rich' burials with the emergence of elite status

groups and fixed patterns of wealth transmission. Recent discussions of the burial data from sites such as Hacinebi, Tepe Gawra and Grai Resh, for example, treat the evidence for 'rich' infant burials as indisputable evidence for the emergence of hereditary elite status groups at the beginning of the fourth millennium BC (Rothman 2001: 390-1; 2002: 147; Rothman and Peasnall 1999: 110; Peasnall 2002: 233; Stein 1999: 125; 2001: 274; 2002: 150; Kepinski 2009: 123):

> An 'unusual' phase A infant-child burial sealed beneath a room floor at the west end of the site provides important evidence for emerging social stratification and elite formation in the early pre-contact phase.
>
> (Gil Stein 1999: 125, on Hacinebi).

> The presence of these prestige goods in this child burial and its clear difference from 95% of the other child burials strongly suggest that social ranking and hereditary elite status had developed ... at the beginning of the fourth millennium.
>
> (Gil Stein 2002: 150, on Hacinebi).

> Some individuals, mostly those buried in built tombs, must have had ascribed status at birth, because children as well as adults were buried in higher ranking types of burials.
>
> (Mitchell Rothman 2002: 147, on Tepe Gawra).

> Ces biens de prestige sont rares....La tombe est donc le témoin d'une hiérarchie sociale fondée sur des liens de parenté...
>
> (Christine Kepinski 2009: 123, on Grai Resh)

These interpretations have far-reaching implications for current reconstructions of social evolution during the fourth millennium BC. I would suggest, however, that they are unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is clear from early fourth millennium sites such as Tepe Gawra, that 'rich' infant and child burials appear from the earliest Late Chalcolithic levels (Levels XIA/B and XI/XA), and did not evolve out of a tradition of 'rich' adult burials, as 'rich' adult burials predominate only in later phases (Level X). This is clearly demonstrated in the table 8.13 below, which lists the highest ranking burials for each level (based on an analysis by Peasnall 2002: 218-232). The data suggests that from the earliest phases of the Late Chalcolithic occupation at Gawra, the highest ranking burials were those belonging to infants and children and *not* adults. Rather, I would suggest that the earlier appearance of 'rich' infant burials should be understood as developing out of the long history of intramural child burials

characteristic of earlier fifth millennium funerary practices, and as elaborating upon customary responses to bereavement surrounding the death of an infant. Such responses are likely to have had cosmological as well as social and political dimensions.

Ranking	Level XIA/B	Level XI/XA	Level X	Level VIII/IX
1	Burial 243 Child	Burial 181 Child	Burial 109 Adult	Burial 31 Adult
2	Burial 36-060 Child	Burial 266 Infant/Child	Burial 114 Adult	Burial 12 Infant/Child
3	Burial 238 Adolescent	Burial142 Child/Adolescent	Burial 110 Adolescent	Burial 13 Infant
3	Burial 167 Child	Burial 180 Child	Burial 102 Adolescent	Burial 46 Adolescent/Adult
5	Burial 36-006 Infant	Burial 226 Infant	Burial 111-C Adult	Burial 47 Child

Table 8.13 Highest ranking burials from main Late Chalcolithic phases at Tepe Gawra (based on an analysis by Peasnall 2002: 218-232)

Secondly, interpretations that link rich child burials with ascribed rank at birth fail to account for the virtual disappearance of burials in the archaeological record at the height of urbanisation in the mid-to-late fourth millennium BC (Chapter 7, section 7.2.2), where, following the logic of social evolutionary approaches, status differentiation through burial rites should be most pronounced. Thirdly, to focus exclusively on wealthy burials as a means to *indicate* the emergence of social hierarchies arguably hinders any attempt to *understand* processes of cultural negotiation through which hierarchical forms of social organisation emerged. Such approaches may therefore obscure the important role played by funerary practices, and the relationships forged between the living and the dead, in these wider processes of transformation.

8.2 'The afterlife is where we come from': wealth transmission and the inalienability of infants

Given the reservations expressed above, it is time to consider alternative frameworks of interpretation for the phenomenon of wealthy infant burials in the archaeological record of Late Chalcolithic Mesopotamia. The title of this section is borrowed from the anthropologist Alma Gottlieb (2004), who work contrasts Western models of child development with those customary in West Africa. In western models, newborns only

arrive in the social world at birth, having previously been restricted to a 'uterine life of minimal stimulation and no social interaction' (Gottlieb 2004: 80). By way of contrast, Gottlieb discusses how in Beng society - an ethnic group from the Côte d'Ivoire - infants are thought to live a rich social existence prior to birth, as they are believed to originate in the 'afterlife' or the space of ancestral spirits (Gottlieb 2004: 80-81). As Gottlieb (2004: 80) notes, the connections that are made between infants and ancestors in the cycle of life and death is not unique to the Beng world, but is a common ideology throughout different regions of Africa, Native North America, South Asia and South-East Asia (and for related archaeological discussions, see also Borić and Stefanović 2004: 541-2; Richards 1996: 182-3). In the Cameroon Grassfield kingdoms, for example, children are frequently perceived as ephemeral beings in close proximity to the afterlife from which they have only recently arrived, and to which they so often return. As Argenti (2001) points out, in Oku cosmology the loss of a child, which is relatively common due to high infant mortality rates, is not a sign of its vulnerability but of its 'close contact with the spirits and ancestors they have recently left behind' (Argenti 2001: 79). As such, newborns are often identified as 'children of the gods' that are in possession of special powers comparable to those accorded to elders 'on the basis of their equal but inverse relation to the spirits' (Argenti 2001: 80).

The belief that newborns and infants are commonly linked to the afterlife and the realm of ancestors was touched on in Chapter 6, where it was suggested that children are often perceived as lying outside the bounds of normal society and socialisation, and are often linked with concepts of Otherness and the dead (Helms 1998: 84; Lévi-Strauss 1993: 49). It was suggested in Chapter 6 that the liminal status of newborns and young children may account for their differential funerary treatment compared to adults. Towards the end of the fifth millennium, it is clear that adults were buried in a formalised manner in communal cemeteries on the margins of occupation areas, whereas infants and young children were buried among the living, often in association with domestic dwellings. It was also demonstrated that at sites such as Tell Abada (Chapter 6) and Tepe Gawra Level XII (discussed above), where broad horizontal exposures were excavated, that the largest and most elaborately constructed dwellings were often those built first within the settlement, suggesting their importance as 'founder' households within the community at large. It is notable, therefore, that these dwellings were also associated with unusual numbers of infant and child burials,

implying their importance for the reproductive capacity of households as the embodiment of lineage (cf. Borić and Stefanović 2004: 541). It was argued that the accumulation of infant burials in domestic contexts may therefore be understood as forming part of the social strategies employed by households to ensure self-reproduction and the transmission of tangible and intangible wealth across generations. The appearance of 'rich' infant and child burials during the early fourth millennium BC is best understood against this background.

Specifically, it will be argued here that the rich infant burials characteristic of the Late Chalcolithic period can be understood as an extension of the social strategies employed by Ubaid households to guarantee the transmission of tangible and intangible wealth across generations. The consumption of wealth in infant burials can be usefully understood as a means of suspending or temporarily overcoming what Annette Weiner (1985; 1992; 1994) has termed the paradox of 'keeping-while-giving', which is grounded in the ability to withhold valued possessions from circulation in the face of all the pressures to give them to others (Weiner 1992: 5, 7). This formulation has been subsequently reconfigured by Godelier (1999) as 'keeping-for-giving', in that the withholding of inalienable wealth also acts as a guarantee of value for similar objects that remain in circulation (Godelier 1999: 33). Inalienable possessions typically comprise of 'symbolically dense' objects or forms of 'intellectual property' (titles, land rights, mythic knowledge etc. see Harrison 1992; 1995; Küchler 1988; 1997; 2001: 68), that are deeply embedded with the identities and life-histories of their owners. It is through the transmission of inalienable possessions across each generation that the reproduction of kinship is legitimated, and as such, inalienable possessions are ideally withheld and transmitted from one generation to the next within the closed context of the family or descent group (Weiner 1985: 210; 1992: 6, 11):

> Inalienable possessions are imbued with affective qualities that are expressions of the value an object has when it is kept by its owners and inherited within the same family or descent group…the primary value of inalienability, however, is expressed through the power these objects have to define who one is in a historical sense. The object acts as vehicles for bringing past time into the present, so that the histories of ancestors, titles, or mythological events become an intimate part of a person's identity.
>
> (Weiner 1985: 210).

Ethnographic studies, as Weiner discusses, highlight the tensions that exist between the desire to withhold and transmit valuable objects (e.g. Kwakiutl coppers, Maori cloaks, or Kula armshells) that embody identity, titles and status across generations; and the immense social pressures to give-up the same kind of objects in transactions oriented towards a greater moral good, be it the positive social relations engendered through gifting or the alliances formed through marriage. At the same time, because hierarchy is often defined by the power to 'exclude others from the right of temporary possession' (Rowlands 1998: 229-230), to lose inalienable objects to others through exchange entails social diminishment and a loss of status. As Rowlands (1998) makes clear:

> Hierarchy is defined therefore by not having to give and achieves this by closing off access to circulation through rules of endogamy (marriage prescriptions), rules of succession (creating exclusive roles and offices) and by rules of exclusion (creating categories of non-persons).
>
> (Rowlands 1998: 230-1)

One means of temporarily resolving 'the paradox of keeping-while-giving' (Weiner 1992) is to remove objects from circulation as a form of sacrificial transaction with the dead: a gift given in exchange for upholding the conditions of social reproduction (Barth 1990: 649; Godelier 1999: 13; Gregory 1980; Mauss 2002[1954]: 18-22).

In order to understand why infant funerary rites became the primary locus of wealth removal during the early fourth millennium BC, I propose to develop a line of enquiry introduced in Chapter 6, and consider the wider social roles of children in relation to lineage and household reproduction. A similar approach has been taken by Rosemary Joyce (1999), who has suggested that the predominance of rich child burials in the funerary record of pre-Classic Mesoamerica may reflect the important position of children at the nexus of social relations, as the various social obligations and rights associated with the birth and growth of children strengthen alliances originally formed in marriage. The death of the child, therefore, may be seen to endanger the alliances through which competitive households expand their authority and wealth (Joyce 1999: 21, 23, 40). Building upon these observations, and on the long-term perspective developed in earlier chapters, I propose that infant burials provided households with a legitimate means to remove inalienable wealth from circulation and guarantee the future transmission of wealth within the closed context of household groups.

The relationship between child burials and displays of wealth is likely to be related to conceptions of infants and young children as lying outside the bounds of normal society and socialisation; as individuals yet to be implicated in the complex kinship arrangements that might lead to the distribution of wealth and property beyond the household unit (i.e. dowries or bridewealth payments) - what Weiner (1992) terms the 'kinship counterpart of keeping-while-giving' (Weiner 1992: 67). It is of course difficult to make inferences regarding the organisation of kinship structures in the early fourth millennium on the basis of archaeological evidence. In thinking through the role of children in the regeneration of descent lines and in the heritable transmission of property and other forms of wealth, it may be instructive to consider later written sources. As I go on to discuss, these indicate that the transmission of property was of central importance to extended household units in early Mesopotamian cities, and that control over inheritance was achieved through marriage transactions, consumption strategies, and by maintaining a close relationship with the ancestral dead.

8.2.1 Property transmission in later Mesopotamian societies

K. Wright (2007) has recently argued that the concept of 'household' was a central element of Mesopotamian symbolism, social-organization and world view, which can be traced back to the tripartite extended-family dwellings of the Ubaid if not further (see also Liverani 2006: 28; Wengrow 1998, and discussion in Chapter 5). The similarities that exist between the spatial arrangement and architectural features of fourth millennium private dwellings and public institutions attest to the importance of the household as a social unit. It may be inferred, with due caution, that kinship structures were broadly comparable to those attested for the later third-millennium, when the 'household' (Sumerian E_2, Akkadian *bîtum*) was conceived as the primary unit of social organisation (Liverani 2006: 28; K. Wright 2007: 204; 228).

Documentary evidence in the form of cuneiform tablets and other inscriptions recovered at sites such as Fara (ED III), Girsu (ED III) and Ur (Ur III, Old-Babylonian) indicate that during the third and early second-millennium kinship was structured around nuclear families embedded in larger kin groups such as extended families, lineages and conical clans, which were headed by men at every level (Brusasco 2004; K. Wright 2007: 209;

see also Diakonoff 1974; Gelb 1979; Zagrell 1986: 416). Fathers were obliged to provide each daughter with a dowry, and marriage arrangements often involved a protracted series of gifts, payments and other transactions between households (Brusasco 2004: 155; Postgate 1994: 97, 102; K. Wright 2007: 2010). Newly married couples lived with or close to the husband's kin (virilocal), thus it was common for smaller households to comprise of two nuclear families (husband and husband's father's wives and children, or husband and husband's brother's wives and children). Within kin-based households descent was patrilineal and property and succession to office was inherited across generations under the control of men (Brusasco 2004: 156; Gelb 1979; Postgate 1994: 91-99; K. Wright 2007: 209-10). At the other end of the social scale were the 'great household' institutions of the third-millennium; large socio-economic units such as temples, palaces and estates that had a dependent non-kin affiliated workforce and managerial personnel that provided institutions with labour and other services (Pollock 1999: 118; Zagrell 1986: 416-417).

A feature common to kin-based households and the great household institutions was the importance of household wealth transmission, such as the inheritance of property and office. Pollock (1991; 1999) has suggested that the differential placement of the dead within private houses and communal cemeteries during the third-millennium BC may reflect growing tensions between traditional kin-based household units and the emergence of great-household institutions, as 'various elements within society competed for control of the dead just as they competed for control of the labour and products of the living' (Pollock 1999: 217). Sub-floor burials associated with kin-based households may have been a means to assert the importance of kin-affiliation and social reproduction at a time when individuals were being coerced into dependent relationships with emerging institutions (Pollock 1991: 177; 1999: 206, 210).

Brusasco (2004) has similarly argued that the transmission of wealth within household decent groups at second-millennium (Old Babylonian) Ur was achieved by such means as the provisioning of ancestral cults (in the form of intramural family tombs) and marriage alliances. It has also been suggested by Laneri (2007) that the practice of burying family members in intramural tombs at Late EBA Titriş Höyük (c. 2400-2100 BC; southeast Turkey) can be linked to the maintenance of household social reproduction and economic authority (Laneri 2007: 265). The routine provisioning

domestic cults with offerings helped reinforce an ideology that emphasised the importance of kinship structures, household social reproduction and the regeneration of descent lines (Brusasco 2004: 152; Laneri 2007: 262-265; see also Bayliss 1973; Postgate 1994: 99). The interplay between consumption strategies, mortuary rituals and wealth transmission in early Mesopotamian society is particularly striking in Pollock's (2007) interpretation of the Royal Tombs at Ur. According to Pollock (2007) the lavish consumption of wealth and human capital attested in the Royal Tombs can be understood as a politically motivated public proclamation of the death of 'great households'. She argues that the conspicuous consumption of wealth in such rites was essentially an ideological assertion that property and office was not being inherited across generations. In reality, however, such rites helped disguise the growing accumulation and transmission of resources within powerful descent-groups (Pollock 2007: 216).

Following the broader arguments made by Pollock (1999; 2007), Laneri (2007) and Brusasco (2004), I suggest that during the early-fourth millennium, the consumption of wealth in infant burials was essentially a means of guaranteeing the heritable transmission of wealth (both material and symbolic) within the lineage or descent group. It was demonstrated above that in Level XI/AB at Tepe Gawra (LC 1 Period, c. 4100 cal. BC) two groups of burials were associated with a tripartite building interpreted as a dwelling/production unit and a residential complex (three interlocking houses with two ovens – extended family residence?). Following trends observed for the earlier Level XII settlement, where infant burials were located in close proximity to extended family residences, the majority of the burials in these two clusters also belonged to infants and children. The evidence from Gawra therefore suggests that the appearance of rich child burials (grave goods and libn/stone cist tombs) in Level XIA/B developed out of earlier mortuary traditions attested in the Level XII settlement. It is also significant that the five wealthiest burials from Level XIA/B were associated with these dwellings (see table 8.13 above).

I would argue, therefore, that households were able to *legitimately* remove inalienable wealth through infant burials because infants and young children were themselves essentially inalienable. Due to their status as liminal beings yet to be fully 'socialised' as persons, infants and young children were not entangled within the wider exchange

strategies that characterise marriage transactions and can lead to the distribution of wealth and property beyond the household unit. By virtue of their perceived inalienability, the consumption of wealth upon the death of a child was a means of preventing the escape and disbursement of accumulated resources beyond the household kin-group. Taken as a whole, the wealth in question may not have been quantitatively significant in terms of the overall amount in circulation but, as discussed above, it would have included items of symbolic potency with the potential to unlock wider spheres of exchange, unless confined within the household unit of descent.

8.2.2 Making ancestors: trajectories of accumulation and bodily display in death

> The castes and classes of antiquity could not have emerged had not these groups and these men appeared to have advanced further than other men into the space which from the outset separates men from the gods.
>
> (Godelier 1999: 194)

Having proposed an alternative framework for the interpretation of wealthy child burials in the early fourth millennium BC, I now go on to discuss the subsequent emergence of wealthy adult burials, drawing upon the unique evidence at Tepe Gawra discussed above. By Level XI/XA at Tepe Gawra there is a notable shift in the spatial location of burials as fewer large residences were identified during this phase. Burials tend to be dispersed throughout the settlement and it is difficult to determine any clear associations between burials and architectural features due to the significant reorganization of the settlement in sub-phases. Nonetheless, the wealthiest burials from this phase (see table 8.7 above) can be associated with two non-domestic special function buildings that were not subjected to extensive rebuilding during sub-phases. Two 'rich' child burials (180 and 181) are associated with a large tripartite building interpreted by Rothman (2002: 93) as a 'temple', and a further two 'rich' burials (142 and 266) are associated with an additional large tripartite structure interpreted by Rothman (2002: 96) as a secular public building. As Gawra became progressively centralised (fewer domestic residences, dominance of special function buildings, control over the circulation of goods restricted to non-domestic institutions) there is a clear shift in the spatial distribution of 'rich' child burials, suggesting that traditional modes of wealth

transmission moved beyond the domestic-sphere and became the monopoly of certain groups attached to social institutions.

The shift away from interring the dead within domestic contexts is increasingly evident by Level X as far fewer burials are now recorded, and those that belong to infants and children are widely dispersed throughout the settlement. What is striking about this phase of occupation, however, is that the wealthiest burials were no longer those of infants and children, but can be attributed to the burials of adults and adolescents. Furthermore, four of these rich adult/adolescent burials (109, 110, 111, 114) were interred in adjacent libn tombs located in an open area of settlement away from dwellings and special function buildings. This shift in consumption strategies, from child to adult burials, and from domestic contexts to open (visible?) areas of settlement, may indicate that traditional descent-group strategies of wealth transmission became increasingly restricted to select individuals from the community, such as members elite households or powerful descent-groups (cf. Davis-Salazar 2007: 204, 208, 216; Forest 1983: 108).

The later burial record at Gawra also points to a growing concern with personal display in death, as increasing quantities of exotic personal items were consumed as part of mortuary rites (see Section 7.2.3 and table 8.14 below). It is evident from anthropomorphic figural representations and osteological evidence that shared forms of bodily display spread across Greater Mesopotamia during the fifth millennium (e.g. head-shaping, scarification, labrets and ear spools; see section 6.1), which can be linked to modes of social display and interaction typical of open and competitive forms of status hierarchy (Gell 1993; see discussion in Wengrow 2006: 153-4). That social display continued to be an important means of negotiating positions of rank and status during the early fourth-millennium is clearly demonstrated at Tepe Gawra, where the high proportion of personal objects recorded from graves suggest that these items were used to reinforce social roles in life and in death. Furthermore, the remarkable variety of personal items recorded from burials indicate that individuals had access to a growing corpus of material resources with which to compete in competitive displays of wealth (see table 8.14 below).

At Tepe Gawra, it is evident that a significant proportion of the personal items recovered from graves were beads that were either crafted from materials acquired through long-distance exchange (lapis, gold, silver, copper, obsidian, carnelian, turquoise), or more likely directly obtained through long-distance exchange. While the most valuable objects that circulate within a given society are typically items of adornment, it is remarkable that personal items are also frequently used as a form of trade currency between different social groups (shell ornaments, beads, valuable metals, precious stones). As Graeber (1996: 13) points out, this is partly because objects used for personal display, such as beads (which at Tepe Gawra were recorded from burials in their thousands), are able to transcend radically different regimes of value. Just as metal items can be melted down and recast into new object forms, beads can easily be transformed from generic and mutually indistinguishable objects into unique items of adornment (Graeber 1996: 13).

The influx of exotic personal ornaments in early-fourth millennium funerary contexts may suggest that earlier forms of bodily ornamentation and display (head-shaping, scarification, paints, tattoos?) became increasingly insufficient for conveying identity and social status as communities increased in size, thereby altering the dynamics of social interaction. It is therefore likely that individuals had to continually distinguish themselves by extending the realm of their 'social skin' through material objects acquired through long-distance exchange (cf. Smith 1999: 15). In addition, it is also likely that individuals and groups implemented a range of measures to restrict access to such objects in order to limit emulation. The high proportion of exotic personal ornaments recorded from early-mid fourth millennium burials may then suggest that individuals were able to control access to prestige personal items by taking them out of circulation as part of mortuary rites.

Level	Beads	Ornaments	Vessels	Other
XIA/B	Black	Gold	Ceramic	Stamp seals
	White	Bone		Mace heads
	Shell	Paste Rosettes		
XI/XA	Black	Gold	Ceramic	Shells
	White	Copper		Stamp seals
	Grey	Gold rosettes		Mace Heads
	Carnelian			Tokens
	Lapis			
	Shell			
	Turquoise			
	Gold			
	Copper			
	Carved beads			
X	Black	Gold	Stone	Shells
	White	Lapis	Ceramic	Combs
	Grey	Bone	Ointment vessels	Stamp seals
	Carnelian	Hair ornaments		Mace Heads
	Lapis	Gold rosettes		Tokens
	Shell			Honing Stones
	Turquoise			
	Gold			
	Green stone			
	Brown paste			
	Electrum			
	Carved beads			
VIII/IX	Black	Gold	Ointment vessels	Combs
	White	Bone		Stamp seals
	Grey	Copper		
	Carnelian	Hair Ornaments		
	Lapis	Gold Rosettes		
	Shell			
	Turquoise			
	Gold			
	Green stone			
	Brown paste			
	Quartz			
	Copper			
	Carved beads			

Table 8.14 Burial object types for main Late Chalcolithic phases at Tepe Gawra (adapted from Peasnall 2002: 226, Table A. 10).

I would further suggest that the consumption of valuable personal items in mortuary rites was legitimated by creating a positive image of the deceased in social memory. For a select segment of the population, the preparation and adornment of the corpse in funerary rites was intended to create an ideal representation of the body. Funerary rites in this context form part of a transformative process that works to obscure 'the unique idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of mortal existence' (Helms 1998: 36) and enhance those qualities and attributes that are associated with an ideal image of an ancestor. This is achieved by selecting artefacts, apparel, ornamentation or other forms of material representation that signify an ancestral persona (Helms 1998: 36). At Tepe Gawra, select adult bodies were clearly afforded comparable forms of preparation, ornamentation and material assemblages as part of funerary rites (mud-brick tombs, gold-rosette headdresses, elaborate ornaments/girdles, grooming, wrapping and painting the body; see figure 8.9 below). That certain individuals at Gawra were revered as ancestors is further suggested by the spatial clustering of important tombs and the construction of a shrine complex around a clearly important burial in Level X (see discussion in Chapter 8). The provisioning of ancestral cults that developed in the early fourth millennium BC may therefore have provided an appropriate moral context for periodic displays of short-term acquisitive behaviour concerned with individual appropriation and competition (cf. C. Campbell 1994; Parry and Bloch 1989).

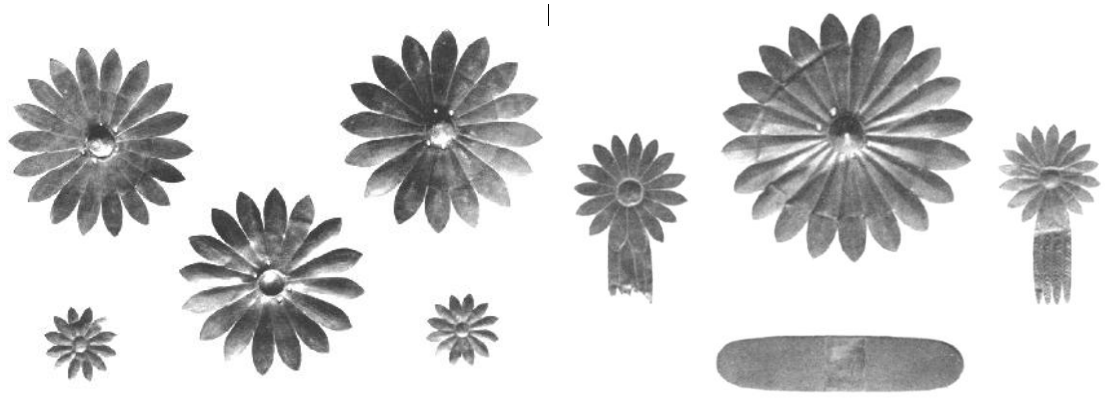

Figure 8.19 Gold rosette ornaments from Late Chalcolithic tombs at Tepe Gawra (Bache 1935c: 7, Fig.2.)

The physical incorporation of ancestors into the centre of the settlement at Late Chalcolithic Tepe Gawra, and the conspicuous rituals surrounding their veneration, finds close parallels in the funerary archaeology of Upper Mesopotamia during the later

third-millennium. Current interpretations highlight the ideological function of mortuary rites in legitimating elite claims to power. Such approaches have suggested that participation in mortuary rites and ancestor veneration by elite groups asserted their right to rule and legitimised their position as the natural descendants of past rulers and powerful ancestors (Peltenburg 1999; Porter 2002a; 2002b; Schwartz 2007). Indeed, at Gawra the marked shift from wealth consumption in domestic infant burials to the lavish provisioning of ancestral cults suggests that descent-group strategies of wealth transmission became increasingly restricted to a select segment of the population. It is plausible that descent-groups were increasingly able to harness control over the circulation of wealth and resources by physically incorporating their dead within the settlement and establishing ties to illustrious ancestors. By conspicuously consuming a portion of accumulated wealth in mortuary rites, emerging elite groups were seen as legitimately 'keeping-while-giving', whilst simultaneously emphasising ties to ancestral descent lines. I would further suggest, however, that the provisioning of ancestral cults with prestigious personal items helped constitute and reinforce new forms of elite self-identity that was centred upon bodily practices.

As material extensions of an ideal bodily image, the personal items recovered from tombs were intended to highlight and enhance those aspects of bodily representation and practices familiar to the routines of daily life, such as grooming the body and the consumption of substances (combs, pigments, ointment vessels, 'kohl' applicators, serving vessels, animal and plant remains etc. see table 8.14 above). The labours invested in creating a positive image of the deceased would have reinforced the values associated with particular forms of bodily conduct and self-identity, as they were connected to an authority perceived to be outside the present. The differential access to those items or substances deemed essential for the maintenance of social identity was therefore a powerful means to assert control over and through the bodies of others. Moreover, by embodying the powers emanating from imaginary beings – such as the ancestral dead – such objects are likely to have become powerful vehicles for political autonomy (cf. Weiner 1992: 39, 42; Godelier 1999: 194; Watanabe 2007: 303). At Tepe Gawra, it is perhaps no coincidence that the consumption of exotic items in select burial groups coincides with the development of specialised craft workshops and sophisticated mechanisms (sealing systems) for controlling the flow of goods.

9 Cultures of capital accumulation in the Late Uruk period

The aim of this present chapter is to consider the remarkable social transformations of the mid-late fourth millennium BC against the backdrop of the thesis as a whole, emphasising aspects of continuity and change in the relations between ritual institutions and the circulation of wealth. This chapter will review the long term-trends in funerary consumption c. 6400-3000 cal. BC outlined in Chapters 3, 5 and 7. I will then go on to discuss the Middle and Late Uruk burial record in detail (LC4-5 c. 3600-3000 cal. BC), before relating the relative absence of intramural burials and prestigious grave-goods to a wider range of social and economic processes. I begin by outlining current evidence for, and interpretations of, principal archaeological and architectural evidence for urbanisation in the southern alluvium and beyond.

9.1 'Uruk' contact and expansion c. 3600-3000 (LC4-5)

While the formative stages of urbanisation in southern Mesopotamia remain somewhat enigmatic, the later phases of this process in the Middle and Late Uruk periods (c. 3600-3000 cal. BC) is known through a combination of survey data, excavation, iconography and documentary evidence (Algaze 2008: 11). Nonetheless, the archaeological record of this latter period is somewhat problematic as very few Late Uruk sites have been excavated in Southern Mesopotamia beyond Uruk itself. Its extraordinary size implies that Uruk is unlikely to be representative of other settlements in southern Mesopotamia, and excavations have concentrated exclusively on the final phases of the central religious and administrative precincts of the city (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 184; Algaze 2008: 11, 160; Nissen 2002). Besides the material excavated at Uruk itself, our understanding of the period primarily derives from what Algaze (1989) has interpreted as implanted 'colonial' Uruk settlements located in regions beyond the southern alluvium, such as Habuba Kabira and Jebel Aruda, which again may not be fully representative of typical southern Mesopotamian settlements.

The identification of Uruk material culture assemblages in regions beyond the southern alluvium (the 'Uruk expansion') has been the subject of intense debate. Much of this has revolved around Algaze's (1989) argument that the expansion of Uruk settlements throughout existing population centres can be explained by their function as colonial outposts established in peripheral regions at points with strategic access to long-distance trade routes, thereby diverting the flow of valuable commodities towards resource-deficient urban centres that were rapidly developing in the south (see discussion in Chapter 1; Algaze 1989: 580). Algaze's model of an 'Uruk World System' admits the fact that local responses to the southern expansion varied considerably. In the sections that follow, I will therefore outline and discuss the archaeological record of Uruk 'contact' phase of the mid-late fourth millennium BC (LC4-5) in order to highlight points of continuity and change from the archaeological record of the 'pre-contact' phase (LC1-3), which was discussed in Chapter 7.

9.1.1 Settlement and subsistence

Survey data indicates that, despite the remarkable growth of Uruk-Warka itself, Late Uruk settlement patterns remained comparable to those recorded for the Early and Middle Uruk periods. For the Uruk-Warka area, around eighty percent of population resided in settlements over 8 hectares in extent (comparable with earlier LC2-4 periods), while seventy percent of the Nippur-Adab population resided in settlements of a similar size (Pollock 2001: 215-6). Survey data nevertheless indicates that a reconfiguration of settled populations effected the distribution and density of settlements on the southern alluvium. At this time, the number of settlements recorded for both the Uruk-Warka and Nippur-Adab regions appears to increase, and the Uruk-Warka area saw significant growth (Pollock 2001: 212). Nevertheless, a rise in rates of abandonment and settlement in the Uruk-Warka region suggest that patterns of growth were extremely volatile. While rates of abandonment and settlement were far more stable in the Nippur-Adab area, settlement density in the region appears to decreases at the same time - and perhaps in relation to - increasingly concentrated patterns of settlement in the Uruk-Warka area (Adams 1981: 70; Pollock 2001: 190, 213).

Late Uruk settlement patterns for the Nippur-Adab area show that medium and large sized settlements became progressively isolated, which may be linked to the abandonment of rural hinterlands or their assimilation into surrounding urban centres. By way of contrast, a growing rural hinterland surrounded urban zones in the Uruk-Warka region as they attracted, and became increasingly reliant upon, the rural populace (Adams 1981: 70; Algaze 2008: 103-6; Pollock 2001: 190-2, 215). By the Late Uruk period (LC5) the site of Uruk-Warka itself attained an unprecedented size of 250 hectares in extent. Accepting a conservative estimate of 100 inhabitants per hectare, it is proposed that the city had a population of 20,000 inhabitants by the Late Uruk period (Nissen 2001: 158; 2002: 7). Within a fifteen kilometre range of Uruk-Warka itself, a series of dependant towns, villages and hamlets totalling an estimated 280 hectares in extent developed around the city (Algaze 2008: 103).

Based on a reanalysis of gross settlement trends employing the algorithm of Dewar (1991), Kouchoukos and Wilkinson (2007: 17) show that the steady growth of settled populations in the Uruk-Warka area coincides with a decline in settled populations in neighbouring (Nippur-Adab) and peripheral (Susiana, North Jezireh) regions. It is plausible that the abandonment of peripheral areas of habitation was in part responsible for the surge in population growth and urbanisation in the southern alluvium (Algaze 2008: 109). Alternatively, it is also possible that the Uruk periphery saw a drastic increase in nomadic pastoralism as a response to growing demands for secondary animal products, such as wool (Kouchoukos and Wilkinson 2007: 18). In the Susiana plain, Late Uruk settlement hierarchies encompassing regional centres (Susa and Choga Mish) and subsidiary towns and villages are similar to those recorded for the Middle Uruk period (Algaze 2005b: 13; Wright and Johnson 1975: 270).

By the end of the Uruk period, however, there is a significant decline in the settled population as villages situated between the two principal centres were abandoned, thereby establishing a ‘buffer zone’ between the two competing polities. Just before the very end of this phase, Choga Mish appears have been abandoned, while Susa witnessed a significant contraction in settlement size (Algaze 1989: 576; 2001b: 209; 2005b: 13; Johnson and Wright 1985: 29; Wright and Johnson 1975: 276). Settlement data for the Iraqi Jezireh confirm a comparable contraction in the number of sites occupied during the latter half of the fourth millennium (from 66 sites to just 15), a factor that is not

attributable to an increase in the size of settlements, which remained modest throughout this period (Wilkinson and Tucker 1995: 45). However, the scale of occupation at regional centres located in northeast Syria, such as Tell Brak and Tell Hamoukar, appear to decline significantly by the Late Uruk period (Gibson 2000: 477; Gibson *et al.* 2002: 49; Oates *et al.* 2007: 597; Ur 2002: 17-20).

Current evidence indicates that the climate became increasingly arid and variable across the Near East during the latter half of the fourth millennium, and was characterised by a marked seasonality compared to earlier periods, especially in Southern Mesopotamia as summer monsoons retreated southwards (Algaze 2001a: 31; Hole 1994: 127; Staubwasse and Weiss 2006: 379; Wright 2001: 128). A deceleration in marine transgression and near-stabilization of sea levels in the Arabian Gulf stimulated the expansion of floodplains in the southern alluvium, with water tables now becoming optimal for intensive irrigation agriculture (Kennet and Kennett 2006: 89-90). Archaeobotanical evidence for this period indicates that the suite of crops cultivated remained similar to those utilised in the preceding Ubaid period, the most important staples being varieties of barley and wheat. Barley is one of the main ingredients for making beer, the mass production of which is recorded in the archaic texts. The documentary evidence also attests to the cultivation of lentil, flax and figs (Emberling and McDonald 2003: 32; Nissen *et al.* 1993: 36, 43; Pollock 1999: 110; Wright 2001: 131-2).

The archaic texts and contemporary iconographic sources document the management of caprines and cattle, which were increasingly exploited for secondary products such as milk, yoghurt, curds, cheese, dairy fats, hides and wool (Algaze 2008: 48-9, Green 1980; McCorriston 1997: 521; Nissen 1986: 330; Nissen *et al.* 1993: 93). The growing importance of secondary products derived from caprines is confirmed by the faunal data from sites located on the Southern Alluvium, which show a heavier reliance on caprids, especially sheep, compared to earlier periods. Culling patterns indicate that sheep were now increasingly exploited for wool procurement (Payne 1988: 108; Pollock 1990: 88; 1999: 106-110, Table 4.6 and 4.7). Late Uruk faunal assemblages from settlements located in Upper Mesopotamia also attest to increased specialisation in caprine husbandry. At Hacinebi Tepe, faunal assemblages from the Uruk ‘contact’ phases at the site show that pig and cow utilization decreased significantly in relation to the growing

exploitation of caprines (Bigelow 1999: 86). At the proposed Uruk 'colony' of Habuba Kabira south, caprines make up nearly sixty percent of the faunal assemblages (von den Driesch 1993: 56, Table 1), while at Tell Brak there is a marked intensification in caprine exploitation compared to other species towards the end of the fourth millennium BC (Emberling and McDonald 2003: 26).

9.1.2 Settlement organisation and architecture

Surveys conducted on the mound of Uruk-Warka suggest that the settlement attained a size of unprecedented urban proportions that was some 250 hectares in extent during the Late Uruk period. Excavations at the site, however, have concentrated on its non-residential districts: the 'Eanna district' in the east and the 'Anu district' in the west (Nissen 2001: 154). Both areas yielded monumental buildings, platforms and terraces that were constructed in a series of phases. The first phases of construction that could be traced in the Anu district include a series of ramps that led up to a high-terrace excavated in levels F to X, while subsequent levels D to E revealed two superimposed tripartite temples that are nearly identical in plan. The Level C terrace did not have a temple at this point, although two phases of construction were identified by traces of postholes that marked out a tripartite building ('Posthole Building'), and by the plan of an additional tripartite structure that was marked out in red paint ('Line Building'; Charvát 2002: 105; Perkins 1949: 112-4; see Fig. 9.1 below). The Level B 'White Temple' was constructed on the summit of the Level C high-terrace, which originally stood at a height of approximately eleven meters (see Fig 9.1 above; Nissen 2001: 154; 2002: 8; Collins 2000: 33; Perkins 1949: 114).

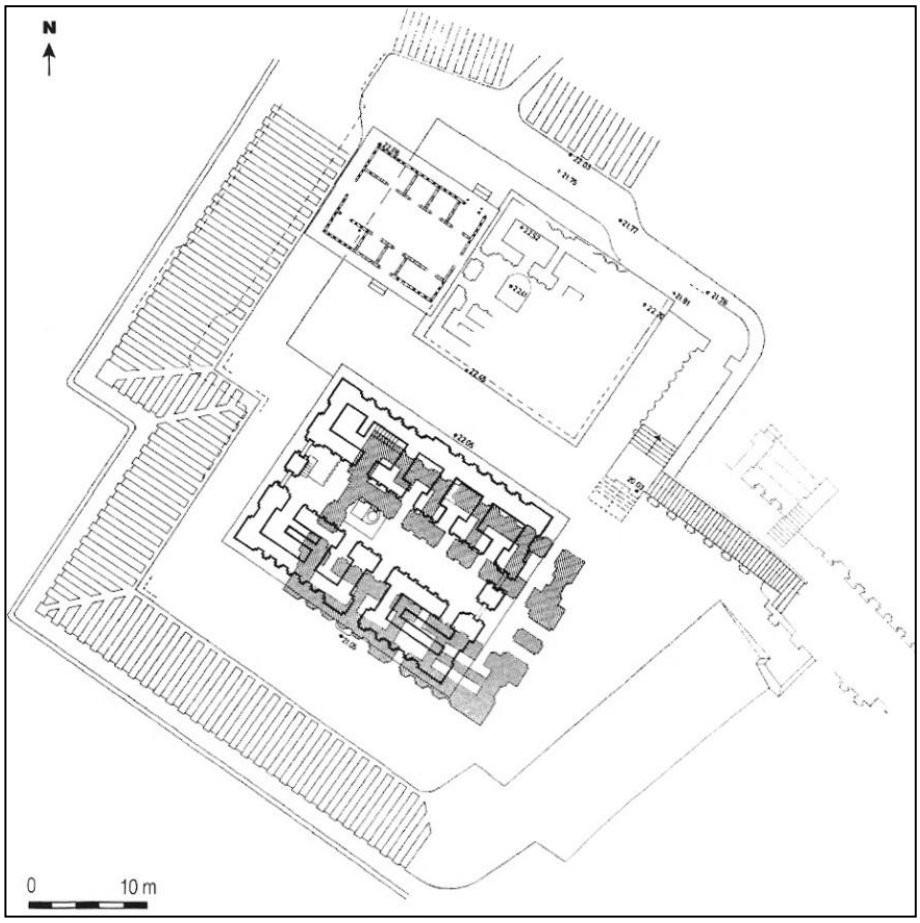

Figure 9.1 Plan of Anu district at Uruk (reproduced from Yoffee 2005: 225. Fig. 9.16).

The White Temple was built from white plastered mud brick walls and followed a tripartite plan comprising of a central hall with a stepped altar and central offering table, which was flanked on either side by a series of smaller rooms (Charvát 2002: 105; Nissen 2001: 154; 2002: 8; Perkins 1949: 111-2). Roughly contemporary with the White Building, and located to its east, was an unusual building called the *Steingebäude* (Stone Building). This structure was set in a pit, and featured three concentric rectangular rooms, each of which contained an entrance on a different side. The central room of the *Steingebäude* were constructed from mould-cast blocks of gypsum plaster, in the centre of which stood a raised podium. Other furnishings include shallow conduits in walls, tanks and vessels (suggestive of libation rites) and the single find within the structure comprised a carved statuette of a prisoner with bound hands. The exact function of this building remains open to debate, as it seems to have been deliberately in-filled with alternating layers of stone and clay shortly after its construction, and opened up again at some point only to be similarly in-filled with mortar (Charvát 2002: 101; Collins 2000: 33).

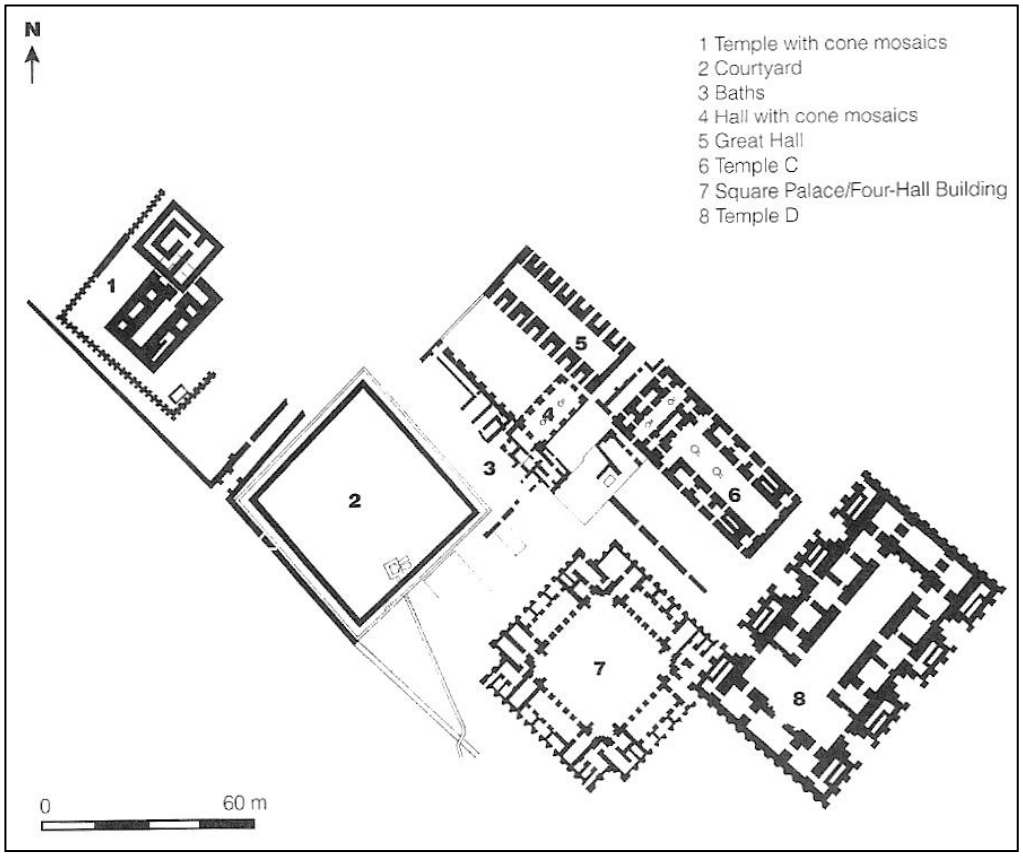

Figure 9.2 Plan of Eanna District at Uruk (reproduced from Yoffee 2005: 224. Fig. 9.15).

The Eanna district originally extended over an area of approximately nine hectares during the Late Uruk period, and approximately half of this area has been excavated. The precinct comprised of several large freestanding buildings that took up 1500 square meters of floor space, and rose above floor level to at least ten meters (see Fig 9.2 above; Nissen 2001: 154; 2002: 8). The first major phase of building in the Eanna district that can be attributed to the Late Uruk period began in Eanna Archaic Level VI with the construction of the *Steinstifttempel* (Stone Cone Temple), a rectangular structure with a central T-Shaped Hall built from moulded bricks formed from gypsum plaster and crushed mud-brick. The exterior of this structure was lavishly decorated with stone cone inlays, and the interior of its enclosure wall featured blue, green and yellow stone mosaics (Charvát 2002: 101 Collins 2000: 34; Heinrich 1982: 45-46, 70-72). The *Kalksteintempel* (Limestone Temple) was erected in Level V and featured foundations formed from large flat pieces limestone mortared with bitumen, which were later reconstructed using mud-brick. The 'temple' itself was tripartite in plan, featured

niched walls, and measured at least 76 x 30 m in extent (Charvát 2002: 102; Collins 2000: 34; Perkins 1949: 120).

Level IV can be sub-divided into three phases, the earliest of which, Level IVc, revealed traces of buttressed walls that are thought to belong to a complex consisting of three structures organized at right angles around a courtyard (Buildings F, G, H). The precinct was rebuilt in Level IVb around three platforms which featured a series of monumental buildings. The remains of a tripartite 'temple' (Building A) was recovered from the North-South Terrace, and an additional tripartite structure (Building B) was located to the northwest of this terrace. The so-called *Rundfeilerhalle* (Round Pillared Hall), located on the Pillar terrace was a sunken court that contained a platform decorated with cone mosaic inlay, upon which sat two rows of free-standing columns decorated with cone mosaics (Charvát 2002: 103; Collins 2000: 34; Perkins 1949: 122). By Level IVa the three platforms were now enclosed by a single large platform, upon which two massive structures were built, Building C and D. Building C was a buttress-recessed structure 54 x 22 meters in size, which featured a T-shaped central hall with an adjoining tripartite rooms located at right angles to the central hall. Building D was a similarly massive niched-walled structure that measured 54 x 35m in extent, and comprised of a long court flanked by a suite of smaller rooms with a transverse room at its northeastern extent (Perkins 1949: 124).

Level IV also saw the construction of the *Grosser Hof* (Great Court); a sunken 'court' supported by a two-stepped wall made watertight with a lining of bitumen coated mud-bricks. The upper section of wall was decorated with cone mosaics, while the courtyard itself was provided with a staircase and featured a cistern supplied by a vaulted conduit (Boehmer 1991: 46; Charvát 2002: 104), which may suggest that is actually functioned as a ceremonial bathing pool (comparable to those excavated at the Harappan city of Mohenjo-Daro). Other structures erected at this time were the *Bau Mit Den Vier Sälen/Empfangspalast* (Square Room Building), comprising multiple small rooms arranged around a large central hall or courtyard (see Fig 9.3 below); the *Pfeilerhalle* (Pillared Hall) which featured clay cone mosaics pillars; a possible 'bath' structure with bitumen coated lower walls and floors; and the 'Red Temple' with its red painted walls (Charvát 2002: 103-4; Collins 2000: 34).

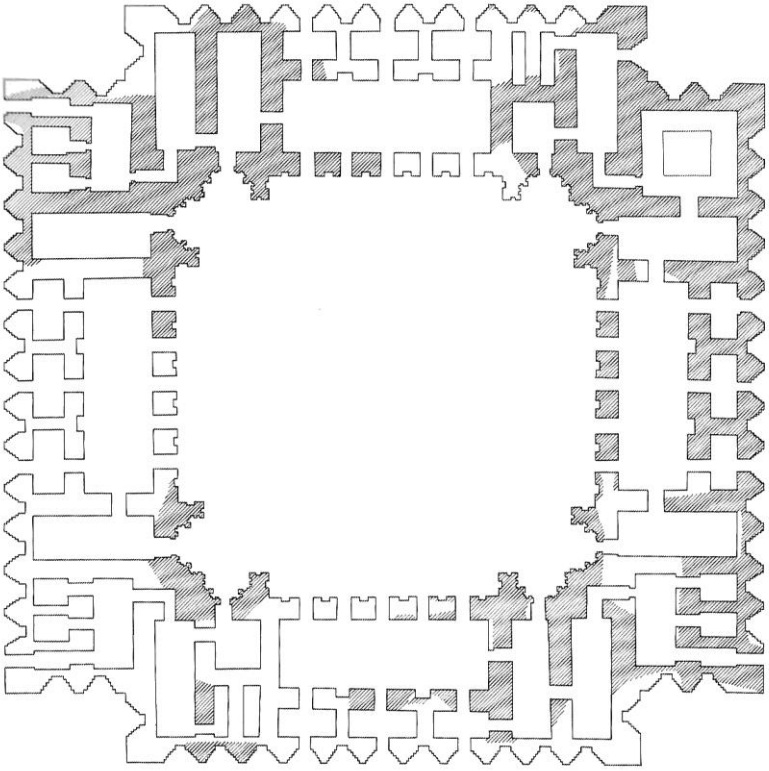

Figure 9.3 The Bau Mit Den Vier Sälen/Empfangspalast (Square Room Building) at Uruk (reproduced from Heinrich 1982. Abb. 118a)

Well preserved Late Uruk monumental architecture has also been excavated at the site of Tell Uqair, which is located some fifty miles south of modern Baghdad. Excavations exposed a bitumen-coated platform made-up of two terraces with a buttressed facade, atop of which sat a monumental building interpreted as a temple (see Fig 9.4 below; Collins 2000: 32; Lloyd and Safar 1943: 138). Two series of plastered mud-brick stairs led up to the first terrace, and the terrace surfaces were coated with layers of fine clay and finished with white gypsum plaster and a coat of red 'water-paint' (Collins 2000: 32; Lloyd and Safar 1943: 138). The 'temple' itself, half of which could be traced, comprised of a long central hall with an offering table at its centre and an altar at its northwest end, which was flanked by four smaller walls on its northeast side. The temple was constructed of buttress-recessed mud-brick walls, the outer facades of which were coated with a layer of mud plaster and coated with gypsum paint (Lloyd and Safar 1943: 139). Remarkably, the mud plastered interior walls of this structure preserved a series of frescoes executed in a variety of colours. The frescoes depict architectural features as well as human and animal figures, the most striking of which are the pair of 'leopards' painted on the right side of the temple altar (Lloyd and Safar 1943: 140-1).

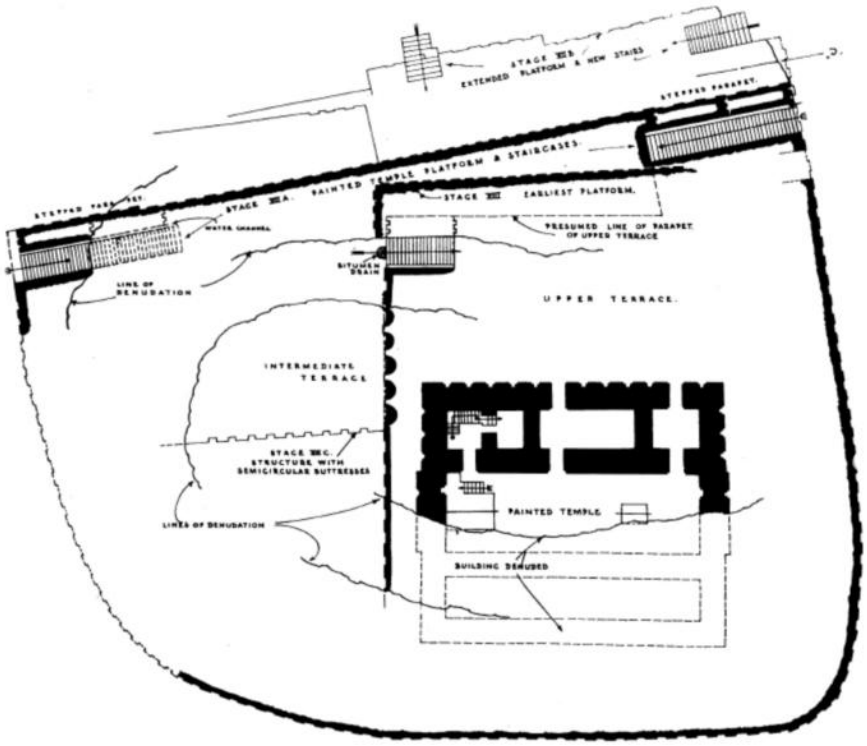

Figure 9.4 Plan of the Uruk temple at Tell Uqair (adapted from Lloyd and Safar 1943. Plate V).

Compared to our present knowledge of Late Uruk monumental architecture, Uruk period household archaeology remains poorly understood. At Abu Salabikh in southern Iraq, excavations of the 'Uruk Mound' have exposed a Late Uruk settlement surrounded by a massive mud-brick wall. Within the settlement architectural features such as a large mud-brick platform, a complex of rooms and fire installations, and a building with walls some 1.5m thick were excavated (Pollock 1987; 1990; Pollock *et al.* 1991; 1996) The most extensively excavated Late Uruk site, Habuba Kabira South, is actually located on the Middle Euphrates in northern Syria, but has been interpreted as a 'colonial' settlement of South Mesopotamian origin. Founded on virgin soil, the settlement developed in three stages and was occupied briefly for a period of a century or two towards the end of fourth millennium (LC5). The initial unfortified settlement was some 6 hectares in extent, which soon expanded into a carefully planned 10 hectare walled city. Settlement later expanded beyond the city walls directly south of the city, creating a densely occupied area some 22 hectares in size with suburban zones expanding across the river (see Vallet 1996 on the development of the settlement; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 191; Algaze 2008: 72; Schwartz 2001: 248; Strommenger 1974; 1979; 1980).

The settlement itself comprised of a well planned town with separate residential, industrial and administrative zones, and featured north-south and east-west running paved streets that were provided with a gutters and system of drains. Surrounding the urban core was a massive mud-brick fortification wall that featured at least two gates and regularly spaced projecting towers. This main wall was encompassed by a second outer wall, and traces of a third wall were present near the south gate (see Fig 9.5 below; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 191; Algaze 2008: 72; Kohlmeyer 1996: 91; Schwartz 2001: 248; Strommenger 1980; Vallet 1996). The structures within the residential area of the city were highly uniform, consisting of dwellings constructed from *Riemchen*-type mud-bricks that were organised according to a tripartite plan with a central hall flanked by a series of smaller rooms (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 191: Algaze 2005b: 25; Kohlmeyer 1996: 93, 100). The corpus of features and associated artefacts recovered from these residential structures suggest that, like earlier fifth millennium tripartite dwellings, the central halls were multi-functional spaces where meals were eaten and family members worked, and adjoining rooms were used for food preparation, storage and sleeping (Kohlmeyer 1996: 95). Directly to the south of the residential area of the city, and connected to it by long north-south running avenue, lay an administrative/religious precinct situated on the mound of Tell Qannas. This precinct contained a complex of large tripartite buildings with thick walls featuring internal niches and exteriors decorated with clay-cone mosaics (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 191; Schwartz 2001: 248).

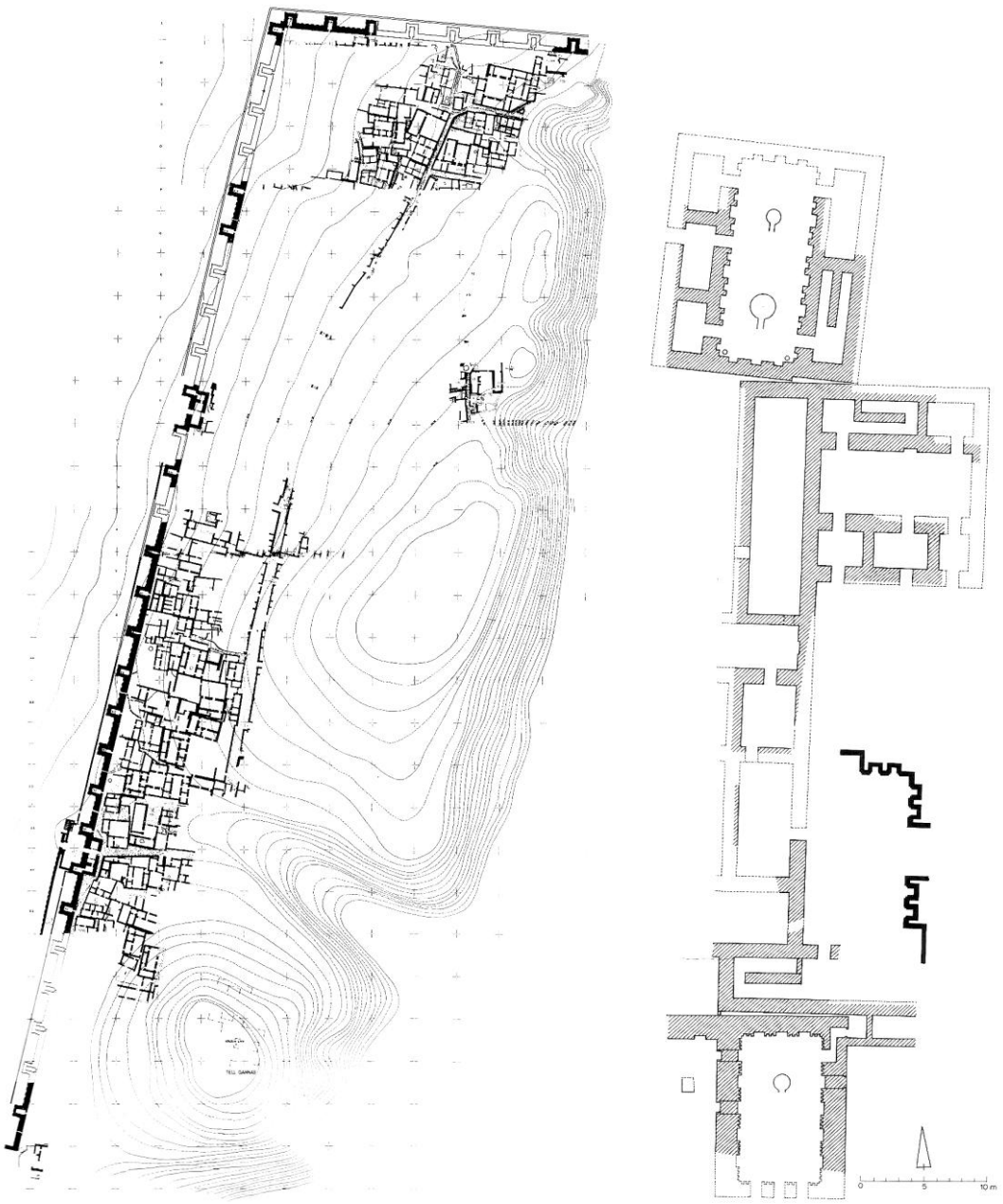

Figure 9.5 Plan of Habuba Kabira South and detail of Tell Qannas (reproduced from Heinrich 1982. Abb. 128 and 129.

Just eight kilometres upstream from Habuba Kabira is the smaller 'colonial' settlement of Jebel Aruda, which was situated on a limestone outcrop some 60m above the surrounding plain overlooking the Euphrates. Like Habuba Kabira, the site was founded on virgin soil and was occupied for a short period of time. This settlement was much smaller (4 hectares) than nearby Habuba Kabira, and appears to have functioned as an administrative and religious hub. In the centre of the settlement was a walled complex made up of terraces and two monumental tripartite structures (the 'Red Temple' and 'Gray Temple') that featured central halls furnished with altars and niched facades

(Vallet 1998; van Driel 2002: 192; van Driel and van Driel-Murray 1979: 3-15). Located either side of these structures were a series of large tripartite dwellings, some of which may have housed elite groups. The unusual location of the site, and its close association with the larger settlement of Habuba Kabira, may suggest that Jebel Aruda functioned as a religious and administrative centre for southern Uruk communities located in the surrounding region (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 195-6; Algaze 2005b: 25; Vallet 1998; van Driel 2002: 191-2; van Driel and van Driel-Murray 1983: 6-21).

The development of 'local' Late Chalcolithic settlements during the Uruk 'contact' phase appears to have varied in relation to the degree and nature of contact between south Mesopotamian groups and indigenous Late Chalcolithic communities. The Late Uruk sequence at Arslantepe in Anatolia, for example, charts the development of an indigenous regional centre that was in part influenced by contact with south Mesopotamian cultural traditions. The Level IVA (LC 5) settlement has revealed a complex of four agglutinated monumental public buildings constructed upon series terraces that appear to have been used for various religious, economic and administrative purposes (see Fig 9.6 below; Frangipane and Palmieri 1983: 297-8; Frangipane 1997: 49). The two principal structures from this complex (Temple A and Temple B), although built in different phases, show similarities in their dimensions, plan and architectural features. Notably, these buildings appear to have borrowed elements of south Mesopotamian architectural traditions, which were nevertheless modified for local requirements. Both structures were bipartite in plan (as opposed to the tripartite plan typical of south-Mesopotamian buildings), comprising a large hall flanked on one side by a row of smaller rooms (Frangipane 1997: 53).

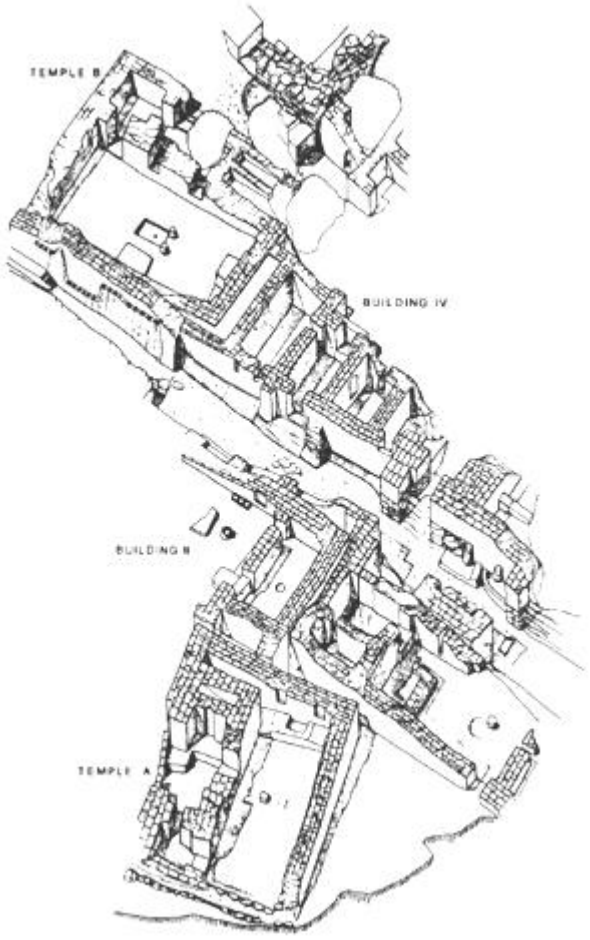

Figure 9.6 Isometric detail of Period VIA public buildings (reproduced from Frangipane 1997: 51. Fig. 2b)

Temple B formed part of a larger multi-functional structure that includes the complex of rooms that make up Building IV (see Fig. 9.7 below), and featured a series of niches that ran along the interior walls of its central hall, a high platform with associated bench and altar, as well as lower platform that originally held in place a wooden feature. In the centre of the hall, two podiums were arranged on the edge of a low rectangular hearth and a number of clay offering tables were scattered on the floor (Frangipane 1997: 53l; Frangipane and Palmieri 1983: 298-300; Palmieri 1981: 101). *In situ* finds recovered from the central room include a number of local and south-Mesopotamian ceramic forms and fifty impressed clay sealings (Frangipane 1997: 56; 63-4). The religious function of Building A is implied by its large central hall, a rectangular basin placed against the end wall between two niches (typical of Mesopotamian altars) as well as a small mud-brick podium or offering table in the centre of the room (see Fig 9.8 below). Finds from this central room include a number of coarse bowls and 'fruit-stands', clusters of animal bones, and a human skull found near the mud-brick basin. The large

quantities of pithoi and other storage vessels from the two side-rooms of this building imply their use as storerooms (Frangipane and Palmieri 1983: 315-21).

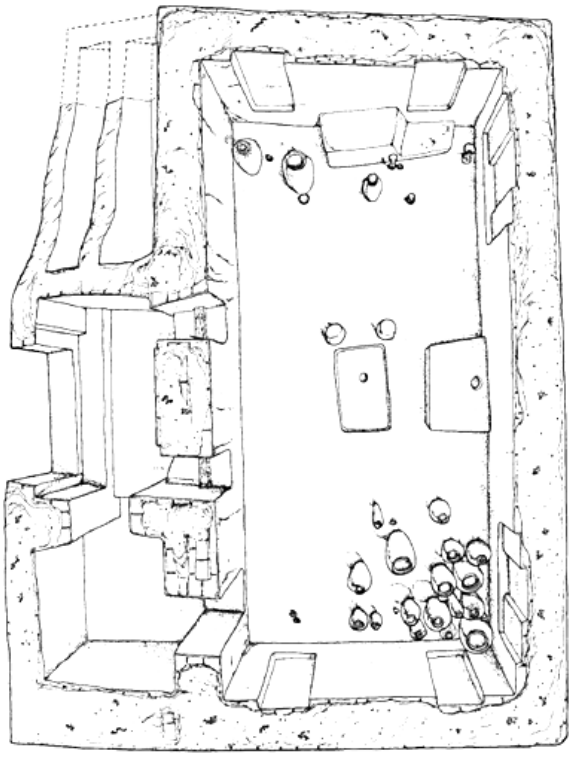

Figure 9.7 Temple B at Arslantepe Period IVA (reproduced from Frangipane 1997: 58. Fig.7.)

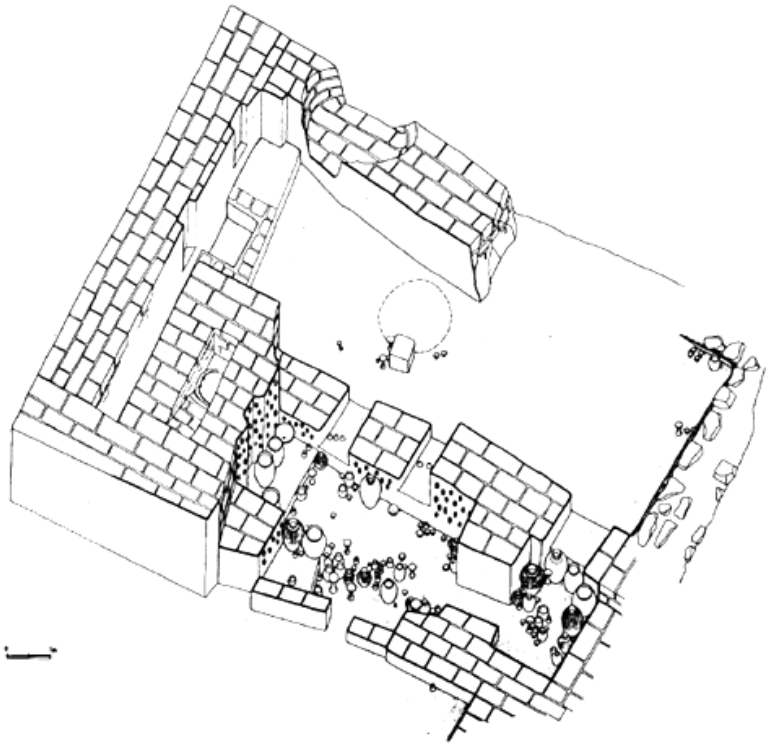

Figure 9.8 Temple A at Arslantepe Period IVA (reproduced from Frangipane 1997: 58. Fig.7.)

Arslantepe Building IV (the 'Palace Complex') featured a monumental entranceway leading to a long internal corridor, which connects to three adjoining rooms. The northern room (A365) of this building appears to have functioned as a storage area as it contained quantities of *in situ* storage vessels of both local and south-Mesopotamian type. The southern room (A340), however, contained 130 impressed sealings alongside hundreds of mass-produced conical bowls (Frangipane 1997: 66; Frangipane and Palmieri 1988/9: 541-2). Wall paintings placed at important access points within Building IV exhibit schematic figurative motifs that include anthropomorphic figures, animals and a 'ceremonial threshing' scene commonly found in south Mesopotamia glyptic iconography (Frangipane 1997: 65-6). Building III was constructed at a later date than Building IV and consists of a two adjoining rooms. The first of these rooms (A113) contained a large number of arsenical copper objects (nine swords, twelve spearheads and a buckle) that were originally suspended on the western wall. The religious function of the second room (A127) is implied by its internal architectural features, which included niched walls, mud-brick bench, clay basins, and a low-podium or offering table with attached hearth (Frangipane and Palmieri 1983: 307- 315; Palmieri 1981: 104).

The late fourth millennium (LC5) settlement at Arslantepe clearly demonstrates a strong continuity with earlier indigenous developments, although a number of architectural features and aspects of material culture betray contact with south Mesopotamian material culture. By way of contrast, excavations at the mid-fourth millennium (LC4) settlement at Hacınebi Tepe have exposed remarkable evidence for the existence of a south Mesopotamian trading colony, which was apparently established amidst a local Late Chalcolithic Anatolian community. The spatial distribution of material culture forms in the B2 'contact' phase occupation at Hacınebi show that the south-western sector of the mound was inhabited by a local Late Chalcolithic community, while the north-eastern area of settlement was home to an economically autonomous 'colony' of south Mesopotamian traders (Stein 1999c: 16; 2001: 285; 2002: 151; Stein and Misir 1996: 112; Stein *et al.* 1996: 222).

While excavations at Tell Brak demonstrate clear evidence for indigenous complexity prior to Uruk 'contact', by the Late Uruk period (LC5) there is significant evidence for

southern Mesopotamian cultural contact at the site, the nature of which, however, remains poorly understood. The Late Uruk 'Eye Temple' at Tell Brak, which followed a succession of three earlier structures (The White Eye Temple, Gray Eye Temple, Red Temple), featured a tripartite plan, buttressed exterior walls and wall cone decorations typical of south Mesopotamian architectural features (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003; 198-9; Algaze 2005b: 40; Oates and Oates 2002; Schwartz 2001: 252). More recent excavations from Area TW (11-13) have also exposed evidence for Late Uruk material culture at the site, which includes domestic architecture featuring '*riemchen*-like' bricks and pear-shaped hearths comparable to those found at Habuba Kabira (Oates and Oates 1993: 171; 1997: 292; Oates 2002: 115; Schwartz 2002: 252).

9.1.3 Aspects of material culture

The material culture of the late fourth millennium BC has for the most part been interpreted in light of ongoing debates surrounding the organisation of production and the scale of inter-regional exchange during the Late Uruk period. The first debate concerns the extent to which state institutions vested control over the production and circulation of goods. An influential model of Uruk economic and political organisation developed by Wright and Johnson (1975) argued that the production of utilitarian goods deemed essential for a functioning political economy (e.g. mass-manufactured ceramic ration containers) were under the centralised control of emerging institutions by the Middle Uruk period. This in turn initiated the development of a system to administer exchange, which can be detected archaeologically in the form of sealing mechanisms, bullae, numerical tablets, and the proto-cuneiform writing system (Wright and Johnson 1975: 280-3, see critical discussion in Pollock 1999: 93; Pollock *et al.* 1996).

Research has linked the mass-production of standardised material culture forms with the specialised division of labour during the Late Uruk period. A drive towards standardisation during this period is typified by ceramic assemblages, such as the initial appearance of Bevelled-Rim Bowls (henceforth BRB's) in southern Mesopotamia and non-bevelled coarse bowls (Wide Flower Pots, Coba Bowls, and Coarse Flint-Scraped Bowls) in northern Mesopotamia and Iran during the Early-Middle Uruk Period. By the Late Middle Uruk (LC4), BRB's and other pottery assemblages typical of South

Mesopotamian ceramic styles (straight, expanded, and ledge rims jars; fine conical bowls) appear across Greater Mesopotamia, occurring both as a distinct assemblage and alongside local chaff-faced wares. By the Late Uruk period existing southern sand-tempered assemblages are supplemented by tall jars with drooping spouts and band-rim bottles (see Fig 9.9 below; Goulder 2010: 352, Table 1; Schwartz 2001: 241-2; Stein *et al.* 1996: 233-9; Wright 2001: 125).

Figure 9.9 Selection of Late Uruk ceramic forms from Jebel Aruda (photograph courtesy of the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities)

The bevelled-rim bowl is a thick-walled, low-fired and mass-manufactured vessels that became widespread throughout Greater Mesopotamia during the Uruk expansion. Unlike contemporary south Mesopotamian ceramic forms, which were now mass produced on the potter's wheel, the production of BRB's was accelerated even further by hand pressing heavy organic tempered clay into either a ground-mould or a freestanding mould (such as an existing BRB; Goulder 2010: 352-2: Nissen 1988: 90). BRB's have been variously interpreted as votive bowls (Beale 1978), or vessels for cheese making (Delougaz 1952) and salt purification (Buccellati 1990). It is notable that copper ore has also been found encrusted in a fragment of a BRB at Hacinebi and in a Coba bowl from Norşuntepe (used as crucibles?; Özbal et al 2000: 60), while the presence of bitumen in BRB's at Hacinebi Tepe and Jerablus Tahtani imply that they were also employed to process and store bitumen (Goulder 2010: 356; Hollander and Schwartz 2000; Peltenburg *et al*. 1996: 3; Stein *et al.* 1996: 216-7; 1999).

While BRBs and similar mould-made bowls were no doubt utilised for a variety of secondary purposes, it remains likely that BRB's had their origins in urban centres as ration containers for the distribution of standardised units of grain (Nissen 1988) or pot-baked bread (Chazan and Lehner 1990; Goulder 2010; Millard 1988). The concentrations of BRB's found close to administrative buildings and areas linked to craft production imply that they were used to issue rations to labourers attached to institutions (Goulder 2010. Table 3). It is also significant that the sign 'to eat' in Late Uruk texts is composed of pictorial representation of a human head and a bowl closely resembling a BRB (Nissen 1988: 84-5). It is also clear, however, that role of BRB's in the centralised feeding of labourers does not fit well with the very small concentrations of BRB's that have been recovered from a number of sites in Greater Mesopotamia (Goulder 2010: 358-9). In addition, the spatial distribution of ceramic wasters at Late Uruk Abu Salabikh indicate that a number of workshops and households were engaged with pottery manufacture. This suggests that at least in some communities ceramic production was not under the exclusive control of central institutions (Pollock *et al.* 1996: 697).

The material culture record of the Late Uruk period has also been widely considered in light of Algaze's interpretation of the Uruk expansion. According to this model, urban centres on the Mesopotamian alluvium were able to transform agricultural surpluses into value-added commodities for export markets (Algaze 2001b: 207-208; 2005a: 12-13; Wengrow 2008: 18). These would have primarily consisted of agricultural and pastoral products that required labour-intensive farming, such as surplus grain, alcoholic drinks, animal fats, oils and unguents, leather products, dried fish, dates, bitumen, and finished textiles (Algaze 2001b: 200, 206-7; Hollander and Schwartz 2000). It was discussed above that documentary evidence and faunal data attests to the large-scale management of caprines and cattle during the Uruk period, which were increasingly exploited for secondary products, such as milk and wool (McCorriston 1997:521 Payne 1988: 108; Pollock 1999: 106-110, Table 4.6 and 4.7). Late Uruk textile production is attested by the presence of awls, needles, spindle whorls and loom weights at many sites (Oates *et al*. 2007: 592-3; Rothman 2001: 387; 2002: 145; 2009: 24; Van Driel 2002: 194), while iconographic sources depict pony tailed figures working at horizontal looms, suggesting that the textile industry was institutionalised and staffed by dependant female labourers (Algaze 2001b: 206; 2005a: 15; 2008: 84).

Algaze (2001b) has suggested that the rapidly developing urban centres of the southern alluvium would have required regular access to external resources such as fine timber and copper implements used as cutting tools (Algaze 2001b: 208). By the Middle-Late Uruk period, southern polities appear to have developed their own metal-producing industries and were importing partially-processed copper ores. At Uruk, installations for smelting metals and numerous un-worked copper lumps have been recorded (Algaze 2001b: 208; 2005b: 75; 2008: 76; Nissen 2002: 10), while at Habuba Kabira-süd there is evidence to suggest that cupellation processes were employed to extract and refine lead and silver from polymetallic ores (Algaze 2008: 76). Copper ingots in the form of axe-heads have also been recovered from a storeroom at Jebel Aruda, and were found alongside several kilos of lapis lazuli (Algaze 2001b: 208; 2005a: 13; 2008:76). Metal objects are also frequently mentioned in the Archaic Texts, and it is notable the pictogram for 'smith' depicts a smelting furnace with attached blowpipes (Algaze 2005a: 13-14; 2008: 77). The desire to procure copper may explain the establishment of a south Mesopotamian colony amidst a pre-existing local Late Chalcolithic community at Hacinebi Tepe, which was evidently an important copper manufacturing centre (Özbal *et al.* 1999).

There is also some evidence to suggest that southern centres continued to import finished prestige items from peripheral regions to satisfy growing consumption demands. A number of gold objects and vessels manufactured from copper and obsidian were recovered below the White Temple in the Anu Ziggurat area of Uruk, whilst copper vessels, disks and furniture mounts; a copper-silver alloy spear-head (probably imported from Anatolia); lapis furniture inlays; as well as gold and silver objects were recovered from the *Riemchengebäude* in the Eanna district at Uruk (Algaze 2001b: 208; 2005b: 75-77; 2008: 74; Collins 2000: 34; Charvát 2002: 102; Forest 1999: 57-72). As flint and chert sources are absent in the southern alluvium, the raw materials for making stone tools also had to be procured from considerable distances (Algaze 2008: 73-4; Pollock *et al.* 1996: 691). It is significant therefore, that Uruk outposts were often situated close to flint sources and featured special function workshops for blade manufacture (Algaze 2008: 74; Edens 1999).

9.2 Long-term trends in funerary consumption c. 6400-3000 cal. BC

In the preceding chapters (3, 5 and 7) the burial data collected for the periods spanning c. 6400-3000 cal. BC was grouped into sets and analysed according to their allocation within a chronological framework that was sub-divided into phases spanning approximately 200 years. These data sets were then organised within three broader phases: Late Neolithic, Late Ubaid and Late Chalcolithic. Following the analysis of the burial data within these three major units of analysis, I provided a detailed, contextual study of particular burial groups based on the broader patterns of burial observed from the data (Chapters 4, 6 and 8). In what follows, the Middle-Late Uruk burial data (c. 3600-3000 cal. BC) will be examined in greater detail against the background of wider social transformations that occurred towards the end of the fourth millennium. In laying the foundations for this discussion, it is worth briefly reiterating some of the long-term patterns in wealth consumption through burials for the entire period under study in this thesis.

Period	Number of Burials	Number of Objects	Average
Period 1: 6400-6200	164	382	2.33
Period 2: 6200-6000	85	80	0.94
Period 3: 6000-5800	41	72	1.76
Period 4: 5800-5600	53	75	1.42
Period 5: 5600-5400	79	90	1.14
Period 6: 5400-5200	72	126	1.75
Period 7: 5200-5000	129	177	1.37
Period 8: 5000-4800	61	73	1.20
Period 9: 4800-4600	42	51	1.21
Period 10: 4600-4400	359	833	2.32
Period 11: 4400-4200	137	98	0.72
Period 12: 4200-4000	62	79	1.27
Period 13: 4000-3800	219	605	2.76
Period 14: 3800-3600	83	457	5.51
Period 15: 3600-3400	35	38	1.10
Period 16: 3400-3200	3	3	1
Period 17: 3200-3000	53	61	0.11
Total	**1677**	**3300**	**1.97**

Table 9.1 Table showing the number of burials and the number of objects recorded between 6400-3000 cal. BC.

Table 9.1 (above) demonstrates that there are three main phases where grave-good consumption increases: Period 1 (proto-Hassuna; 6400-6200 cal. BC); Period 10 (Ubaid 4/Transitional; 4600-4400 cal. BC) and Periods 13 and 14 (Late Chalcolithic 2-3; 4000-3600 cal. BC). When comparing variability in grave-good consumption, chart 9.1 (below) demonstrates that there is much greater variability in the number of grave goods recorded from burials in Period 14 (c. 3800-3600 cal. BC). While outliers and extreme values are present for all periods, it is notable that there is a greater number of cases for Periods 13 and 14, which implies that grave-good consumption was relatively high for certain burials.

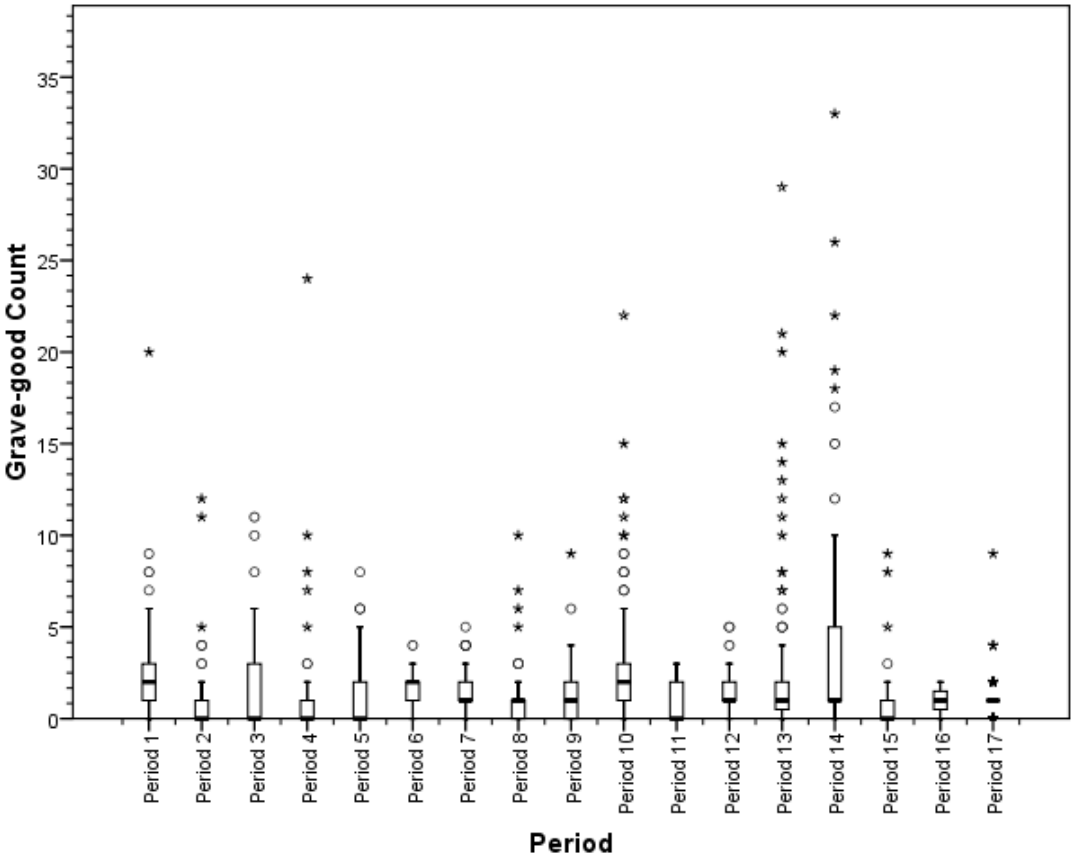

Chart 9.1 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption c. 6400-3000 cal. BC.

The variable nature of recording and analysis for human remains means that any broad survey of age-orientated funerary consumption must be treated as an approximation, and with due caution. The nature and reliability of age-categories is outlined in Chapter 1,

section 1.3.3.3. Nevertheless, the data reveal some potentially interesting patterns when broken down by the relative age groups (see Charts 9.2 to 9.5 below).

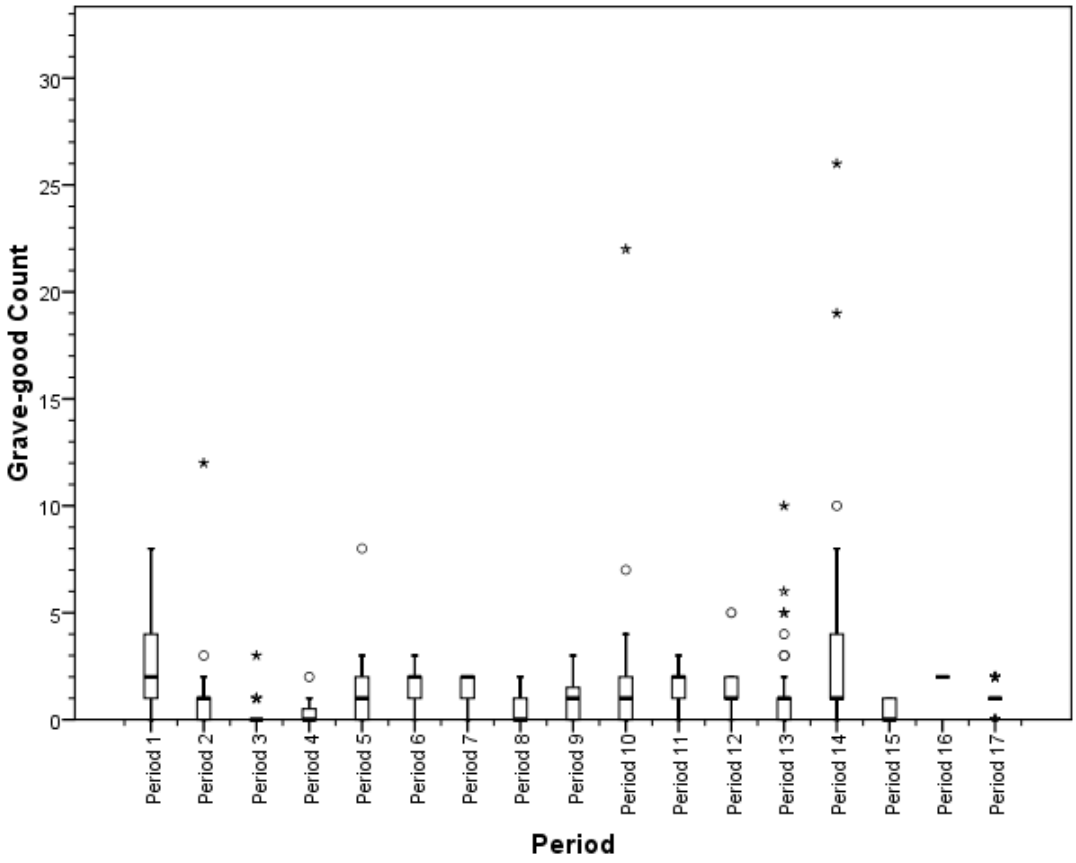

Chart 9.2 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption for infant burials c 6400-3000 cal. BC

For infant burials, chart 9.2 demonstrates that compared to other periods, there is a greater variability in the number of grave-goods recorded in burials for Period 1 (c. 6400-6200 cal. BC) and Period 14 (c. 3800-3600 cal. BC). Notably, there are a greater number of outliers and extreme values present in Period 13 (c. 4000-3800 cal. BC), which suggest that in a small number of cases grave-good consumption was significantly high during this phase.

Chart 9.3 (below) also indicates that variability in the number of grave-goods recorded from child burials was much greater in Period 14 (c. 3800-3600 cal. BC) compared to other periods, and that there are a more cases of outliers and extreme values present for Period 13 (c. 4000-3800 cal. BC), which suggest that grave-good consumption was high for a small number of child burials.

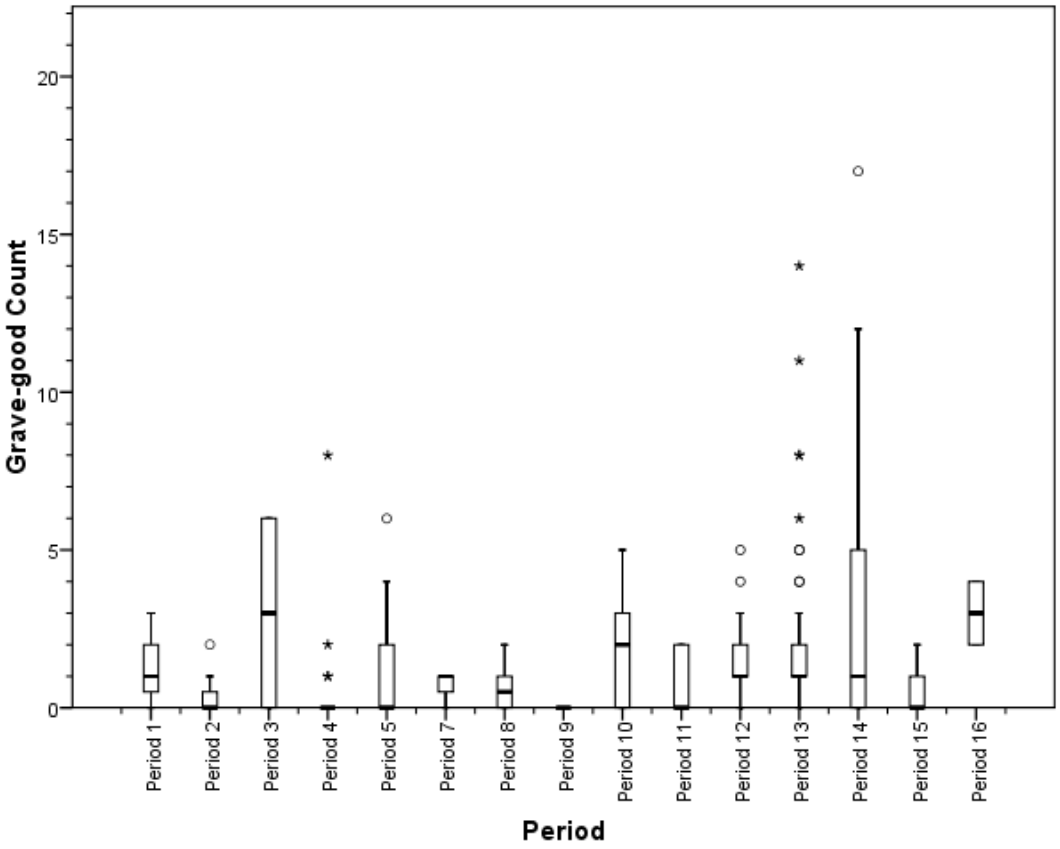

Chart 9.3 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption for child burials c 6400-3000 cal. BC

Due to the limited number of adolescent burials recorded for some periods, it is difficult to compare variation in the scale of funerary consumption for adolescent burials. Nevertheless, chart 9.4 (below) shows that on average, grave-good consumption was relatively high for Period 1 (c. 6400-6200 cal. BC), Period 10 (4600-4400 cal. BC) and Period 13 (4000-3800 cal. BC). The chart also indicates there is much greater variability in grave-good consumption in Period 13 compared to other periods.

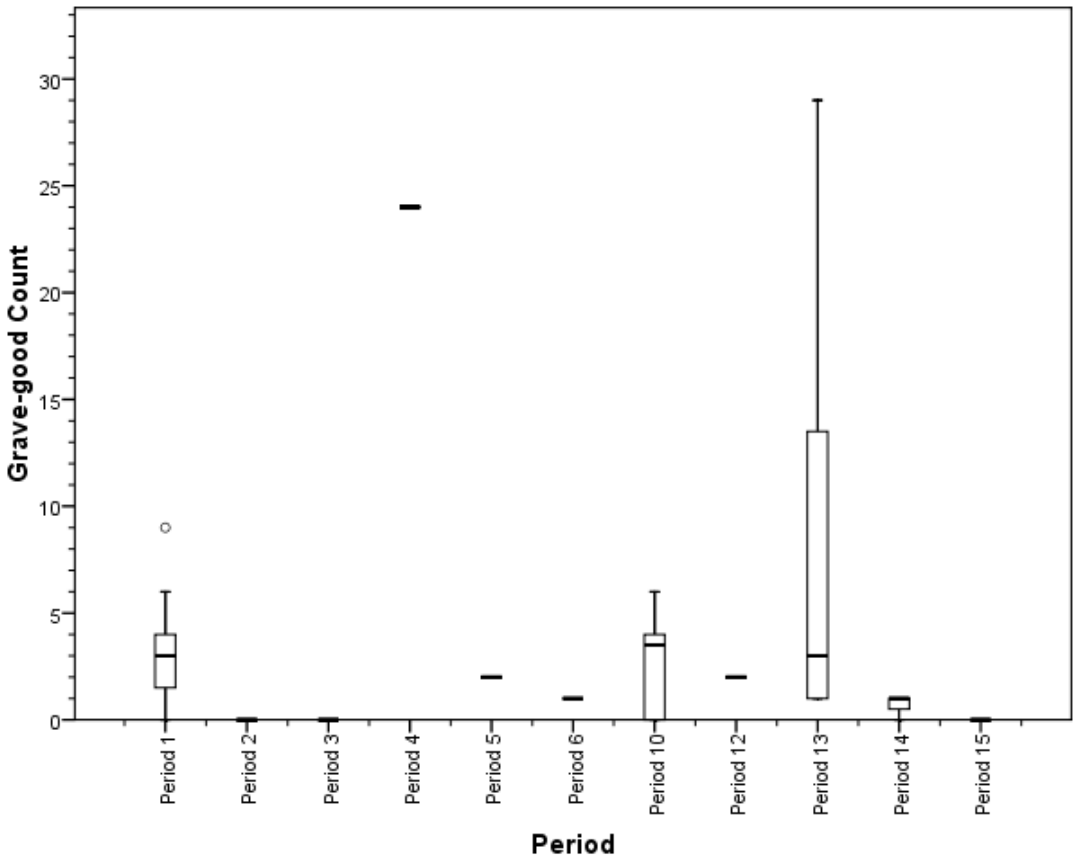

Chart 9.4 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption for adolescent burials c 6400-3000 cal. BC

Following the patterns observed for other age groups, Chart 9.5 (below) clearly shows that variability in the number of grave-goods recorded from adult burials is much greater during Period 13 (c. 4000-3800 cal. BC) and Period 14 (c. 4000-3800 cal. BC) compared to other periods. This is particularly marked in Period 14.

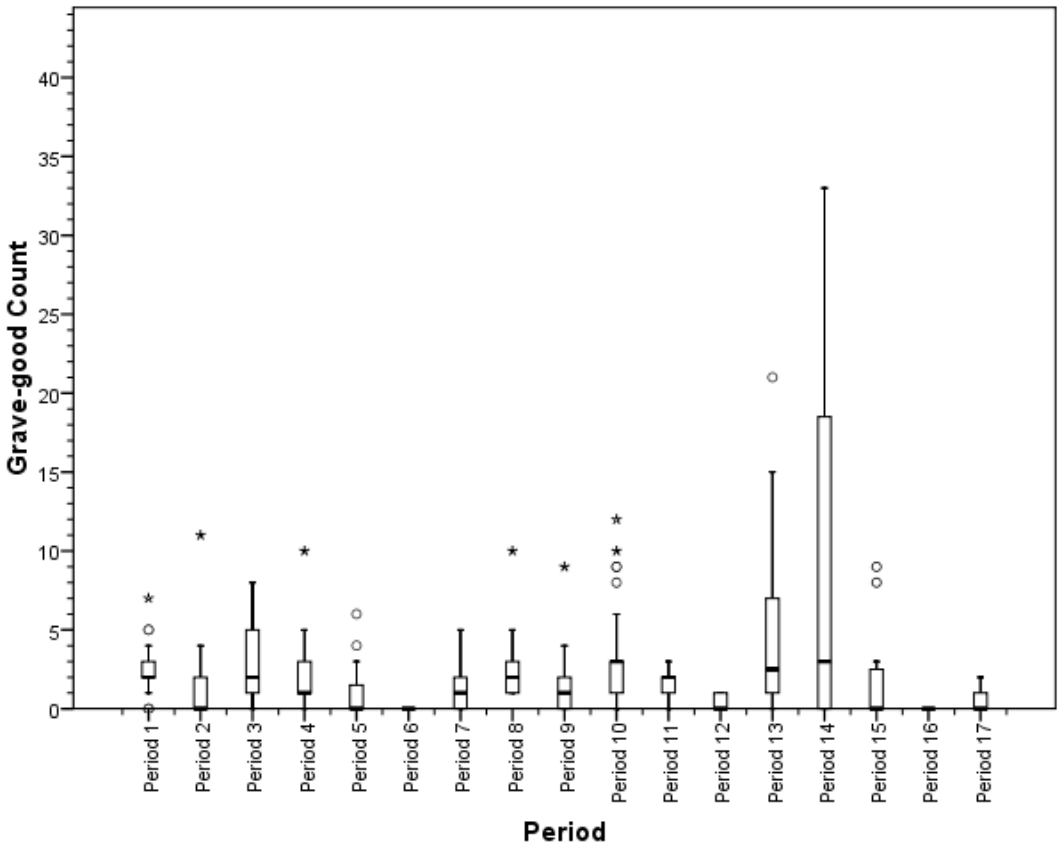

Chart 9.5 Boxplot comparing variation in grave-good consumption adult burials c 6400-3000 cal. BC

Taken as a whole, the data points to three main phases where grave-good consumption increases: Period 1 (proto-Hassuna; 6400-6200 cal. BC); Period 10 (Ubaid 4/Transitional; 4600-4400 cal. BC) and Periods 13 and 14 (Late Chalcolithic 2-3; 4000-3600 cal. BC). The first phase of increased funerary consumption (Period 1; c. 6400-6400 cal. BC) was followed – into the Transitional/pre-Halaf phase (Period 2; c. 6200-6000 cal. BC) – by one of marked decline in wealth consumption through burials (Period 2; see Chapter 3, sections 3.3.2**)**. This phase of decline corresponds with the introduction of sealing mechanisms throughout Upper Mesopotamia, which may have altered customary consumption strategies, as discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2). The second phase of increased funerary consumption (Period 10; 4600-4400 cal. BC; Ubaid 4/Transitional) corresponds to the appearance of communal cemeteries on the margins of settlements in the final stages of the Ubaid period (see discussion in Chapter 6 section 6.1). The third (Periods 13 and 14; 4000-3600 cal. BC; LC2-3) can be attributed to the remarkable accumulation of wealth evident in a select number of burials located

in habitation zones in northern Mesopotamia (Chapter 8, section 8.1). It was demonstrated how the consumption of material wealth in burials was initially restricted to infant and child burials associated with domestic dwellings. Through time, however, funerary consumption was redirected towards the provisioning of ancestral cults. Trajectories of accumulation, reinforced through the provisioning of ancestral cults, were then reversed with the Uruk Expansion (Periods 15-17; c. 3600-3200 cal. BC; Chapter 7, sections 7.2.2). The virtual disappearance of intramural burials from the archaeological record of this latter phase implies that relationships between the living and the dead, as mediated through the treatment of human remains and other forms of material culture, altered significantly towards the end of the fourth millennium.

9.3 From adorned bodies to the absent dead: a social evolutionary anomaly?

The summary statements presented above must always be qualified by the variable quality of recording and analysis for human remains across the many sites and periods covered in this thesis. Some general, and significant, trends nevertheless emerge. Contrary to traditional social evolutionary accounts, the trajectories of accumulation that developed during the early fourth millennium were reversed by the onset of the Urban Revolution, as very few burials are now recorded in the archaeological record. A review of the data presented above (see also Chapter 7, sections 7.2.2) demonstrate that between c. 3600 and 3000 cal. BC there is a marked decline in the number of burials reported in the archaeological record, and in the degree of wealth consumed in burial contexts. It should also be noted that some of the burials recorded for the final stages of the Uruk Period (c. 3200-3000 cal. BC) may be post-Uruk in date (see table 9.8 below).

Only a single Late Uruk burial has been recovered from any of the Uruk ‘enclaves’ in northern Mesopotamia, despite the extensive excavation of sites such as Jebel Aruda and Habuba Kabira South/Tell Qannas. The burial belonged to an adult of advanced age and was dug into a wall of a building at Jebel Aruda. No grave-goods are recorded for this burial (Van Driel and Van Driel-Murray 1983: 19). A single ‘Uruk period’ burial was also excavated at Susa from the Apadana area (Tomb 330), which consisted of a simple inhumation (adult?) accompanied by a spouted ceramic vessel, an alabaster jar,

bitumen bowl, a bitumen phallic-shaped object and a copper disk (Steve and Gasche 1990: 22). The precise date of this latter burial is unclear. A Late Uruk burial found at Jemdet Nasr featured a tightly crouched skeleton accompanied by one pot located at the back as well as a group of five small pots and a stone bowl at the feet (see Fig. 9.10 below). Some of the pots were filled with bivalve shells and had originally been placed in a woven basket or sack (Matthews 1990: 36).

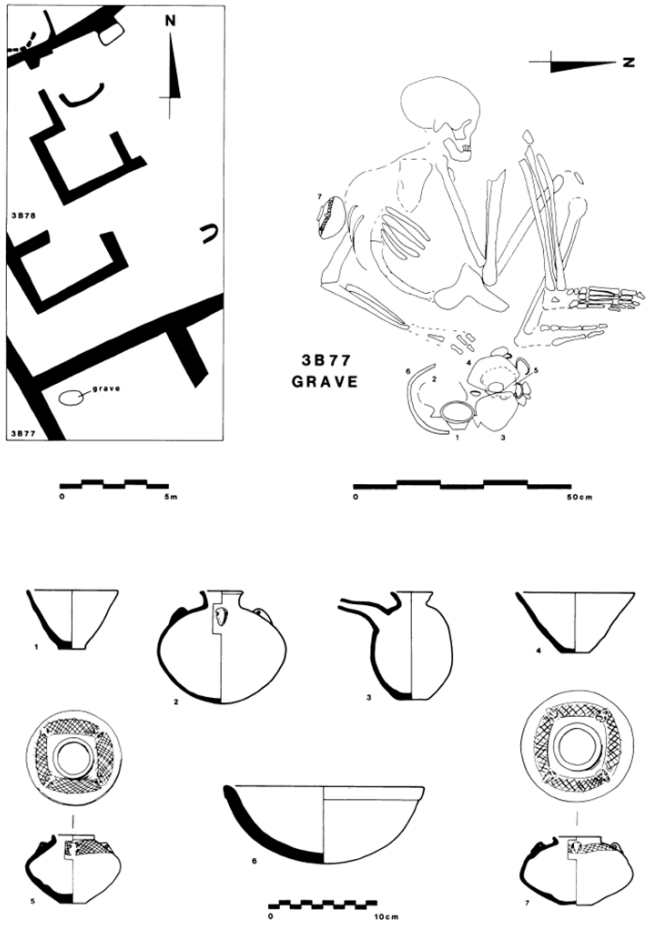

Figure 9.10 Late Uruk period burial from Jemdet Nasr (reproduced from Matthews 1990. Fig. 12).

The remainder of the burials recorded for the Late Uruk period derive from settlements located in the northern sector of the Fertile Crescent and adjoining highlands, which exhibit varying degrees of contact with the southern alluvium. The majority of the burials recorded between 3200-3000 cal. BC were infant burials (n=25) found at the Late Uruk occupation at Samsat in south-eastern Turkey, which has Local Late Chalcolithic and Uruk ceramic forms (Özgüç 1992). The burials were excavated from beneath the floors and walls of houses, and individuals were interred in simple pits and placed in jars covered with plates. It is reported that some of the burials contained grave

goods such as ceramic vessels, limestone beads, pierced animal teeth, and bracelets crafted from obsidian, red-stone and limestone beads (Özgüç 1988: 294). It appears therefore, that in northern Mesopotamia intramural child burials endured during this period.

At Arslantepe, in the Malatya region, an isolated vessel-burial of a child was excavated from a 'disturbed area' dating to period VIA, while two burials - one associated with a 'necklace' and 'armlet' made of shell and stone beads – are reported from Square D5 dating to period VII (Frangipane 1990: 212; 1993). Two sprawled adult skeletons identified as a male and a female were interred in a shallow oval pit accompanied by a burnished bowl at Late Uruk Kurban Höyük in southeast Turkey (Algaze 1990: 32), while a secondary burial (seven disarticulated long bones placed in a pile) has been recorded at the Late Uruk occupation of Jerablus Tahtani on the Middle Euphrates (Peltenburg *et al.* 2000: 58). At Khirbet Hatara in northern Iraq, twelve burials are reported to date between the Late and Final Uruk periods (see table below; Fiorina 1997). It is interesting to note that wealth consumption in the Uruk burials at Khirbet Hatara is most pronounced in two graves, which belong to an infant (T13) and a child (T15). Again, this suggests that elements of earlier fourth millennium burial practices persisted in some regions of northern Mesopotamia.

Burial	Phase	Period	Burial Type	Skeletal Remains	Age	Associated Finds
T 17	Level 2b	Middle Uruk/LC3-4	Pit burial	Poorly preserved remains of an adult(?), crouched on right side, orientated SE-NW	Adult	The body was covered with red ochre pigment
T6	Level 2a	Middle Uruk/LC3-4	Pot burial	Child skeleton, aged 7 years, orientated E-W.	Child	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel covered with a bowl.
T7	Level 2a	Middle Uruk/LC3-4	Pit burial	Adult skeleton, poorly preserved.	Adult	
T3	Level 2a-3a	Middle-Late Uruk	Pot burial	Neonate skeletal remains	Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic vessel covered with a large potsherd.
T5	Level 3b	Late Uruk/LC5	Pit burial	Adult skeleton, orientated E-W.	Adult	Large ceramic vessel
T13	Level 3b	Late Uruk/LC5	Pot burial	Neonate skeletal remains	Infant	Ornament of 2133 beads made primarily from shell, obsidian and carnelian.
T14	Level 3b	Late Uruk/LC5	Pot burial	Neonate skeletal remains	Infant	Skeletal remains placed in ceramic vessel covered with a ceramic bowl.
T15	Level 3b	Late Uruk/LC5	Pot burial	Skeletal remains of a child	Child	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel, and was associated with a decorated vessel, bronze pin, and ornament consisting of 663 shell, obsidian and carnelian beads, and a stone mace head.

T9	Level 3a	Late Uruk/LC5	Pot burial	Neonate skeletal remains	Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic vessel covered by a vessel fragment.
T10	Level 3a	Late Uruk/LC5	Pot burial	Remains of a foetus (?)	Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic vessel covered by a vessel sherd .
T11	Level 3a	Late Uruk/LC5	Pit burial	Adult(?) skeleton, orientated E-W, facing N.	Adult	
T4	Level 3a-3b	Late Uruk/LC5	Pit burial	Poorly preserved fragmentary skeletal remains		
T8	Level 3a-4a	Late-Final Uruk	Pit burial	Adult skeleton	Adult	Ceramic cup by the head
T8	Level 3a-4a	Late-Final Uruk	Pit burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	

Table 9.2 Table showing Uruk period burials excavated at Khirbet Hatara

A number of Late Uruk (LC5) and possible Early Bronze Age burials are reported from Kenan Tepe in southeast Turkey. Based on ceramic parallels, the excavators suggest that the burials recovered from Trench G7 at Kenan Tepe can be dated between the Late Chalcolithic 5 (ca. 3400-3000 BCE) and Early Bronze I (ca. 3000-2800 BCE) periods, and burials from Trench F can be dated to the final phases of Late Chalcolithic Period (LC5 ca. 3400-3000 BCE; Parker *et al.* 2008). Late Uruk burials at Kenan Tepe include complete and fragmentary skeletons that were predominantly interred in simple pits, and all age groups are represented. The few grave-goods associated with these burials include a bronze pin, a cylinder seal and ceramic vessels (see table 9.9 below).

Burial	Phase	Period	Burial Type	Skeletal Remains	Age	Associated Finds	Context
F.7.7200.1	Trench F7 Level 4	LC5	Pit burial	Fragmentary infant skeleton	Infant		Skeleton discovered in a pit lined on the north, east and south sides by three separate mud bricks
Burial F.7.7150.2	Trench F7 Level 4 Phase C or B	LC5	Pit burial	Fragmented adult skeleton in a flexed position	Adult		Area F, Trench F7
Burial F.7.7148.3	Trench F7 Level 4	LC5	Pit burial	Disturbed male skeleton - lower torso and right arm missing	Adult		Area F, Trench F7. Likely to have been disturbed by a later cut
Burial F.7.7221.8	Trench F7 Level 4	LC5	Pit burial	Skeleton was in a flexed position on its left side, orientated east-west and facing south.	Adult	It is possible that the left hand contained copper or bronze objects, which would account why the left hand and left side of the body contained green staining.	Discovered in a mud brick lined pit adjacent to the Phase B buildings. Burial composed of three courses of burnt and un-burnt brick. No evidence of a roof or cover. It is not clear if this was originally a brick-lined pit or a freestanding structure.
Burial F7.7104.1	Trench F7 Level 4	LC5	Pit burial	Fragmentary female skeleton	Adolescent		Area F, Trench F7

Burial F.9.9042.1		LC5	Pit burial	Orientated face down, skeleton flexed with arms folded up and the hands placed by the skull. Poor condition and highly fragmented.	Adult		Area F, Trench F9
Burial F.21.6.8		LC5	Pot burial	Highly fragmented infant skeleton	Infant	Placed in a ceramic vessel	Area F, Trench F21
Burial F22.6.1	Trench F22 Level 1	LC5	Pit burial	Nearly complete articulated skeleton of a young adult, lying on its back with flexed legs and knees rolled to the north.	Adult	A bronze pin with a straight shaft and ball head was uncovered near the legs	Recovered from intersecting pits L6 and L13 from Level 1
Burial F22.6.1	Trench F22 Level 1	LC5	Pit burial	Fragmentary skeleton - possible secondary burial that disturbed Individual 1. Middle aged to older adult.	Adult	Fragments of a pedestal base with vertical burnish, carinated bowl with simple rim and a fine ware plain rim bowl with corrugated exterior were recovered inside the first burial pit.	Recovered from intersecting pits L6 and L13 from Level 1
Burial F. 19.4.1	Trench F 19 Level 1	LC5	Pit burial	Heavily disturbed. Fragmentary remains. Middle aged to older adult.	Adult		Area F Trench F 19
		LC5	Pit burial	Fragmentary remains of a child	Child	Mud, brick debris, pottery fragments and a cylinder seal was placed in the pit alongside the skeletal remains.	Child remains placed in pit L2042, which cut into both the plaster surface and niche/platform of a Phase B structure.
Burial G.7.25.5		LC5-EBI	Pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel	Area G
Burial G.7.28.6		LC5-EBI	Pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel	Area G
Burial G.7.38.2		LC5-EB1	Pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton buried in a ceramic vessel	Area G

Table 9.3 Table showing Late Uruk period (and possibly Early Bronze Age) burials excavated at Kenan Tepe

The scarcity of burials from Late Uruk contexts, particularly in the southern alluvium and from Uruk 'enclaves', has been noted by a number of researchers (Algaze 2008: 162; Charvát 2002: 151; Frangipane 2007/8: 174; Hole 1989: 176; Pollock 1992: 298; 1999: 204). Nevertheless, the circumstances behind the declining number of on-site burials recovered from the archaeological record remains poorly understood. This

paucity of burials during the foremost phases of Urban Expansion is especially intriguing, given that early urban centres are likely to have endured intensified mortality rates as a result of crowding, the absence of strict sanitation measures, and increased infection rates (Algaze 2008: 29). Whereas the scarcity of burials for the Late Uruk period has yet to be explained, it has recently been suggested that the rarity of imported exotic goods reported from Late Uruk contexts may be related to the sparse burial record, as such goods tend to be recovered from graves (Algaze 2008: 98-9). In light of the foregoing analysis, this assertion seems too simplistic.

In drawing this thesis to a close, I will seek to relate the relative absence both of intramural burials and prestigious grave-goods to a wide range of social and economic processes that set southern Mesopotamian centres apart from those of adjacent regions, and contributed to the intensification of interregional trade during the late fourth millennium BC. In particular, I will argue that the large scale mobilisation of labour and capital was made possible by a series of interrelated social transformations that engendered a separation between persons and objects, as human labour and commodities became increasingly substitutable and subjected to forms of bureaucratic surveillance and control. I believe that an important part of this process concerned the dissolution of earlier ties established between the living, the dead, and the world of goods. The exclusion of the dead from the space of the living, placing them beyond the margins of urban habitation zones, may well have been an important feature of urban genesis during the fourth millennium BC. Recent salvage excavations at Tell Majnuna, a 2-3 hectare funerary mound located in the suburban zones surrounding the main mound of Tell Brak, may provide support for this notion. Current evidence suggests that during the Late Chalcolithic 3 period – a time of rapid urban growth at Tell Brak (Oates *et al.* 2007; Ur *et al.* 2007) – the entire mound of Majnuna was devoted to the discard of household waste and human remains (McMahon and Oates 2007: 157).

Initial salvage excavations at Majnuna in area MTW revealed evidence for the dumping of fleshed and partly de-fleshed individuals in an open refuse area alongside large quantities of waste, ash and animal bones (McMahon and Oates 2007: 157-158). Further excavations in area MTW revealed mass graves containing disarticulated and semi-disarticulated human remains (including groups of skulls) that were deposited over a layer of vessel sherds (perhaps to aid drainage of the human remains). Above this

dense layer of skeletal remains large quantities of disarticulated animal bones were recovered (mixed in with some human remains and ceramics) followed by deposit containing hundreds of ceramic vessels (the majority of which were open serving/eating vessels such as shallow mass-produced plates). The excavators suggest that the depositional sequence for area MTW is suggestive of a mass interment followed by feasting activities (McMahon and Oates 2007:159). Further mass-burials were found in area EM and EMS, where a clump of disarticulated human (mostly crania) and animal remains were found; and in area EME, where thirteen articulated skeletons were recovered (McMahon and Oates 2007:160-161). The skeletal material indicates that in all contexts the remains of at least 67 individuals have been found at Majnuna, including adults, adolescents and children. Interestingly, no infant burials (as defined by the excavators) have been recorded. It is clear from the skeletal remains that bodies were exposed for some time before being transported in an advanced state of decay and dumped in large-scale burial pits. Considering that only a small proportion of the pits have been explored, it is likely that the remains of some hundreds of individuals were interred on the mound (McMahon and Oates 2007: 161-163).

It has been suggested that the mass-burials at Majnuna represent the remains of a massacre (McMahon and Oates 2007: 163), an argument the appears to be based on the demographic range of the individuals interred and the disregard accorded to individual bodies (prolonged exposure, disarticulation, mass dumping of bodies alongside domestic 'waste'). However, it is clear that apart from infants, all age ranges are represented in the skeletal sample. In addition, contemporary intramural infant burials have been found at the main mound at Brak, suggesting that infants were accorded distinct funerary treatments, consistent with the wider patterns of burial at this time. It is also clear that not all bodies were disarticulated and carelessly dumped at Majnuna. In area EME, it is significant that a number of fully articulated bodies were found. While any conclusions must await further publication of the data from Tell Majnuna, it might be considered that the pattern of burial deposition reported there reflects a wider phenomenon of the late fourth millennium BC; the removal of the dead beyond the physical margins of emerging urban habitation centres. Moreover, as I go on to discuss, the apparent disregard for the integrity of individual bodies following mortuary and feasting events may be symptomatic of changing perceptions of personhood in early cities as the dynamics of social interaction altered considerably.

9.4 Capital accumulation and changing conceptions of objects and persons during the Uruk Expansion

A central tenet of Algaze's account of the Uruk Expansion is that the development of export-driven economies in southern Mesopotamia was made possible by 'the emergence and rapid diffusion of innovative mechanisms of commodity production, labour control, and information processing' (Algaze 2001b: 200). He suggests that these innovations were essentially 'ideational', as they were dependent upon a 'new paradigm of the nature of social relations in human societies' (Algaze 2001b: 210-2), which included a significant shift in conception and classification of persons and goods. The development and dissemination of 'ideational technologies' throughout urban centres allowed otherwise complex socio-cultural practices to be regulated and made legible by emerging institutions, so that they can be recorded, measured, monitored and controlled (Yoffee 2005: 92). In the material realm, object forms underwent processes of simplification and standardisation that typically accompany mass production techniques and the development of large-scale economies (Wengrow 2001: 181; 2006: 151).

This process is most clearly exemplified in the standardisation of ceramic forms, which can be traced back to the simplification of pottery designs and the intensification of household production during the fifth millennium BC. By the fourth millennium, the widespread dissemination of mass-produced vessel forms is testament to the routinisation of commensality and consumption in early cities (Bernbeck and Pollock 2002: 192-9; Wengrow 2001: 171: 2006: 151-2; see discussion in section 9.1.3). Termed the 'evolution of simplicity' by Wengrow (2001: 182; 2006: 151-2), the simplification and standardisation of material culture forms worked to divest the practices of every-day life from their social and symbolic meanings. This tendency towards simplification and standardisation in material culture forms was underpinned by evolving modes of bureaucratic control, including the development of the proto-cuneiform writing system (c. 3300 BC), which used to regulate the classification of products (including human labour) into quantifiable units. Administrative texts, which make up around 80% of the surviving corpus, account for expenditures, receipts and the

storage of animals and other goods, while lexical lists exemplify the use of standardised systems of classification for professions, types of animals and various categories of goods and materials (Nissen *et al.* 1993; Pollock 1999: 164).

It may be inferred that goods, animals and human beings in turn had to undergo a degree of standardisation so that they could be compared and quantified, although this process may have been contested (Nissen *et al.* 1993: 14; Wengrow 2010: 83). Through written evidence and seal iconography – the principal surviving media of surveillance and administration – it is possible to detect a profound transformation in human social relations during the late fourth millennium BC. The Archaic Texts point towards the identification of people by social categories, professions or titles, thereby emphasising anonymity over personal characteristics, individual identity and kin affiliation (K. Wright 2007: 216; 227). A marked shift in gender concepts may also be detected in documentary evidence and iconographic sources. Whereas prominent male figures are described as performing a multiplicity of roles and activities, or portrayed in positions of authority and power (ritual tasks, hunting, armed force), female figures are shown in groups fulfilling monotonous tasks such as weaving and potting (Asher-Greve 2008: 128-9; Bernbeck and Pollock 2002: 187-8; Campbell 2008: 55; Nissen *et al.* 1993: 74; Pollock 1999: 102-3; Pollock and Bernbeck 2000: 157-160, 163; K. Wright 2007: 217, 229).

Female representation prior to the urban expansion emphasised social reproduction and the importance of lineage identity, kinship, and motherhood (e.g. scenes of procreation and nurturing infants). By the Late Uruk period, women are portrayed as sexless anonymities engaged in identical tasks such as the production of commodities (Bernbeck and Pollock 2002: 191; K. Wright 2007: 229; 235; see fig. 9.11 below). It has been suggested by K. Wright (2007: 229; 235) that the suppression and decline of imagery portraying female reproductive capacities by the Late Uruk period is likely to reflect the subordination of traditional kin-based household lineages at the expense of a corporate identity, which was now shaped by relationships of dependency with emerging institutions. The documentary and iconographic evidence therefore suggest that the development of large scale economies during the Uruk period involved a marked shift of emphasis from female reproduction to production, and from kin-group to occupational group membership (K. Wright 2007: 229; 235).

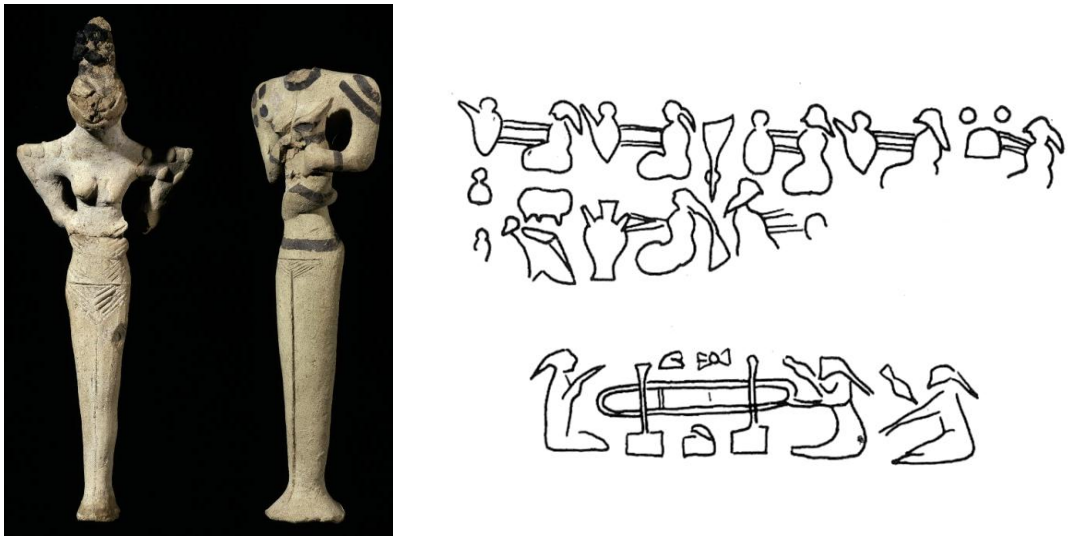

Figure 9.11 Contrasting representations of women in Ubaid figurines and Late Uruk seal iconography (photograph courtesy of The British Museum; reproduced from Pollock and Bernbeck 2000; fig. 13.2)

In the realm of human social relations, the concept of human capital was refined through the labours of bureaucracy by establishing a measure of equivalence between categories of persons and commodities. As Algaze points out, textual sources indicate that by the end of the Uruk Period captive labourers were grouped within age and sex categories identical to those used to classify state-owned cattle, and following barley, the most frequently mentioned commodity listed in the Archaic Texts was the sign used to denote female slaves (Algaze 2001b: 212; Englund 1998: 176-81). That individuals were subjected to forced labour, perhaps through military conquest, is indicated by pictographic signs for captives or slaves, in addition to the scenes of bound captives depicted on the Late Uruk cylinder seals (Asher-Greve 2008: 121; Nissen *et al.* 1993: 16; 74; Zagarell 1986: 416). By extending bureaucratic control over both objects and persons, Uruk institutions were increasingly able to extract and organise labour in a manner that would benefit the co-development of specialist export economies, where raw material was transformed through lengthened chains of manufacture into value-added goods (Algaze 2001b: 212; 2005a: 22). In this manner, skilled workers added value to labour-intensive organic commodities, which were produced and graded according to their constituent materials, ingredients and labour (Englund 1998; Wengrow 2008: 18-9; 2010a: 79; 2010b: 20).

I would suggest that the expulsion of the dead from the context of the living by the late fourth millennium BC was also part of this shift in the perception and categorisation of persons and objects, one which had unprecedented consequences for human social relations. By severing close physical relationships between the living and the dead, urban centres were able to destabilize the transmission of wealth within kin-based descent groups and subvert kin-affiliation in favour of a corporate identity, shaped by production within, and service to, emerging urban institutions (cf. Bernbeck and Pollock 2002; 190-191; Frangipane 2007a/8: 174; K. Wright 2007: 229, 235). The aesthetic deprivation of the dead may also have been a means by which urban centres created exclusionary categories of non-persons, as human labour and commodities - now divested of their individual life histories and identity - became increasingly substitutable and subjected to forms of bureaucratic surveillance and control.

To be clear, I am not arguing that the profound social changes evident across Mesopotamia during the late fourth millennium BC can simply be explained as a transition from morally sanctioned trajectories of accumulation, centred upon transactions with the ancestral dead, to a system of impersonal commerce motivated by profit (cf. Appadurai 1986: 118; Fotiadis 1990: 386-9; Gell 1992; Parry and Bloch 1989: 9; Rowlands 1986: 745; 1998: 229). It would be misleading to interpret this transition as one characterised by the development of a 'secular' economy that stripped goods of the cultural baggage that restricted their circulation in earlier periods. Instead, I am proposing that by the late fourth millennium, and perhaps even earlier in southern Mesopotamia, the moral parameters regulating acquisitive practices underwent a significant process of cultural reconfiguration and dislocation, from the bodies of the dead to those of the divinities and other superhuman beings, whose images – mechanically impressed with cylinder seals – now marked and authenticated the surfaces of commodity containers and of the documents through which their circulation was monitored. I expand on this later proposal by way of conclusion.

10 Conclusion

> In the potlatch case the intermediary is fire and this destroys the gifts; but in the Papuan case the intermediary is the Church and it symbolically destroys the money by ensuring that it does not get back to the donors. Thus the Church, by modifying the traditional gift exchange system, has perpetuated a ranking system of clans and men that enabled it to accumulate assets for the Church without incurring liabilities, that is, to accumulate capital.
>
> (Gregory 1980: 647).

During the late fourth millennium BC, the moral parameters regulating the flow of commodities in southern Mesopotamia were redefined, as a share of accumulated wealth was increasingly made to pass through new types of ritual institution. The ideological foundation of this process is hinted at in contemporary iconography, which is perhaps best represented by the famous scenes carved upon the alabaster surfaces of the 'Warka Vase'. Discovered in a temple hoard in the Eanna precinct at Uruk (Eanna III; c. 3000 BC), the meter-tall vase was crafted at some point towards the end of the fourth millennium BC (see Fig 10.1 below). Its decoration is sub-divided into five registers separated by horizontal bands, the lowest of which contain depictions relating to the productivity of the alluvial landscape; a series of horizontal wavy lines representing water, above which is a register showing a succession of two alternating varieties of flora, thought to represent barley and flax (Bahrani 2002: 16; Nissen 1988: 104-5; Pollock 1999: 189; Winter 2007: 125-131). Directly above this register is a scene portraying a procession of alternating rams and ewes, which, as Bahrani (2002: 16) points out, are intended to emphasise the male and female aspects of reproduction. The middle register on the vase depicts a procession of nude men, each carrying a vessel or basket filled with produce.

The figures are identical besides the vessels they carry, which include shallow bowls (including a possible bread mould?) a spouted vessel that presumably contains a liquid (beer?), and baskets filled with two types of good (possibly dates – see Winter 2007: 129). The effect of this similarity between the human figures, according to Bahrani (2002: 16), is a 'rhythmic repetition across the body of the vase', one which is reinforced by the repetitive depiction of animals and plants in lower registers.

Moreover, the human figures and the succession of animals are portrayed facing in opposite directions, accentuating a circular motion across the surface of the vase (Bahrani 2002: 17).

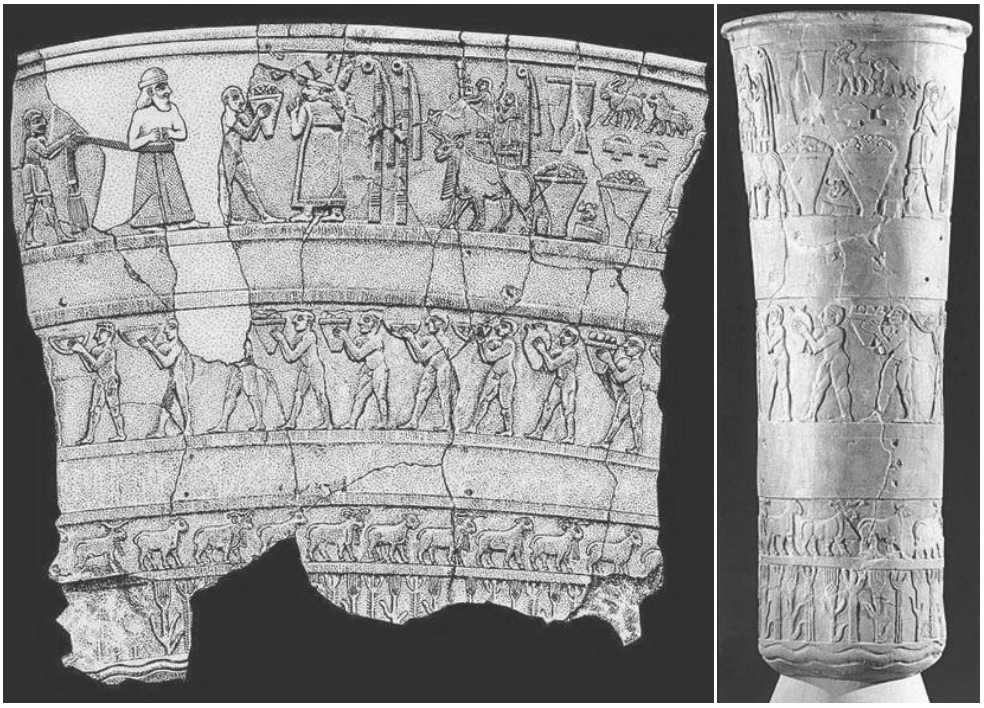

Figure 10.1 The 'Warka Vase', Late-Uruk/Jemdet Nasr Period (images courtesy of the Yale University Library)

The uppermost register contains a prominent figure in a net skirt accompanied by an attendant who is shown carrying part of a garment (presumably part of the net skirt worn by the former). Since this part of the vessel was broken in antiquity, the upper portion of the larger figure is lost, but is widely reconstructed as depicting an important male frequently portrayed in contemporary cylinder seal iconography. This figure, often described as the 'priest-king', is typically depicted as a bearded male wearing a belted 'net' skirt and a round headdress. In contemporary iconography, he is portrayed in scenes performing a variety of important tasks; such as the hunting and mastering of wild animals (lions and bulls); feeding and protecting flocks of livestock; presiding over cultivation (sitting on threshing sledges pulled by oxen); as a warrior engaged in combat and standing before bound captives; as a central collector (shown pooling goods delivered by producers and artisans); and as a bearer of gifts to religious institutions associated with the goddess Inanna (see Fig 10.1 below; Asher-Greve 2008: 125-127; Schmandt-Besserat 1993).

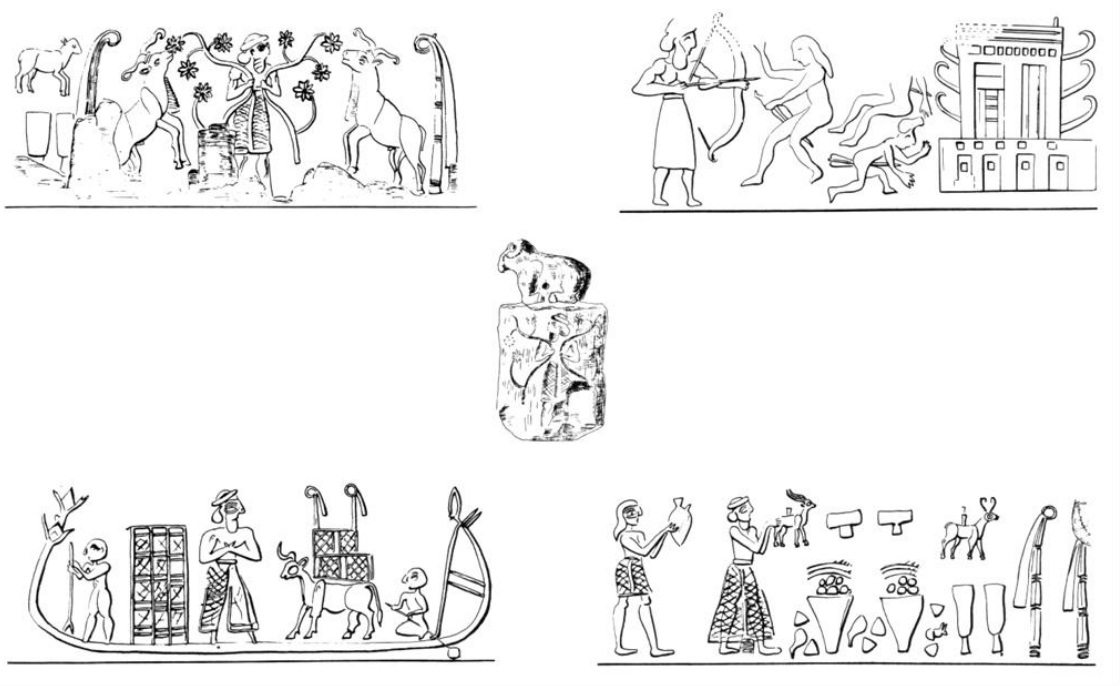

Figure 10.2 Late Uruk cylinder seal iconography depicting the various roles performed by an enigmatic bearded figure (reproduced from Wengrow 2008. Fig 7.)

On the Warka Vase, this important figure is shown standing behind a nude male (identical to those depicted in the middle register) who is presenting an offering of produce to a female figure wearing a long gown and a headdress. The latter has been interpreted as representing the goddess Inanna of Uruk. Directly behind the female figure are two poles representing the reed doorposts associated with the temple of the goddess Inanna. Behind these poles is a large ram, directly above which are two small figures on platforms besides a further reed pole, perhaps representing cult statues on altars. Following the large ram are two vessels resembling those carried by the nude male figures of the middle register, above which stands a pair of vessels resembling the shape of Warka Vase itself, two small figures depicting a goat and a lion, and two enigmatic objects (Baharani 2002: 16-18; Nissen 1988: 104-5; Pollock 1999: 189; Winter 2007: 125-131).

Winter (2007:131) has suggested that the iconography of the Warka Vase should be understood as representing a ceremonial offering, in the form of a reciprocal transaction made 'back *to* the goddess of the fruits of her proffered abundance, manifest in the previous harvest'. The uppermost register would then portray an offering scene, where the abundance of the land is presented on behalf of a prominent individual as a gift to

the goddess Inanna, who presides over a temple storehouse filled with commodities. In concluding this thesis, I now review and comment upon some general (and hypothetical) reconstructions of the relationship between religion, ritual, and economy in Uruk-period Mesopotamia in light of the foregoing study.

Liverani (2006: 61) has recently speculated that by the Late Uruk period, temple institutions dominated most aspects of the urban economic and political system in Mesopotamia. According to Liverani's model, urban centres in the southern alluvium were essentially redistributive states where surplus labour was extracted by a public sector attached to temple institutions. Although the productive sector of the economy received practically nothing in return for their labour, they were essentially 'free' in an economic sense, as they maintained control over their means of production. The personnel attached to institutions, on the other hand, were fully integrated into the redistributive system since they relied entirely on state administered redistribution for sustenance (Liverani 2006: 62). Within this system, the capacity to extract and mobilize labour was facilitated by a religious ideology that asserted the importance of presenting offerings to deities in return for the maintenance of social reproduction (such as good health or bountiful harvests) and the positive value of complementary social roles (i.e. inequality; Liverani 2006: 64-5). According to Liverani (2006: 64), this ideological system served as 'a symbolic sublimation of the more generalized mechanism of centralized redistribution' and helped justify the marked imbalance of social roles within early state societies (2006: 64).

By way of contrast, Frangipane (2001) downplays the economic importance of temple institutions by arguing that the Late Uruk economic system was characterised by conflicting socioeconomic units, which comprised of public institutions (such as temple estates) and private corporate groups (such as elite households; Frangipane 2001: 312). She supports her position primarily with reference to the surviving corpus of administrative materials (sealings, bullae, numerical tablets) and mass produced bowls recovered from Late Uruk 'public areas' in addition to 'private' domestic contexts. At Jebel Aruda and Susa, for example, the presence of administrative materials and mass produced bowls in domestic contexts suggest that private households were engaged in the management of resources and labour on a large-scale (Frangipane 2001: 312). Frangipane also points out, however, that large storehouses are absent from public

buildings of the late fourth millennium, implying that these institutions had very little control over the flow of goods produced from the surrounding hinterland. While central institutions were unable to extract goods from producers, she suggests that they were able to increase their own resources by extracting labour.

According to Frangipane (2000) this hypothesis is supported by the types of economic transactions recorded in the Archaic Texts; the vast quantities of mass-produced bowls used to distribute rations/meals to labourers; and the concentrations of sealings found in 'public' areas that imply administrative control over *outgoing* goods (i.e. redistribution and not revenues in the form of offerings; Frangipane 2001). That similar artefact assemblages have been found in private houses suggests that the resources controlled by both central institutions and private sectors were primarily invested to reward workers (Frangipane 2001). Frangipane's argument rests to a considerable extent on the corpus of sealings recovered from a public/temple complex at Arslantepe, in eastern Turkey. According to Frangipane (2001), the large numbers of different impressions found on the Arslantepe sealings suggest that seals were not applied by personnel attached to central institutions, but by those individuals who withdrew goods or rations from institutions (a notion supported by the large quantities of mass produced bowls found in association with sealings; Frangipane 2001: 314-5). Alternative explanations remain possible, however. Could the seals not have been applied by those offering tribute or donations to sacred institutions, and the sealings kept by institutions as a record of those who have provided offerings?

The latter suggestion was proposed by D'Altroy (2001), who considers whether Uruk-period temples were erected through elite or corporate group sponsorship, and by extension, whether sealings concentrated around religious institutions speak more of collaborative ventures or group contributions rather than extractions (D'Altroy 2001: 468). While certain urban institutions were clearly able to mobilize tribute in the form of goods and labour, the available evidence suggests that religious institutions primarily received tribute in the form of ritual offerings. It is significant, in this context, that elements of the iconographic content of the Warka Vase, discussed earlier, also occur on other media (see Fig 10.3 below). Brandes (1986: 55), for example, has remarked upon the striking similarity between depictions on the Warka Vase and contemporary cylinder seal iconography, leading him to suggest that the seals in question were

specifically manufactured for the important ceremonial occasions portrayed upon their surface.

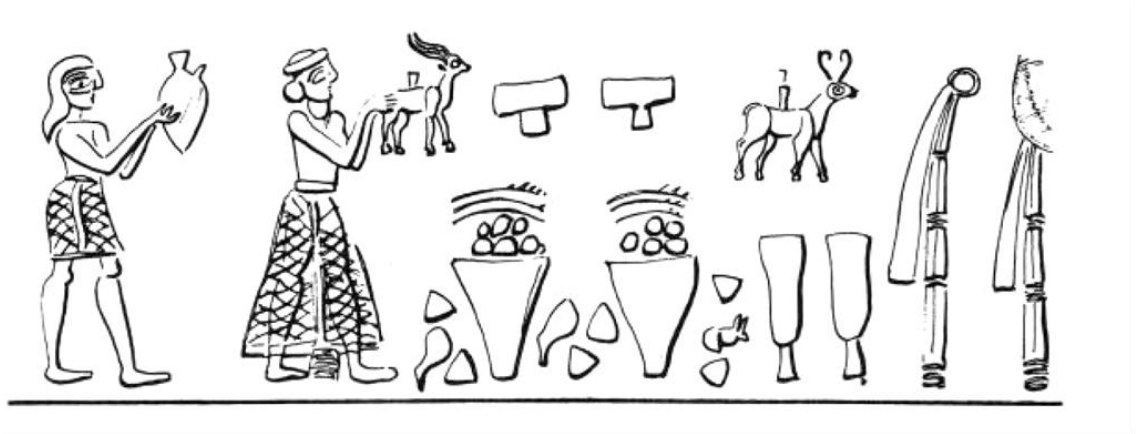

Figure 10.3 Late Uruk cylinder seal iconography depicting scenes of offering (reproduced from Wengrow 2008. Fig 7.)

It might then be argued that powerful household or corporate groups of the kind evident from the archaeological evidence at Jebel Aruda and Susa donated a small portion of their accumulated wealth to sacred institutions, as a means of guaranteeing cosmological legitimisation for individual acquisitive endeavours (cf. Parry and Bloch 1989). Furthermore, the possibility that a redistributive economy existed at Arslantepe need not imply that such as system was characteristic of all early urban institutions. It is likely that the economic organization of Arslantepe, a small regional centre, was different both in scale and kind from the economic systems of large urban centres located on the southern alluvium, such as at Uruk. In fact, it may be misleading to assume that a single mode of socio-economic organization predominated throughout the Greater Mesopotamian region during the late fourth millennium BC. What may be minimally assumed from the surviving pictorial evidence is that a portion of accumulated resources, obtained both through long-distance exchange and local manufacture, were publically presented as passing through sacred institutions in the form of tribute and offerings to the gods.

Some of the commodity types that flowed through sacred institutions may be inferred from the contents of the so-called *Riemchengebäude*, a building that is thought to date to one of the Level IV phases of the Eanna precinct at Uruk (see Fig 10.4 below). The

Riemchengebäude is an enigmatic structure that was sunk into a huge pit (18 x 20m in area) that cut into the north corner of the *Steinstifttempel* (Stone Cone Temple). The structure featured an inner rectangular chamber surrounded on all sides by corridors, and, on the south-east side, by a further room. The central chamber bore traces of burning (of a substance that turned the walls red) and contained a number of objects (stone and ceramic vessels, animal bones, obsidian blades and cores, fragments of relief, gold objects) that were intentionally deposited, before being covered with bitumen. The surrounding corridors were literally packed with goods, filling the corridors to a height of 75cm. This deposit was then covered with layers of matting and bitumen, the corridors filled-in with clean earth, and its doors blocked up. The impressions left by vessels in the plastered walls imply that the plaster was still wet when these good were deposited.

The items recovered from this context include at least 316 storage jars and other vessel forms; textiles (some of which were stored in inlaid wooden chests); animal remains; copper vessels; a copper disk; furniture inlays made from lapis and other semi-precious stones; alabaster vessels; a larger than life-size anthropomorphic gypsum sculpture (a cult statue?); a gold earring; batches of arrowheads; maces; lithic blades (77 made of flint, 74 of rock crystal); a copper-silver alloy spear-head (probably imported from Anatolia); terracotta pegs; gold foil; nails with gilt heads; and copper furniture mounts (originally placed on wooden rods; Charvát 2002: 102; Collins 2000: 34; Forest 1999: 57-72). This structure and its unusual contents has been variously interpreted as a cellar of a temple where precious goods were stored (Forest 1999) or as a storeroom for nearby temples (Nissen 1988: 103). An earlier hypothesis advanced by the original excavator suggested that *Riemchengebäude* and its contents may instead represent the deliberate ritual burial of cultic objects or temple offerings (Lenzen 1958; see also Forest 1999). Alternatively, the *Riemchengebäude* and its contents may represent the ritual abandonment of a cult building, which required a sacrificial offering as part of its closure. Regardless of the exact interpretation of this enigmatic context, the objects amassed in the *Riemchengebäude* clearly attest to the abundance and variety of exotic commodities that were deposited within sacred institutions by the Late Uruk period, for reasons that cannot be adequately described in terms of economic gain-and-loss.

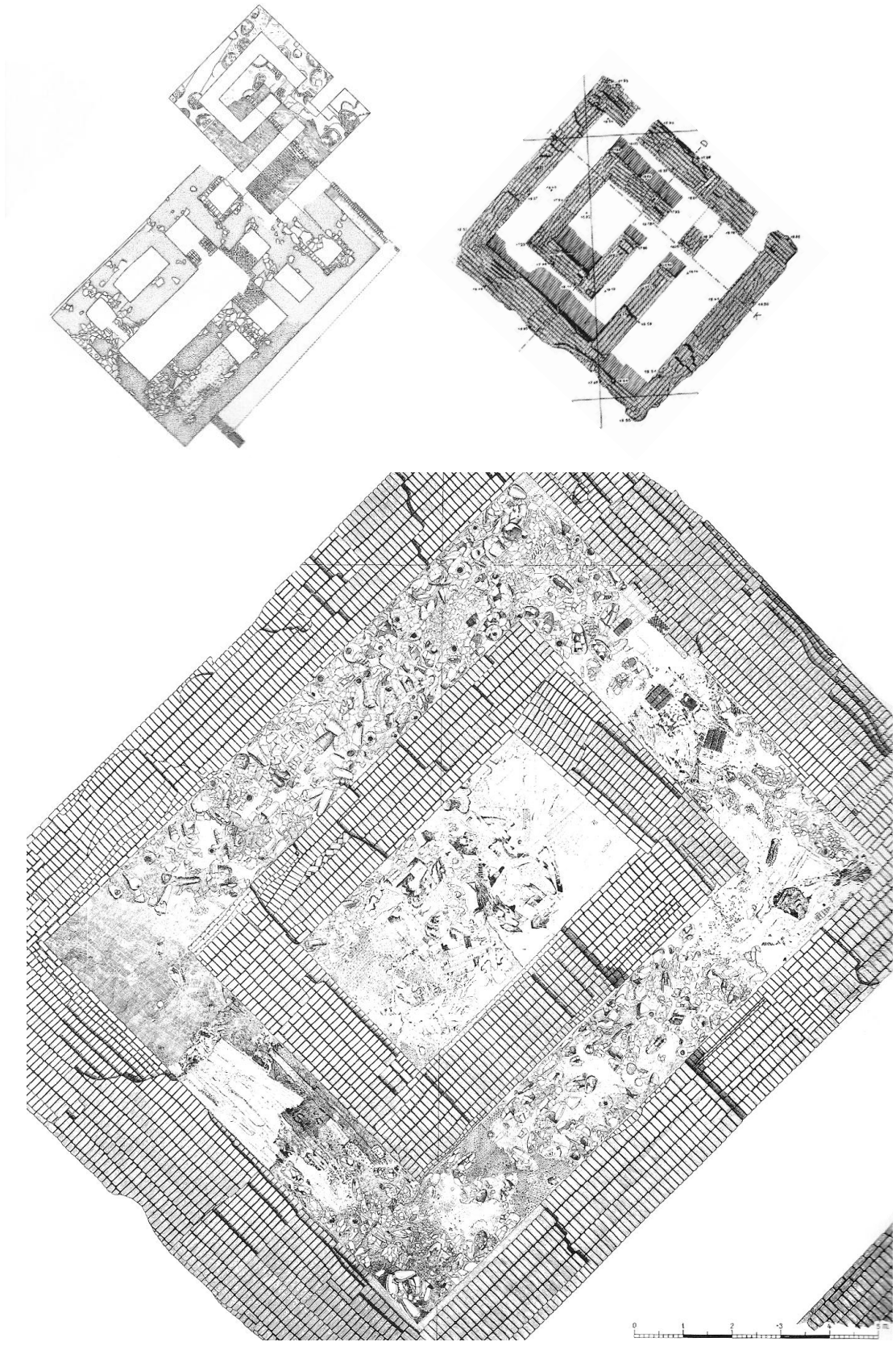

Figure 10.4 Plan and detail of the *Riemchengebäude* at Uruk (reproduced from Heinrich 1982. Abb. 106, 110 and 111)

The reconfiguration of moral economies during the Uruk period are best understood as part of a longer-term process first detectable in the standardisation of burial rituals and grave-good assemblages in village societies of the fifth millennium, which notably coincides with the appearance of cult buildings. This marked a departure from earlier Neolithic ritual practices, where the related treatment of human remains and artefacts in ritual deposits (e.g. fragmenting, smashing, and burning) suggests the negotiation of complex and meaningful relationships between objects and persons. As such, consumption in Late Neolithic mortuary rites worked to alter the status of goods and mediate social contracts formed through exchange. Goods were similarly removed from domestic spheres of consumption, albeit temporarily, in communal storehouses. The goods stored in village institutions, however, retained aspects of personal identity through their marking with a personal image. It is clear from these contexts, best exemplified at Tell Sabi Abyad in Western Syria, that during the Late Neolithic the withholding of objects through burials, caching and storage mediated a temporary separation between objects and persons, thereby facilitating the exchange and consumption of either pooled resources (sealing/storage) or similar goods that remained in circulation (burial/caching).

By the fifth millennium BC, intensified spheres of production and exchange facilitated the dissemination of novel substances (distinctive vessel forms, foodstuffs, alcohol, metals, milk, possibly wool garments) and household practices throughout lowland Mesopotamia. The influx of new commodity forms with the capacity to function as stores of value (notably metals) coincided with the reorganisation of the household as a productive unit, with considerable implications for the treatment of the dead. Consumption in burial became increasingly restricted to standardised vessel forms (eating/drinking) as goods were now channelled through extended chains of production in domestic contexts, where they underwent processes of refinement and transformation into new commodity forms. At a number of northern Ubaid-period sites, such as Değirmentepe and Tepe Gawra, it is often difficult or arbitrary to distinguish dwelling structures from ‘temples’: habitation structures routinely functioned as spaces where materials could be transformed through ritually mediated processes of manufacture and packaging, in which the dead – and in particular deceased children – continued to play significant roles.

During the early phases of the Late Chalcolithic period (LC1-2, c. 4400-3800 cal. BC) in northern Mesopotamia, the intensified consumption of wealth in intramural child burials guaranteed the future transmission of wealth (both material and symbolic) across household descent-lines. The consumption of wealth in child burials, rather than being a sign of inherited rank and status, is best understood as a form of 'keeping-while-giving', as young children were not implicated in the kinds of kinship alliances that may lead to the loss of wealth outside of the household unit. Over time (Late LC2-3, c. 3800-3600 cal. BC), the consumption of wealth in burials became increasingly restricted to select adult members of the community and rich burials were kept spatially distinct from family dwellings. During this latter, relatively brief phase, the consumption of accumulated prestige goods was motivated by a growing concern to create a positive image of the deceased in mortuary rites, centred upon the ornamentation of the body with spectacular decorations and personal equipment.

Through the careful grooming of the corpse (combs, pigments, ointment vessels, 'kohl' applicators) and its adornment with personal objects and garments (beads, pendants, seals, bangles, pins, rings, headdresses, textiles) crafted from exotic materials (gold, silver, copper, lapis), individuals were transformed into something approximating an ancestral image. The marked shift from wealth consumption in domestic child burials to the provisioning of ancestral cults suggests that dominant descent groups reinforced claims to power by legitimating ties to venerated ancestors. By restricting access to the material resources deemed essential for maintaining self identity, emerging elites could also exercise power over the bodies of subordinate groups. The ability to control the circulation of prestigious personal items in contexts of ritual deposition may then be linked to the development of specialised craft industries and increasingly sophisticated mechanisms to control the flow of goods (sealing systems) in northern Mesopotamia. At Tepe Gawra, a marked increase in funerary consumption coincides broadly with the construction of a prominent 'temple' building in the central area of settlement. The escalating expenditure of wealth in burials may conceivably reflect tensions that existed between 'traditional' forms of descent-group ancestor worship and the growing authority of sacred institutions at this time.

Towards the end of the fourth millennium BC, modes of accumulation focused upon the provisioning of ancestral cults and bodily display in death were reversed in a context of

rapid urbanization. The dead were largely removed from the physical context of the living, thus destabilising the transmission of wealth within descent groups. By restricting access between the living and the dead, an important form of cohesion between established kinship units was subverted in favour of new corporate identities, which were now shaped by production within, and service to, emerging urban institutions. Moreover, the aesthetic deprivation of the dead was a means to divest persons and things from their life histories and ancestral identities, as human labour and commodities became increasingly substitutable and subjected to forms of bureaucratic surveillance and control.

It must be emphasised again that the large-scale accumulation and mobilization of capital cannot be adequately explained in terms of a transition from a moral economy mediated by transactions with the ancestral dead, to a system of impersonal commerce motivated by profit. The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that there was marked reconfiguration in the moral context of acquisitive behaviour during the Late Uruk period, of comparable magnitude (but very different character) to the 'Protestant Ethic' of early European capitalism, as famously discussed by Max Weber, with which this study began. The exchange and consumption of goods were no longer mediated through contact with the dead, and constraints imposed on funerary consumption and helped foster a culture of capital accumulation in rapidly developing urban centres. Nevertheless, long-term social and cosmic order was maintained by sacrificing a portion of accumulated wealth to the gods who resided in urban temple institutions, thereby legitimising and motivating the large-scale mobilization of capital, which could be reinvested in other social projects.

The Social Life of Human Remains: Burial rites and the accumulation of capital during the transition from Neolithic to urban societies in the Near East

Volume II

Gareth David Brereton

University College London

Thesis submitted for examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

11 Appendix A

11.1 Map of Greater Mesopotamia showing the location of the principal sites used for the analysis

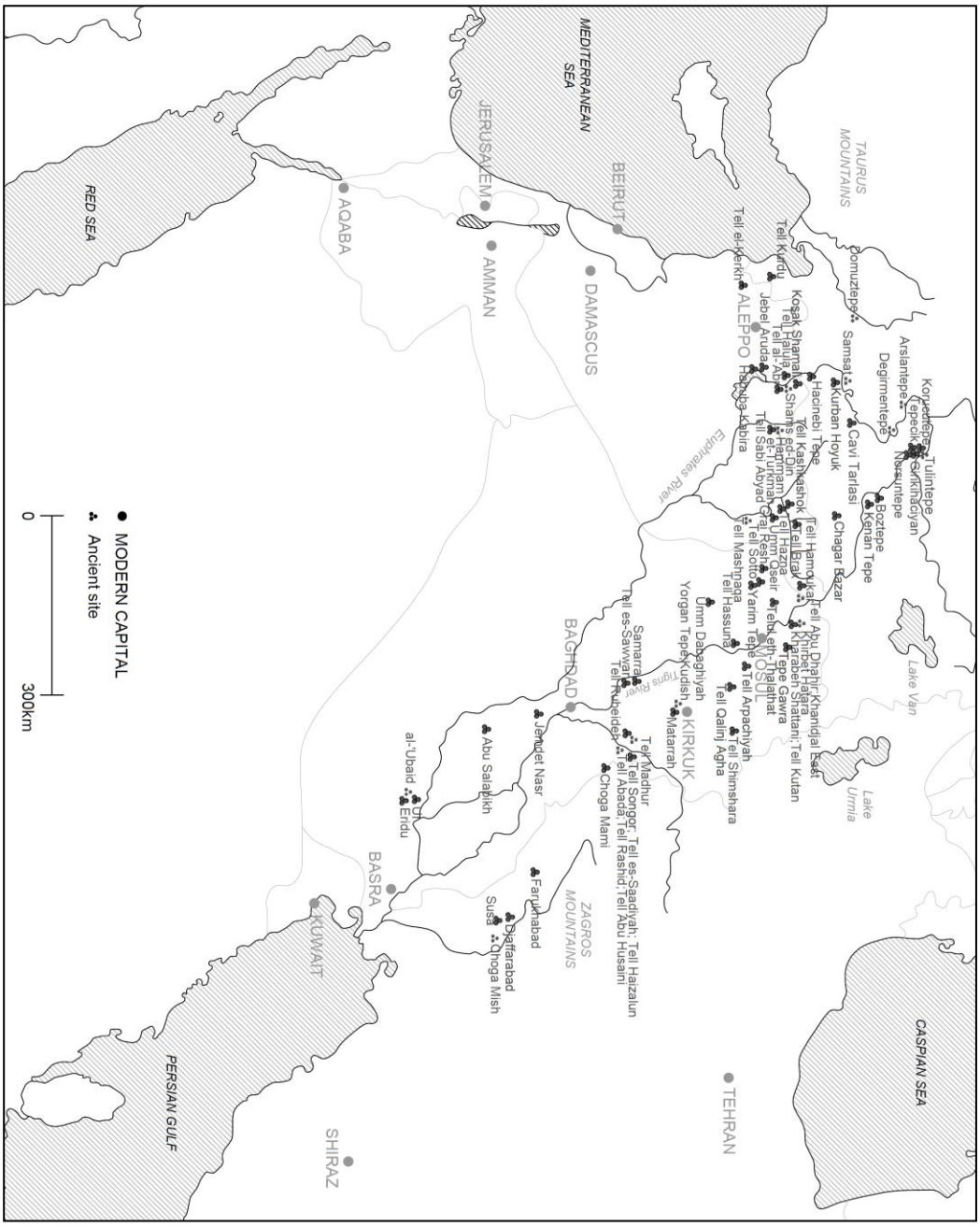

Figure 11.1 Map of Greater Mesopotamia showing the location of the principal sites used for the analysis (adapted from Carter and Phillip [ed.] 2010: x)

11.2Late Neolithic chronological framework

Late Neolithic Simplified Relative Chronology				
Date Cal BC	**Northern Syria**	**Northern Iraq**	**Central Iraq**	**Southern Iraq**
5000				
	Ubaid	Ubaid	Ubaid	
5200				
	HUT	HUT	HUT	
5400		Late Halaf	Late Halaf	Ubaid 2
5600	Middle Halaf	Middle Halaf	Middle Halaf	
				Ubaid 1
5800		Early Halaf	CMT	Ubaid 0
	Early Halaf			
6000		Northern' Samarra	Classic' Samarra	
	Transitional	Standard Hassuna		
6200				
	Pre-Halaf	Archaic Hassuna		
6400		Proto-Hassuna		
6600				
	Early PN	Final PPNB		
6800				
7000	PPNB	PPNB		

Table 11.1 Simplified Late Neolithic relative chronology

Regional Late Neolithic Chronology						
Date Cal BC	**Northern Levant**	**Western Syria**	**Syrian Euphrates**	**Northern Syria**	**Northeastern Syria**	**Northwest Iraq**
5000						
5200	Amuq E	Rouj 4	Halula VIII	Balikh IV	Ubaid	Ubaid
5400	Amuq D	Rouj 3	Halula VII	Balikh IIID	Halaf IIb	Halaf IIb
5600	Amuq C		Halula VI		Halaf IIa	Halaf IIa
				Balikh IIIC		
5800		Rouj 2d	Halula V			Halaf Ib
	First Mixed Range'			Balikh IIIB	Halaf Ia	Halaf Ia
6000		Rouj 2c	Halula IV	Balikh IIIA	proto-Halaf	Hassuna I-III
6200	Amuq B	Rouj 2b	Halula III	Balikh IIC	Proto-Hassuna	Proto-Hassuna
6400						
6600	Amuq A	Rouj 2a	Halula II	Balikh IIA	Pre-proto-Hassuna	
6800						
7000		Rouj 1	Halula I			

Table 11.2 Regional Late Neolithic relative chronology

Site	Region	Levels	Relative Chronology	Est. Date Cal BC
Arpachiyah	Northern Iraq	XI-IX	Early Halaf	5800
		VIII-VI	Early Halaf	5800
		V-IV(TT10-9)	Halaf IIa	5600
		III-II (TT8-7)	Halaf IIa	5600
		I (TT6)	Halaf IIb	5400
Boztepe	Southeast Turkey	Area A-1	Halaf	
Çavi Tarlası	Southeast Turkey	I-V	Halaf	
Chagar Bazar	Northeastern Syria	XV-XIII	Halaf Ib	5800
		XII	Halaf IIa	5600
		XI-IX	Halaf IIb	5400
		VIII-VI	Halaf Ubaid Transitional	5300
Choga Mami	Central Iraq	III	Classic Samarra	6000
			Choga Mami Transitional	5750
Domuztepe	South-central Turkey	Operation I Ditch	Halaf Ia	5800
		Operation II Start	Halaf II	5675
		Op I Death Pit	Halaf II	5575
		Op I Final	Halaf II	5525
Girikihaciyan	Southeast Turkey	Halaf Phase	Late Halaf	5400?
Hassuna	Northwest Iraq	Ia	Archaic Hassuna	6000
		Ib-c	Archaic-Standard Hassuna	6000
		Ic-III	Standard Hassuna	6000
		III-V	Standard Hassuna/N. Samarra	6000
Kharabeh Shattani	Northwest Iraq	3 Halaf Levels	Middle-Late Halaf	5500
Kurban Hoyuk	Southeast Turkey		Halaf	
			Halaf-Ubaid Transitional?	5300
Matarrah	Northern Iraq	V-II Op VI	Hassuna Ia or Ib-II	6100
		II-I Op IX	N. Samarra (Hassuna III-V)	6000
Sabi Abyad	Northern Syria	I-III Op 1	Balikh IIIB	5900-58900
		IV-VII OP1	Balikh IIIA	6000-59000
		VIII-X Op1	Balikh IIC	6200-6000
Shams ed-din Tannira	Syrian Euphrates	I-IV	Halula VI-VII	5600-5400
Samarra	Central Iraq	Cemetery	Classic Samarra	6000
Tell el-Kerkh	Western Syria	IV-VI	Rouj 2c	6000
		I-III	Rouj 2d	5800
Tell es-Sawwan	Central Iraq	I-II	proto-Hassuna	6200
		III-IV	Classic Samarra	6000
		V	Late Samarra/Halaf	5500?
Tell Halula	Syrian Euphrates	III	Halula III	6200
		IV	Halula IV	6000

		V	Halula V	5800
		VI	Halula VI	5600
		VII	Halula VII	5400
		VIII	Halula VIII	5300
Tell Hazna II	Northeastern Syria		Proto-Hassuna	6200
Tell Kutan	Northern Iraq		Halaf	
Tell Kurdu	Western Syria		Amuq C	5500
Tell Shimshara	Northern Iraq	XIII-IX	Standard Hassuna/N. Samarra	6100-6000
Tell Songor A	Central Iraq		Classic Samarra	6000
Tell Songor B	Central Iraq	III-IV	Halaf	
		II	Halaf-Ubaid Transitional	5300
Tell Sotto	Northwest Iraq	I-VI	Proto-Hassuna	6200
		VII-VIII	Archaic-Hassuna	6100
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northwest Iraq	XV-XVI Tell 2	Proto-Hassuna	6200
Tepe Gawra	Northwest Iraq	XX	Halaf IIb	5300
		Area A		
		Northeast Base		
Tulintepe	Southeast Turkey	V-VIII	Late Halaf	5400
Umm Dabaghiya	Northwest Iraq	III-V	Proto-Hassuna	6200?
		I-II?	Hassuna Ia	6000?
Umm Qseir	Northeastern Syria		Halaf IIa-IIb	5500
Yarim Tepe I	Northwest Iraq	XII-VIII	Archaic Hassuna (Hassuna 1a-b)	6000
		VII	Archaic-Standard Transitional	6000
		VI-I	Standard Hassuna	6000
Yarim Tepe II	Northwest Iraq	I	Halaf II/Late Halaf	5400
		II	Halaf II/Late Halaf	5450
		III	Halaf II/Late Halaf	5500
		IV	Middle-Late Halaf	5550
		V	Middle Halaf	5600
		VI	Middle Halaf	5650
		VII	Early -Middle Halaf	5700
		VIII	Early Halaf	5750
		IX	Early Halaf	5800
Yarim Tepe III	Northwest Iraq	I-IX	Late Halaf	5400

Table 11.3 Chronological framework for Late Neolithic sites used in the analysis

11.3 Late Ubaid chronological framework

Late Ubaid Simplified Relative Chronology					
Date Cal BC	**Amuq**	**Northern Syria**	**Northern Iraq**	**Central Iraq**	**Southern Iraq**
4000					
4200					
		LC1	LC1		
4400		Terminal Ubaid	Terminal Ubaid		Ubaid Transitional
		Late Northern Ubaid	Late Northern Ubaid		Ubaid 4
4600					
4800		Early northern Ubaid	Early Northern Ubaid		Ubaid 3b
5000		Early northern Ubaid?	Early northern Ubaid?		
5200	Amuq E				Ubaid 3a
		HUT	HUT	HUT	
5400	Amuq D		Late Halaf	Late Halaf	Ubaid 2
5600	Amuq C	Middle Halaf	Middle Halaf	Middle Halaf	
					Ubaid 1
5800			Early Halaf	CMT	Ubaid 0
		Early Halaf			
6000			Northern Samarra	Classic Samarra	

Table 11.4 Simplified Late Ubaid relative chronology

Site	Region	Levels	Relative Chronology	Est. Date Cal BC
Abu Dhahir	Northern Iraq (Mosul Dam)	Phase 3.1.	Northern 'Ubaid'	4800-4500
Al-'Ubaid	Southern Iraq	Burial group	Ubaid 3-4	4800-4500
Arpachiyah	Northwest Iraq	TT 4-1	Ubaid 3-4	4800-4500
		Earlier grave group	Early Northern Ubaid?	5000
		Later grave group (G44-48)	Ubaid 4?	4500
Choga Mish	Khuzistan-West Susiana	XXI/XXXI	Archaic Susiana 3	5750
			Early Susiana	5500
			Middle Susiana	c. 5000
			Late Susiana 2	4400
Değirmentepe	Anatolia - Malatya region	Level 7	Ubaid Transitional	4500-4400
Djaffarabad	Khuzistan-West Susiana	Period 1: Levels 6 and 4	Early Susiana	5500
		Period II: Level 3	Middle Susiana	5400
		Level II	Susa A	4400
Eridu	Southern Iraq	Temple VI	Ubaid 4	4500
		Hut levels IV-VII	Ubaid 4	4500
Hammam et-Turkman	Syria - Balikh Valley	Period IV Stratum 10 (Phase D)	Terminal Ubaid	4400
		Period IV Stratum 8 (Phase C)	Ubaid 4	4500
		Period IV Stratum 6 (Phase B)	Ubaid 3b	4800
		Phase A	Ubaid 3a	5000
Kashkashok II	Khabur	Early Northern Ubaid	Early Northern Ubaid	4800
		Early-Late Northern Ubaid	Early-Late Northern Ubaid	4650
		Late Northern Ubaid	Late Northern Ubaid	4500
		Late-Terminal Northern Ubaid	Late-Terminal Northern Ubaid	4450
		Terminal Northern Ubaid	Terminal Northern Ubaid	4400
		Terminal Northern Ubaid-Early Post-Ubaid	Terminal Northern Ubaid-Early Post-Ubaid	4300
		Early Post-Ubaid	Early Post-Ubaid/LC1?	4300
		Late Post-Ubaid	Late Post-Ubaid/LC1-2?	4200
Khanidjal East	Northern Iraq	Level II and III	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid	4400

Kenan Tepe	Upper Tigris'	Ubaid Phase 1	Ubaid 3-4	4700?
		Ubaid Phase 2	Ubaid 3-4	4650
		Ubaid Phase 3	Ubaid 4?	4500?
		Ubaid Phase 4	Terminal Ubaid/LC 1	4400-4200
Kosak Shamali	Syrian Middle Euphrates	Sector A: Levels 17 to 10	Early Northern Ubaid	5200-5000
		Sector A: Levels 9 to 4	Late Northern Ubaid	4500
		Sector A: Levels 3 to 1	Terminal Northern Ubaid	4400
		Sector B: Level 5	Post-Ubaid/LC1?	4300
		Sector B: Level 6	Post-Ubaid/LC1?	4300
Kudish	Northern Iraq (Kirkuk region)	Trench 2 Ubaid	Ubaid 3-4?	4800-4500
Qalinj Agha	Northern Iraq - Erbil	Level VII	Terminal Ubaid/LC 1	4400-4200
		Level X	Ubaid 4?	4500
		Level XI	Ubaid 4?	4500
Tell Abada	Central Iraq - Hamrin	Level I	Ubaid 3a-b	4800
		Level II	Ubaid 3a	5200
		Level III	Ubaid 2	5400
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Iraq - Hamrin	Phase 1a Late Ubaid	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid?	4500-4400
		Phase 1b Late Ubaid	Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid?	4500-4400
Tell al-'Abr	Syrian Middle Euphrates	Levels 6-7	Early Northern Ubaid	5000
		Levels 5-4	Late Northern Ubaid	4500
		Levels 3-2	Terminal/Transitional Ubaid?	4400
Tell Bustan	Central Iraq/Hamrin	Cemetery	Ubaid 4	4500
Tell es-Saadiyah	Central Iraq/Hamrin	Upper phase	Ubaid 4	4500
		Lower Phase	Ubaid 2-3	5200
Tell Haizalun	Central Iraq/Hamrin		Ubaid 4?	4500
Tell Hassan	Central Iraq/Hamrin	Level V	Ubaid 3b-Ubaid 4?	4700
Tell Kurdu	Southeast Turkey - Amuq Valley	Amuq E Levels		5000
Tell Madhur	Northern Iraq	Level III	Ubaid 3b-Ubaid 4?	4800-4500
Tell Mashnaqah	Khabur	Stratum I	Ubaid 3	5200
		Stratum II	Ubaid 3	5000

		Stratum III	Ubaid 3	4900
Tell Rashid	Central Iraq/Hamrin	Level III	Ubaid 3	5000
Tell Songor A	Central Iraq/Hamrin	Cemetery	Ubaid 3a?	5200
Tell Songor C	Central Iraq/Hamrin	Level 1		
		Level 2		
Telul eth-Thalathat	Northern Iraq	Trench IX Level XIV	Ubaid 3a-3b	4800
		Trench IX Level XIII	Ubaid 4	4500
		Trench IX Level XII	Terminal Ubaid	4400
Tepe Gawra	Northwest Iraq	Level 12	Terminal Ubaid/LC1	4400
		Level 13	Ubaid 4	4500
		Level 14	Ubaid 3b	4600
		Level 15	Ubaid 3b	4700
		Level 16	Ubaid 3a-b	4800
		Level 17	Ubaid 3a-b	4900
		Level 18	Ubaid 3a-b	5000
		Level 19	Ubaid 3a-b	5100
Ur		Earlier Ur cemetery / Ur 'Ubaid II	Ubaid 4	4500
		Later Ur cemetery/ Ur 'Ubaid III	Terminal 'Ubaid	4400
Yarim Tepe III			Ubaid 4?	4500
Yorgan Tepe	Northern Iraq (Kirkuk region)		Ubaid 3-4?	5200-4500

Table 11.5 Chronological framework for Late Ubaid sites used in the analysis

11.4 Late Chalcolithic chronological framework

Simplified Late Chalcolithic Relative Chronology				
Date cal. BC	**SAR**	**Oates/Brak**	**Gut 1995**	**South Mesopotamia**
3000				
	LC5	Late Uruk	Uruk C	Late Uruk
3200	*late*			
3400	LC4	Middle Uruk	Uruk B	Late Middle Uruk
3600				
	LC3	Northern Middle Uruk	Uruk A	Early Middle Uruk
3800				
	late			
	LC2	Northern Early Uruk	Gawra A/B	Early Uruk
4000				
	early		Gawra A	
4200				
	LC1	Post or Terminal Ubaid	Terminal Ubaid	
				Ubaid Transitional
4400	Terminal Ubaid	Late Ubaid		Ubaid 4?
4500				

Table 11.6 Simplified Late Chalcolithic relative chronology

Site	Region	Levels	Regional Chronology	Est. Date Cal BC
Abu Salabikh	Southern Iraq	Burial	Early-Middle Uruk	3900-3500
Arslantepe	Anatolian Upper Euphrates	Arslantepe VIII	LC1	4300
		Arslantepe VII	LC2-LC4	3900-3400
		Arslantepe VIA	LC5	3100
Djaffarabad	Iranian lowlands-Khuzistan	Level II	Susa A	4400-4500
El-Kowm 2				
Farukhabad	Deh Luran - Khuzistan - Iran	Excavation B Layer 34	Middle Uruk	3500
Grai Resh	Sinjar region - northern Iraq		LC1	4300
Habuba Kabira	Syrian Middle Euphrates		LC5	3100
Hacinebi	Anatolian Upper Euphrates	Hacinebi B2	LC4	3400
		Hacinebi B1	LC3	3700
		Hacinebi A	LC2	3900
Haman et-Turkman	Balikh Valley Syria	VB	Late LC2	3900
		VA	Early LC2	4200
		IVD	Terminal Ubaid	4500-4400
Hamoukar	Khabur river basin	Area B Middle Northern Uruk	Middle Northern Uruk	3700
	Northeast Syria			
Hassek Höyük	Anatolian Euphrates	Layer 5a	LC5	3100
		Layer 5b	LC5	3100
		Layer 5c (earliest)		
Jebel Aruda	Syrian Middle Euphrates		LC4-5	3200
Jemdet Nasr	Southern Mesopotamia		Late Uruk	3100
Kenan Tepe	Southeastern Turkey	Levels 1-5	LC5/EBI	3000
Khirbet Hatara	Northern Iraq - Mosul area	Level 2a	Middle Uruk	3500
		Level 2b	Middle Uruk	3500
		Level 3a	Late Uruk	3100
		Level 3b	Late Uruk	3100
Korucutepe	Altınova plain - Keban Dam	Stratum XXXVI	Pre contact Late Chalcolithic	4000?
		Stratum XXXVII	Pre contact Late Chalcolithic	3800?
		Stratum XXXIX	Pre contact Late Chalcolithic	3800?
Kurban Hoyuk	Ataturk dam area -	Period VIA, Phase 8	Contact Late Chalcolithic	3400-3100?

	Turkey			
Norşuntepe	Altınova plain - Keban Dam	Level 7 (later)	Pre Contact LC	3500
		Level 8 (earlier)		
Qalinj Agha	Erbil - Northern Iraq	Level I-IV	LC1-LC3 (burials earlier phases?)	4300-3700?
Samsat		Level XXV	Contact Late Uruk/LC5?	3100
		Level XXVI	Contact Late Uruk/LC5?	3100
		Level XXVII	Contact Late Uruk/LC5?	3100
Sheik Hassan	Syria	Level 4	LC5	3100
		Level 5-7	LC4	3400
		Level 8-10 and Level 13	LC3	3700
Susa	Southwest Iran - Khuzistan	Early 17 Susa *Acropole*	Susa II/LC5	3100
		Susa 18	Susa II/LC4	3400
		Susa 19	Susa II/LC2-3	3900-3500
		Susa 20	Susa II/LC2-3	3900-3500
		Susa 21	Susa II/LC2-3	3900-3500
		Susa 22	Susa II/LC2-3	3900-3500
		Susa Acropolis 23-27	Susa II/LC1	4300
Tell Brak	Syria	TW 11/12	Late Uruk	3100
		TW 13	Middle Uruk	3400
		TW 14-17	Northern Middle Uruk	3700
		CH 10/14	Northern Early Uruk	3800
		TW18-19	Northern Early Uruk	3900
		CH13/14	Northern Early Uruk	4200
Tell Hassan	Hamrin - Iraq		Uruk	
Tell Rubeideh	Hamrin - Iraq		Late Uruk	3100
Tepecik	Keban Dam area Turkey	Building Phase 3a	Contact phase LC 3-4	3500
Tepe Gawra	Northern Iraq	XII	Terminal Ubaid/LC1	4400
		XIA/B	LC1-2	4200
		XI/XA	LC2	3900
		IX/X	Late LC2	3800
		VIII	LC3	3700
Uruk/Warka	Southern Iraq	Eanna IVA	Late Uruk	3000
		Eanna IVB V	Late Uruk	3100
		Eanna VI	Late Middle Uruk	3200
		Eanna VII	Late Middle Uruk	3400
		Eanna IX-VIII	Early Middle Uruk	3700
		Eanna XI-X	Early Middle Uruk	3850
		Eanna XII	Early Uruk	3900
		Eanna XVI-XIV	Ubaid Transitional	4300
Yarim Hoyuk			LC5/EB	3000

Table 11.7 Chronological framework for Late Chalcolithic sites used in the analysis

12 Appendix B

12.1 Site data quality and publications used

12.1.1 Abu Dhahir

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Hassuna/Ubaid

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Ball, W. 1987a. Abu Zahir. In Kh. Nashef, (ed.), Ausgrabungen und Gelandebegehungen. Irak (II). *Archiv fur Orient-forschung* 34:175.

Ball, W. 1987b. British Excavations in the Abu Dhahir Area 1985-1986. In *SOAH, Researches on the Antiquities of the Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and other Researches.* Mosul, 78-81.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.2 Abu Salabikh

Location: Southern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Surface mapping, scraping and excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Pollock, S. 1990. Archaeological Investigations on the Uruk Mound, Abu Salabikh, Iraq. *Iraq* 52: 85-93.

Skeletal data: Yes

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.3 Al-'Ubaid

Location: Southern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Hall, H. R. H and C. L. Woolley. 1927. *Ur Excavations. Vol 1. Al 'Ubaid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

The skeletal material was in a very bad state of preservation.

No information is provided for the sex of the skeletons.

It is noted in the publication when skeletal remains can be attributed to an infant or a child, which implies that the remainder were those of adults.

12.1.4 Arpachiyah

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.24 E43.12

Main phases: Halaf/Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final re-ports, excavation summary.

Publications used:

Mallowan, M. E. L. and J. C. Rose. 1935. Excavations at Tell Arpachiyah, 1933. *Iraq* 2: 1-178.

Hijara, I. 1978. Three new Graves at Arpachiyah. *World Archaeology* 10(2): 125-8.

Curtis, J. 1982. Arpachiya. In J. Curtis (ed.) *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery. The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq 1932-1982*, pp. 30-36. London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

Hijara, I. 1997. *The Halaf Period in northern Mesopotamia*. London: NABU publications.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.5 Arslantepe

Location: Upper Euphrates

Coordinates: N38.23 E38.21

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Frangipane, M. 1991. The 1990 excavations at Arslantepe, Malatya. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* XIII: 177-195.

Frangipane, M. 1993b. Excavations at Arslantepe-Malatya 1992. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* XV: 211-228.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

Little information provided for skeletal data and burial types.

12.1.6 Boztepe

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates:

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Parker, B, 1999. Excavations at Boztepe. Research Report for National Geographic Society Grant #6530-99. Retrieved on 10 of June 2010 from World Wide Web: http://arcserver.usc.edu/reports/reports/ngs1999report.pdf

Parker, B. and A. Creekmore. 2002. The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project: a final report from the 1999 field season. *Anatolian Studies* 52: 19-74.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes - Good

Sex: Yes - Good

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.7 Çavi Tarlası

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates: N37.45 E38.58

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type:

Publication type: Preliminary reports, excavation summary

Publications used:

Wickede, A. V 1984. Çavi Tarlası. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 34: 112-120.

Wickede, A. V and S. Herbordt. 1988. Çavi Tarlası. Bericht über die Ausgrabungskampagnen 1983-1984. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38: 5-29.

Yakar, J. 1991. *Prehistoric Anatolia. The Neolithic Transformation and the Early Chalcolithic Period.* Tel Aviv: Monograph Series of the Institute of Archaeology, Tell Aviv University.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional Comments:

12.1.8 Chagar Bazar

Location: Khabur

Coordinates:

Main phases: Halaf/HUT/Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation, soundings

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Mallowan, M. E. L. 1936. The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar and an Archaeological Survey of the Habur Region. *Iraq* 3: 1-85.

Mallowan, M. E. L. 1937. The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar and an Archaeological Survey of the Habur Region. Second Campaign, 1936. *Iraq* 4: 91-177.

McMahon, A., Ö. Tunca and A-M Bagdo. 2001. New Excavations at Chagar Bazar, 1999-2000. *Iraq* (63): 201-222.

McMahon, A., Colantoni, C. and Semple, M. 2005. British Excavations at Chagar Bazar, 2001-2. *Iraq* 67/2: 1-16.

Tunca, O and A. el-. Baghdo. 2006. *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) I. Les Sondages Préhistoriques (1999-2001).* Publications de la Mission archeolique de l‟Universitie de Liege en Syrie. Paris: Peeters.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

The majority of the Halaf period burials were excavated by Mallowan (1936).

An additional Halaf burial is reported in Tunca and el-Baghdo (2006).

Information on the Halaf sequence at Chagar Bazar is provided in McMahon *et al.* (2001 and 2005).

12.1.9 Choga Mami

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, excavation summaries

Publications used:

Oates, J. 1969a. Choga Mami 1967-68: a preliminary report. *Iraq* 31: 115-52.

Oates, J. 1972. A Radiocarbon date from Choga Mami. *Iraq* 34: 49-53.

Oates, J. 1987. The Choga Mami Transitional. *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*: 163-180.

Oates, J. 1982. Choga Mami. In J. Curtis (ed.) *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery. The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq 1932-1982*, pp. 22-29. London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.10 Choga Mish

Location: Khuzistan

Coordinates:

Main phases: Archaic to Late Susiana

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Alizadeh, A. (ed). 1996. *Chogha Mish Volume 1: The First Five Seasons of Excavations 1961-1971. Part 1: Text*. Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications.

Alizadeh, A. 2008. *The Development of a Prehistoric Regional Center in Lowland Susiana, Southwestern Iran. Final Report on the Last Six Seasons of Excavations 1972-1978*.Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.11 Değirmentepe

Location: Upper Euphrates

Coordinates: N38.28 E38.29

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, doctoral thesis, osteological reports

Publications used:

Esin, U. 1980. Değirmentepe Kazısı 1979. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* II: 91-99.

Esin, U. 1981. Yılı Değirmentepe (Malatya) *Kazısı Sonuçları. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* III: 39-41.

Esin, U. 1983. Değirmentepe (Malatya) Kurtama Kazısı 1981 Yılı Sonuçları. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* IV: 39-48.

Esin, U., and S. Harmankaya. 1986. 1984 Değirmentepe (Malatya) Kurtarma *Kazısı. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* VII: 53-85.

Esin, U., and S. Harmankaya. 1987. 1985 Değirmentepe (Malatya- İmamlı Köyü) Kazısı. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* VIII: 95-138.

Esin, U., and S. Harmankaya. 1988. Değirmentepe (Malatya) Kurtarma Kazısı 1986. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* IX: 79-126.

Özbek, M. 2001. Cranial Deformation in a Subadult Sample From Deĝirmentepe (Chalcolithic, Turkey). *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 115: 238-244.

Gurdil, B. 2005. *Architecture and Social Complexity in the Late Ubaid Period: A Study of the Built Environment of Değirmentepe in East Anatolia*. Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate and Good

Age: Yes - Good

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

Information on the Değirmentepe burial record is relatively limited, being that the excavations were published as a series of preliminary reports and thematic articles. However, information on burials obtained from the available published material as well as field notes is provided in a study by Gurdil (2005).

Gurdil (2005) lists a total of 33 Ubaid burials (34 individuals) from building level 7, and provides information (when available) on burials types, burial location and the age of skeletons.

A study of the skeletal remains at Değirmentepe by Özbek (2003) provides information on the age range of the skeletal sample, and presents evidence for the practice of artificial cranial deformation at the site. However, it is not possible to correlate Özbek's (2003) data with that provided by Gurdil (2005).

12.1.12 Djaffarabad

Location: Khuzistan

Coordinates:

Main phases: Early Susiana to Susa A

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Dollfus, G. 1971. Les Fouilles á Djaffarabad de 1969 á 1971. *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologiques Francais en Iran* 1: 17-162.

Dollfus, G. 1977. Les Fouilles á Djaffarabad de 1972 á 1974 Djaffarabad, périodes I et II. *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologiques Francais en Iran* 5: 11-62.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.13 Domuztepe

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates:

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, osteological reports, thematic papers.

Publications used:

Campbell, S., Carter, E., Healey, E. Anderson, S., Kennedy., and S. Whitcher. 1999. Emerging complexity on the Kahramanmaras plain, Turkey: the Domuztepe project, 1995–97. *American Journal of Archaeology* 103: 395–418.

Carter, E., Campbell, S. and Gauld, S. 2003. Elusive complexity: new data from Late Halaf Domuztepe in South Central Turkey. *Paléorient* 29(2): 117–33.

Kansa, S. W. and S. Campbell. 2002. Feasting with the Dead? – a ritual bone deposit at Domuztepe, south eastern Turkey (c. 5550 cal BC). In S. J. O'Day, (ed.) *Behaviour Behind Bones. 9th ICAZ Conference, Durham 2002*, pp. 2-13.

Campbell, S. 2007-8. The Dead and the Living in Late Neolithic Mesopotamia. In G. Bartoloni and M. G. Benedettini (eds.) *Sepolti tra i vivi. Evidenza ed interpretazione di contesti funerari in abitato*, pp. 125-140. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza" 26-29 Aprile 2006.

Kansa, S. W., S. C Gauld., S. Campbell & E. Carter. 2009. – Whose Bones are those? Preliminary Comparative Analysis of Fragmented Human and Animal Bones in the "Death Pit" at Domuztepe, a Late Neolithic Settlement in Southeastern Turkey. *Anthropozoologica* 44(1): 159-172.

Kansa, S. W., A. Kennedy, S. Campbell, and E. Carter. 2009. Resource Exploitation at Late Neolithic Domuztepe. Faunal and Botanical Evidence. *Current Anthropology* 50(6): 897-914

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.14 Eridu

Location: Southern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final report, osteological report, excavation summary, thematic paper

Publications used:

Lloyd, S., and F. Safar. 1947. Eridu. *Sumer* 3: 84-111.

Coon, C. S. 1949. The Eridu crania. A preliminary report. *Sumer* 5: 103-106.

Oates, J. 1960. Ur and Eridu: the Prehistory. *Iraq* 22: 32-50.

Safar, F., M. A. Mustafa, and S. Lloyd. 1981. *Eridu*. Baghdad: State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage.

Wright, H., and S. Pollock. 1987. Regional socio-economic organization in southern Mesopotamia: the middle and later 4th millennium B.C. In J-L. Huot (ed.) *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, pp. 317-29. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: Yes - see comments

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

The final report by Safar *et al.* (1981) provides information for the depth and orientation of graves, burial types, the sex and age of individuals, the position and orientation of the skeletal remains as well as grave goods. However, female skeletons were often identified solely by the presence of jewellery in graves.

A comprehensive reanalysis of the Eridu burial data has been conducted by Wright and Pollock (1987).

12.1.15 Farukhabad

Location: Khuzistan

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Wright, H. T. 1981. An Early Town on the Deh Luran Plain. Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad. Michigan: Ann Arbor.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: No objects recorded

Additional comments:

12.1.16 Girikihaciyan

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates: N38.13 E39.58

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Watson, P. J. and S. A. Le Blanc. 1990. *Girikihaciyan. A Halafian Site in Southeastern Turkey.* Monograph 33. Institute of Archaeology. Los Angeles: University of California.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.17 Grai Resh

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.17 E41.56

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Soundings, excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Lloyd, S. Iraq Government Soundings at Sinjar. *Iraq* 7: 13-21.

Kepinski, C. 2009. Grai Resh et la haute-Mésopotamie de 4200 à 3600 av. J.-C.: de contacts lointains aux strategies territoriales. In P. Butterlin (ed.), *A propos de Tepe Gawra : le monde proto-urbain de Mésopotamie*, pp. 121-128. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: No

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.18 Hacinebi Tepe

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates: N37.03 E37.58

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Stein, G. J. and A. Misir. 1994. Hacinebi Excavations, 1992. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* XV. pp. 131-152. Ankara: Re-public of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.

Stein, G. And A. Misir. 1994. Mesopotamian-Anatolian Interaction at Hacinebi, Turkey: Preliminary Report on the 1992 excavation. *Anatolica* 20: 144-177.

Stein, G. J. 1996. 1995 Excavations at Hacinebi Tepe. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* XVIII: 93-120. Ankara: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.

Stein, G. et al. 1996. Hacınebi, Turkey: Preliminary Report on the 1995 excavations. *Anatolica* 22: 85-128.

Stein, G., R. Bernbeck, C. Coursey, A. McMahon, N. F. Miller, A. Misir, J. Nicola, H. Pittman, S. Pollock and H. Wright. 1996. Uruk Colonies and Mesopotamian Communities: An Interim Report on the 1992-3 excavations at Hacınebi, Turkey. *American Journal of Archaeology* 100: 205-260.

Stein, G, K. Boden, C. Edens, J. P. Edens, K. Keith, A. McMahon and H. Özbal. 1997. Excavations at Hacınebi, Turkey – 1996: Preliminary report. *Anatolica* 23: 111-171.

Stein, G, C. Edens, J. P. Edens, K. Boden, N. Laneri, H. Özbal, B. Earl, A. M. Adraens and H. Pittman. 1998. South-east Anatolia before the Uruk Expansion. Preliminary Report on the 1997 excavations at Hacınebi, Turkey. *Anatolica* 24: 143-193.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.19 Hammam et-Turkman

Location: Balikh Valley

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Thissen, L. 1988. The Burials. In Van loon, M. (ed.), *Hammam et-Turkman I. Reports on the University of Amsterdams 1981-1984 Excavations in Syria* I, pp. 143-179. Nederlands Histroisch-Archeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate Only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.20 Hamoukar

Location: Khabur

Coordinates:

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Gibson, McG. & M. Maktash. 2000. Tell Hamoukar: early city in north-eastern Syria. *Antiquity* 74: 477-78.

Gibson, McG., A. Al-Azm, C. Reichel, S. Al-Quntar, J. Franke, L. Khalidi, C. Hritz, M. Altaweel, C. Coyle, C. Colantoni, J. Tenney,G. Aziz & T. Hartnell. 2002. Hamoukar: A Summary of Three Seasons of Excavation. *Akkadica* 123: 11-34.

Reichel, C. 2004. Hamoukar. 2003-2004 Annual Report. Retrieved on 22 January 2010 from World Wide Web: http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/ham/

Reichel, C. 2007. Hamoukar. 2006-2007 Annual Report. Retrieved on 22 January 2010 from World Wide Web: http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/ham/

Reichel, C. 2009. Hamoukar. 2008-2009 Annual Report. Retrieved on 22 January 2010 from World Wide Web: http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/ham/

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age determination: Approximate only

Sex determination: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.21 Jebel Aruda

Location: Middle Euphrates

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Van Driel, G and C. Van-Driel-Murray. 1983. Jebel Aruda, the 1982 Season of Excavations, interim report (1). *Akkadica* 33: 1-26.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: No objects reported

Additional comments:

12.1.22 Jemdet Nasr

Location: Southern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, thematic article

Publications used:

Matthews, R. J. 1990. Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, 1989. *Iraq* 52: 25-39.

Matthews, R. J. 1992a. Jemdet Nasr: The Site and the Period. *Biblical Archaeologist* 55(4): 196-203.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: No

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.23 Jerablus Tahtani

Location: Middle Euphrates

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Peltenburg, E., E. Eastaugh., M. Hewson., A. Jackson., A. McCarthy., and T. Rymer. 2000. Jerablus Tahtani, Syria, 1998-9: Preliminary Report. *Levant* 32: 53-75.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: No

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data:

Additional comments:

12.1.24 Tell Kashkashok II

Location: Khabur

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid/Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report, thematic paper

Publications used:

Matsutani, T. 1991. *Tell Kashkashok. The Excavations of Tell no. II. Tokyo: The Institute of Oriental Culture*. The University of Tokyo.

Koizumi, T. 1996. Chronology of Ubaid Tombs from Kashkashok II. Examination of Tomb and pottery sequences. *Al-Rãfidãn* XVII: 29-55.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.25 Kenan Tepe

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid/Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Parker, B. J., Creekmore, L. S. Dodd, R. Paine, C. Meegan, E. Moseman, M. Abraham, and P. Cobb. 2003. The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP): A Preliminary Report from the 2001 Field Season. *Anatolica* 29:103-174.

Parker, B. J., A. Creekmore and L. S. Dodd. 2004. The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP): A Preliminary synthesis of the Cultural History of Kenan Tepe. In N. Tuna, J. Greenhalgh, and J. Velibeyoglu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of Ilisu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2001*,pp. 547-602. Ankara: Middle East Technical University.

Parker, B. J. 2005. The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP): A Report of the 2005 Field Season to the Curtiss T. and Mary G. Brennan Foundation and the College of Humanities at the University of Utah. Retrieved on 18 May 2010 from World Wide Web: http://arcserver.usc.edu/reports/reports_index.html.

Parker, B. J., L. S. Dodd, A. Creekmore, E. Healey, and C. Painter. 2006. The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP): A Preliminary Report from the 2003 and 2004 Field Seasons. *Anatolica* 31:71-151.

Parker, B. J., C. P. Foster, J. Henecke, H. Hopwood, D. Hopwood, A. Creekmore, A. Demirergi and M. Eppihimer. 2008. Preliminary Report from the 2005-2006 Field Seasons at Kenan Tepe. *Anatolica* 34: 103-176.

Parker, B. J., C. P. Foster, K. Nicoll, J. R. Kennedy, P. Graham, A. Smith, D. E. Hopwood, M. Hopwood, K. Butler, E. Healey, M. Bariş Uzel and R. Jensen. 2009. The Upper Tigris Archaeological Project (UTARP): A Preliminary Report from the 2007 and 2008 Field Seasons. *Anatolica* 35: 85-152.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes – Adults only

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.26 Khanidjal East

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Wilkinson, T. J., B. H. Monahan and D. J. Tucker. 1996. Khanidjal East: A Small Ubaid Site in Northern Iraq. *Iraq* 58: 17-50.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.27 Kharabeh Shattani

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final report

Publications used:

Watkins, T. 1986. Kharabeh Shattani: A Halaf Culture Exposure in Northern Iraq. *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, pp. 221-230. Paris: Editions du CNRS.

Bolt, D. 1995. The Human Remains. In D. Baird, S. Campbell and T. Watkins (eds.), *Excavations at Kharabeh Shattani: An Halaf Culture Exposure in Northern Iraq. Vol II*, pp. 173-174. Edinburgh: Department of Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.

Baird, D. 1995. The Stratigraphy and Architecture. In D. Baird, S. Campbell and T. Watkins (eds.), *Excavations at Kharabeh Shattani: An Halaf Culture Exposure in Northern Iraq. Vol II*, pp. 6-31. Edinburgh: Department of Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate; Yes - Adult

Sex: Yes - Adult

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.28 Khirbet Hatara

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.39 E42.58

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary, final report

Publications used:

Ball, W and J. A. Black. 1987. Excavations in Iraq, 1985-86. *Iraq* 49: 231-51.

Fiorina, P. 1997. Khirbet Hatara – la stratigrafia. *Mesopotamia* 32: 7-62.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.29 Korucutepe

Location: Upper Euphrates

Coordinates: N38.38 E39.33

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final report

Publications used:

Van Loon, M. 1973. The Excavations at Korucutepe, Turkey, 1968-70: Preliminary Report. Part I: Architecture and General Finds. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32(4): 357-423.

Van Loon, M. (ed.). 1978. *Korucutepe: Final Report on the Excavations of the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam in the Keban Reservoir, Eastern Anatolia, 1968-1970.Vol 2*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.30 Kosak Shomali

Location: Middle Euphrates

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Matsutani, T., and Y. Nishiaki (ed.). 2001. *Tell Kosak Shamali. The Archaeological Investigations on the Upper Euphrates, Syria. Vol. 1. Chalcolithic Architecture and the Earlier Prehistoric Remains*. Tokyo: The University Museum, The University of Tokyo.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.31 Kudish

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Starr, R. F. S. 1937. *Nuzi: report on the excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq, 1927-1931*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.32 Kurban Höyük

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates: N37.29 E38.25

Main phases: Halaf/Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final report

Publications used:

Algaze, G., R. Breuninger, C. Lightfoot, and M. Rosenburg. 1991. The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Preliminary Report on the 1989-1990 Seasons. *Anatolica* 17: 175-240.

Algaze, G., R. Breuninger, C. Lightfoot, and M. Rosenburg 1990. *Town and Country in South-eastern Anatolia.* Oriental Institute Publications 110. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.33 Matarrah

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N35.23 E44.22

Main phases: Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, final report

Publications used:

Basmachi, F. 1948. 1. Supplementary Report on the Excavations at Tell Matarrah and Qal'at Jarmo. Soundings at Qal'at Jarmo. *Sumer* 4: 134-6.

Braidwood, R. J., L. S. Braidwood., J. G. Smith and Ch. Leslie. 1952. Matarrah. A Southern Variant of the Hassuna Assemblage, Excavated in 1948. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11: 1-75.

Braidwood, R. J and B. Howe. 1960. *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan* (SAOC 31). Chicago.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate/Yes

Sex: In some cases

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.34 Norşuntepe

Location: Upper Euphrates

Coordinates: N38.37 E39.28

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, excavation summary

Publications used:

Hauptmann, H. 1979. Die Grabungen auf dem Norşuntepe 1973. *Keban Project 1973 Activities*: 61-97.

Hauptmann, H. 1982. Die Grabungen auf dem Norşuntepe 1974. *Keban Project 1974 Activities:* 41-70.

Lupton, A. 1996. *Stability and Change: Socio-Political Development in North Mesopotamia and South East Anatolia 4000-2700 BC*. (British Archaeological Reports International Series 627). Oxford: BAR.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate Only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.35 Qalinj Agha

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.05 E43.47

Main phases: Ubaid/Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Abu al-Soof, B. and S. es-Siwwani. 1967. More Soundings at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil). *Sumer* 23: 69-75.

Abu al-Soof, B. 1969. Excavations at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil), summer 1968. *Sumer* 25: 3-42.

Hijara, I. 1972. Excavations at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil): fourth season 1970. *Sumer* 29: 13-34.

Lupton, A. 1996. *Stability and Change: Socio-Political Development in North Mesopotamia and South East Anatolia 4000-2700 BC*. (British Archaeological Reports International Series 627). Oxford: BAR.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

12.1.36 Sabi Abyad

Location: Balikh Valley

Coordinates:

Main phases: Pre-Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final report, thematic paper

Publications used:

Akkermans, P.M.M.G. and M. Verhoeven. 1995. An Image of Complexity: The Burnt Village at Late Neolithic Sabi Abyad, Syria. *American Journal of Archaeology* 99:5-32.

Akkermans, P. M. M. G. 1996. *Tell Sabi Abyad. The Late Neolithic Settlement. Report on the Excavations of the University of Amsterdam (1988) and the National Museum of Antiquities Leiden (1991-1993) in Syria*. Volume I. Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul.

Verhoeven, M. 2000. Death, fire and Abandonment. Ritual practice at late Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria. *Archaeological Dialogues* 7.1: 46-83.

Verhoeven, M. 2002c. Ritual and its Investigation in Prehistory. In H. G. K. Gebel, B. D. Hermansen and C. H. Jensen (eds.) *Magic Practices and Ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic*, pp. 5-40. Studies in Near Eastern Production, Subsistence, and Environment 8. Berlib: ex oriente.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes - Adult

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.37 Samarra

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Herzfeld, E. 1930. *Die Vorgeschichtliched Töpfereien von Samarra.* mit 240 Textbildern und 47 Tafeln, darunter 6 in Farbendruck. Berlin : D. Reimer.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: No

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

No detailed report on individual burials are provided in the publication.

A brief summary of the skeletal remains, burial types and grave-goods are give, as are illustrations of some of the grave-goods.

12.1.38 Samsat

Location: Southeastern Turkey

Coordinates: N37.30 E38.31

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, excavation summary

Publications used:

Lupton, A. 1996. *Stability and Change: Socio-Political Development in North Mesopotamia and South East Anatolia 4000-2700 BC*. (British Archaeological Reports International Series 627). Oxford: BAR.
Mellink, M. 1989. Archaeology in Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93(1): 105-133.

Mellink, M. 1991. Archaeology in Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology* 95: 123-153.

Özgüç, N. 1988. Samsat Kazilari 1987. *Belleten – Türk Tarih Kurumu* 52 (202) : 291-294.

Özgüç, N. 1992. The Uruk Culture at Samsat. In B. Hrouda, S. Kroll and P.Z. Spanos (eds.) *Von Uruk nach Tuttul. Eine Festschrift für Eva Strommenger; Studienund Aufsätze von Kollegen und Freunden. München Vorderasiatische Studien 12*, pp. 151-7. München: Profil Verlag.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

No detailed reports on individual burials are provided in the publications.

A brief summary of the skeletal remains, burial types and burial context is provided for each level.

12.1.39 Shams Ed-Din Tannira

Location: Middle Euphrates

Coordinates: N36.15 E38.10

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Al-Radi, S and H. Seeden. 1974. Shams ed-Din-Tannira, In A. Bounni (ed.) *Antiquities de l'Euphrate. Damas*: 59-61.

Al-Radi, S and H. Seeden. 1978. The Aub Rescue Excavation at Shams Ed-Din Tannira. *Berytus* vol. 26: 88-125.

Seeden, H. 1979. Sams ad-Din Tannira, In H. Kuhne (ed.) Ausgrabungstatigkeit in Syrien. *Archiv fur Orientforschung* 26:162.

Seeden, H and S. ad-Radi. 1980. A Stone Age Village on the Euphrates I: AUB rescue Excavations at Shams ed-Din Tannira. *Berytus* 28: 87-126.

Seeden, H. 1981. A Stone Age Village on the Euphrates III-IV: Introduction. *Berytus* 29: 4-7.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: No objects recorded

Additional comments:

12.1.40 Susa

Location: Khuzistan

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary

Publications used:

Steve, M and H. Gasche. 1990. Le Tell de l'Apadana Avant les Achemenindes. Contribution a la Topagraphie de Suse. In F. Vallat (ed.) *Contribution À L'Histoire de L'Iran. Mé-langes Offerts À Jean Perrott*, pp. 15-61. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: No

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: No

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

The Ubaid cemetery from Susa is omitted from this analysis due to insufficient information provided in the original publications.

Susa is a massive 550 hectare mound situated on the western edge of the Khuzistan plain in western Iran, which is considered to be an eastern extension of the south Mesopotamian alluvial plain. The earliest phase of occupation at Susa (termed the Susa I or A Period) is contemporary with the terminal Ubaid period. The prehistoric levels were primarily encountered during a deep sounding in the 'Acropole' on the western extent of the mound. Susa was originally excavated in the early twentieth century (1906-1908) under the direction of Jacques de Morgan, a mining engineer who employed some very unorthodox excavation techniques at the site. To gain an understanding of the entire sequence of occupation at Susa, a trench some 90m long and 30m wide was excavated in cuts 5m wide and 5m deep down to sterile soil in the 'Acropole' are of the site (Hole 1983; 2010: 231). During the trenching of the acropolis, the excavators came across a massive mud-brick stepped platform (the *haute terrace).* Later excavations at Susa determined that this platform was some 11-12 meters in height and 80 meters in length, with a total surface area of approximately 5,000 square meters. In addition, it was revealed that a storehouse, a probable residence and a large building (a temple?) decorated with inlaid ceramic cones, clay models of goat horns and plaque mosaics originally stood at the summit of this platform (Canal 1978: 38; Hole

1983; 2010: 233; Pollock 1989: 285-286; 1999: 90-91, 176; Stève and Gasche 1971). At the base of the deep sounding, the original excavators reported two additional features; a low mud-brick platform some 14x7 meters in extent (the *massif funéraire*) and an extensive fifth millennium cemetery (Hole 1983; 2010: 231).

As Frank Hole (1983; 1992; 2010) makes clear, information regarding the cemetery is remarkably limited and has been the subject of conflicting reports. De Morgan (1912: 7), for example, claimed that the cemetery encompassed some 750 sq. m, while Mecquenem (1928: 100; 1943: 5) claimed that the cemetery was only some 120 sq. m in extent (Hole 1983; 2010: 231). Both excavators agreed, however that the cemetery was compressed in size and contained as many as 2,000 interments along with some 4,000 ceramic vessels. In addition, whereas De Morgan (1909: 5; 1912: 7) reported that burials contained complete bodies that were extended and sometimes flexed, Mecquenem (1928: 100) described the burials as secondary, as long-bones were reported to have been found in tall beakers and skulls in open bowls (Hole 1983; 2010: 231). Later excavations under the direction of Jean Perrot recovered two secondary adult burials that cut into the side of the *massif funéraire*, which appears to confirm Mecquenem's assertion that at least some burials were fragmentary, and that the cemetery post-dates the *massif funéraire.* (Hole 1983; 2010: 314). These later excavations also established that the facade of the *haute terrace* collapsed after a massive conflagration on the surface of the platform, and that the debris from this collapse buried the *massif funéraire*. This has led Hole (1983, 1990) to suggest that cemetery post-dates the destruction level, and that the area around the *massif funéraire* was utilised as a cemetery when enough material from the collapse of the *haute terrace* had accumulated to provide a sufficient fill in which to inter the dead. Hole (1990) also considers whether the events that led to the collapse of the *haute terrace* resulted in a substantial loss of life, which may then account for the packing of fragmented remains into the cemetery area (i.e. the cemetery was a mass grave). It is also clear that the ceramics recovered from the cemetery are the same as those recovered from the *haute terrace*, suggesting that they were broadly contemporary in date (Canal 1978; Hole 2010: 233; Le Brun 1971; Stève and Gasche 1971).

Information on the burials themselves is remarkably scarce, although the original excavators claimed that each burial was accompanied by standard set of pottery vessels comprising a beaker, one or more open bowls and a small jar (see Fig 6.7 below; Hole 1993; Pollock 1989: 286). In addition to some 4,000 ceramic vessels; 55 copper axes, 11 copper disks, a copper needle, burin and chisel, eleven clay or stone cosmetic pots, a few beads, a stamps seal, five fragments of maces, a stone hoe and a micro-celt are also recorded for the cemetery (Morgan 1912: 9-13; Pollock 1989: 286). The copper axes were made from soft native copper, which has led Hole (1983) to suggest that they may have been used for ceremonial purposes. Hole (1983) also notes that 4 of the 11 copper disks were perforated for suspension and that both the axes and copper disks may have originally been wrapped in textiles. It is also notable Mecquenem (1930: 225; 1943: 230) found two child burials accompanied by painted vessels to the north of the cemetery on the opposite side of the step platform (Hole 1983). Of the two tombs excavated by Perrot in 1972, one mud-brick tomb was cut into the west face of the *massif funéraire* and contained a fragment of a skull, some long bones, and four ceramic vessels. The second mud-brick tomb also cut

partially into the side of the *massif funéraire* (which formed the east wall of the tomb) and contained a skull wrapped in matting alongside ceramic and stone vessels (Hole 1990).

12.1.41 Tell Abada

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, final report, thematic papers

Publications used:

Jasim, S. A. 1983a. Excavations at Tell Abada a Preliminary Report. *Iraq* 45(2): 165-185.

Jasim, S. A. 1985. *The Ubaid Period in Iraq. Recent Excavations in the Hamrin Region.* BAR International Series 267. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Jasim, S. 1989. Structure and Function in an 'Ubaid Village. In E. F. Henrickson and I. Thueson (eds.) *Upon This Foundation: The Ubaid Reconsidered*, pp. 149-180. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Chiocchetti, L. 2007. The children's burials of the 'Ubaid period: Tell Abu Husaini, the Hamrin area and beyond. *Mesopotamia* XLII: 117-142.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.42 Tell Abu Husaini

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summaries, Reanalysis.

Publications used:

Tusa, S. 1980. Notes on Tell Abu Husaini Excavation. *Paléorient* 6: 225-227.

Jasim, S. A. 1985. *The Ubaid Period in Iraq. Recent Excavations in the Hamrin Region*. BAR International Series 267. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Chiocchetti, L. 2007. The children's burials of the 'Ubaid period: Tell Abu Husaini, the Hamrin area and beyond. *Mesopotamia* XLII: 117-142.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.43 Tell al-'Abr

Location: Middle Euphrates

Coordinates: N36.41 E38.05

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Hammade, H., and Y. Yamazaki. 2006. *Tell al-Abr (Syria). Ubaid and Uruk Periods.* Association pour la Promotion de l'Histoire et de l'Archeologie Orientales Memoires no. 4. Paris: Peeters.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.44 Tell 'Azzo

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.13 E42.47

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary

Publications used:

Killick, R and M. Roaf. 1983. Excavations in Iraq, 1981-82. *Iraq* 45(2): 199-224.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: No

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional Comments:

12.1.45 Tell Brak

Location: Khabur

Coordinates: N36.40 E41.03

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Matthews, R. J. 1996. Excavations at Tell Brak, 1996. *Iraq* 58: 65-77.

Oates, J. and D. Oates. 1997. An open gate: cities of the fourth millennium BC (Tell Brak 1997). *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7: 287-96.

Oates, J. 2002. Tell Brak: The 4th Millennium Sequence at Brak and its Implications. In J. N. Postgate (ed.) *Artefacts of Complexity. Tracking the Uruk in the Near East*. British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Cambridge: The University Press.

Matthews, R (ed.). 2003. *Excavations at Tell Brak. Vol. 4. Exploring an Upper Mesopotamian regional centre, 1994-1996*. British School of Archaeology in Iraq. McDonald Institute monographs.

McMahon, A., and J. Oates. 2007. Excavations at Tell Brak 2006-2007. *Iraq* 59: 145-171.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate/Yes

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

Data collected from preliminary reports prior to the publication of Tell Brak Volume 3:

J. Oates. In preparation. *Excavations at Tell Brak 3: The Uruk and 'Ubaid Periods.*

Recent burial data from the nearby mound of Tell Majnuna is omitted from this analysis due to the highly complex nature of the burials and in anticipation of the final published report. Published information on the Majnuna burials will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9, Section 9.3.

12.1.46 Tell el-Kerkh

Location: Western Syria

Coordinates:

Main phases: Pre-Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Tsuneki, A, J. Haydar, Y. Miyake, S. Akahane, T. Nakamura, M. Arimura and S. Sekine. 1997. First preliminary re-port of the excavations at Tell el-Kerkh (1997), Northwestern Syria. *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 18: 1-40.

Tsuneki, A, J. Haydar, Y. Miyake, S. Akahane, M. Arimura, S. Nishiyama, H. Sha'baan, T. Anezeki and S. Yano. 1998. Second preliminary report of the excavations at Tell el-Kerkh (1998), Northwestern Syria. *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 19: 1-40.

Tsuneki, A, J. Haydar, Y. Miyake, M. Hudson, M. Arimura, O. Maeda, Y. Odaka and S. Yano. 1999. Third preliminary report of the excavations at Tell el-Kerkh (1999), Northwestern Syria. *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 20: 1-32.

Tsuneki, A., J. Hydar, Y, Miyake, O. Maeda, T. Odaka, K. Tanno and A. Hasegawa. 2000. Fourth Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-Kerkh (2000), Northwestern Syria. *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 21: 1-30.

Tsuneki, A. 2010. A Newly Discovered Neolithic Cemetery at Tell el-Kerkh, Northwest Syria. In P. Matthiae, F. Pin-nock, L. Nigro and N. Marchetti (eds.) *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Volume 2. Excavations, Surveys and Restorations: Report on Recent Field Archaeology in the Near East*, pp. 697-713. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate/Yes

Sex: In some cases

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.47 Tell es-Saadiyah

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary

Publications used:

Jasim, S. A. 1985. *The Ubaid Period in Iraq. Recent Excavations in the Hamrin Region*. BAR International Series 267. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

12.1.48 Tell es-Sawwan

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Proto-Hassuna/Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, Reanalysis, excavation summary

Publications used:

El-Wailly, F., and Abu Es-Soof, B. 1965. Excavation at Tell es-Sawwan. *Sumer* 21: 17-32.

al-A'dami, K. A.1968. Excavation at Tell Es-Sawwan (Second Season). *Sumer* 24: 57-95.

Wahida, G. 1967. The Excavation of the Third Season at Tell as-Sawwan, 1966. *Sumer* 23: 167-178.

Abu Al-Soof, B. 1969. Tell es-Sawwan Excavation (Fourth Season). *Sumer* 24: 3-16.

Abu Al-Souf, B. 1971. Tell es-Sawwan, Fifth Seasons Excavations (1967-1968). *Sumer* 27: 3-8.

Yasin, W. 1970. Excavation at Tell es-Sawwan, The Sixth Season (1969). *Sumer* 26: 3-20.

Breniquet, C. 1991. Tell es-Sawwan: realites et problemes. *Iraq53*: 75–90.

Campbell, S. 1995. Death for the Living in the late Neolithic in north Mesopotamia. In S. Campbell, and A. Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 29-34. Oxbow Monographs 51. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Youkana, D. G. 1997. *Tell es-Sawwan. The Architecture of the Sixth Millennium B.C*. London: NABU Publications.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

Detailed information on 129 of the earliest Level I burials (of an estimated 400) was published in a report on the first season of excavations, whilst illustrations of a selection of Level I burials are also published in the second report.

A selection of burials from later levels are published in detail, however, the majority of the later burials are only briefly summarised in reports.

12.1.49 Tell Haizalun

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary

Publications used:

Roaf, M. The Hamrin Sites. 1982. In J. Curtis (ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery. The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq 1932-1982*, pp. 40-47. London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: No

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

12.1.50 Tell Halula

Location: Middle Euphrates

Coordinates: N36.25 E38.10

Main phases: Pre-Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary

Publications used:

Molist, M and J. M. Faura. 1999. Tell Halula: Un Village des Premiers Agriculteurs-Eleveurs dans la Vallee de L‟Euphrate. In G. del Olmo Lete, and J.-L. Montero Fenollos (eds.) *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates The Tishrin Dam Area,* pp. 27-40. Barcelona: Editorial Ausa.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

12.1.51 Tell Hassan

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid/Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Thematic paper

Publications used:

Fiorina, P. 2007. L'area di Tell Yelkhi: le sepolture. *Mesopotamia* XLII: 1-116.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate/Yes

Sex: In some cases

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.52 Tell Hassuna

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.03 E43.05

Main phases: Hassuna/Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report, osteological report

Publications used:

Lloyd, S. and E. Safar. 1945. Tell Hassuna: Excavations by the Iraqi Government Directorate General of Antiquities in 1943 and 1944. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 4: 255-289.

Coon, C. S. 1950. Three Skulls from Tell Hassuna. *Sumer* 6: 93-6.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

Detailed information is only provided for a selection of burials excavated.

12.1.53 Tell Hazna

Location: Khabur

Coordinates:

Main phases: proto-Hassuna

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Merpert, N. Y. and R. M. Munchaev. 1999. Origin and Development of Most Ancient Agricultural Cultures of North-East Syria. *Les Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 43: 93-96.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

12.1.54 Tell Kurdu

Location: Western Syria

Coordinates:

Main phases: Amuq C-E

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Yener, K. A., C. Edens, J. Casana, B. Diebold, H. Ekstrom, M. Loyet and R. Özbal. 2000. Tell Kurdu Excavations 1999. *Anatolica* 26: 31-103.

Özbal, R., F. Gerritsen, B. Diebold, E. Healey, N. Aydin, M. Loyet, F. Nardulli, D. Reese, H. Ekstrom, S. Sholts, N. Mekel-Bobrov and B. Lahn. 2004. Tell Kurdu Excavations 2001. *Anatolica* 30: 37-108.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: In some cases

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

The preliminary reports describe a selection of burials in detail, however very little information is provided for others.

12.1.55 Tell Kutan

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.35 E42.55

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, excavation summary

Publications used:

Killick, R., and J. Black. 1985. Excavations in Iraq, 1983-84. *Iraq* 47: 215-239.

Bachelot, L. 1987. The French Archaeological Expedition to Saddam Dam: the 2nd Campaign at Kutan, May/June 1984, In M. Sa'id Demirji (ed.), *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Researches*, pp. 89-98. Baghdad.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

12.1.56 Tell Madhur

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Killick, R., and M. Roaf. 1979. Excavations at tell Madhur. *Sumer* 35:530-42.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.57 Tell Mashnaqah

Location: Khabur

Coordinates: N36.17 E40.47

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report, excavation summary

Publications used:

Monchambert, J.-Y. 1985. Mashnaqah 1985: Rapport préliminaire sur la lre campagne de fouilles. *Syria* 62 Fasc. 3/4: 219-250.

Monchambert, J.-Y. 1987. Mashnaqah 1986. Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne de fouilles. *Syria* 64, Fasc. 1/2: 47-78.

Weiss, H. 1994. Archaeology in Syria. *American Journal of Archaeology* 98(1): 101-158.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.58 Tell Rashid

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Excavation summary

Publications used:

Jasim, S. A. 1983b. Notes on the excavation at Tell Rashid, Iraq. *Paléorient* 9(1): 99-103.

Jasim, S. A. 1985. *The Ubaid Period in Iraq. Recent Excavations in the Hamrin Region*. BAR International Series 267. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.59 Tell Rubeideh

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report, excavation summary

Publications used:

Killick, R. J., P. J. Watson, S. Payne and D. Downs. 1988. Tell Rubeideh: stratigraphy, small finds, human skeletal remains. In. R. J. Killick (ed.), *Tell Rubeideh. An Uruk Village in the Jebel Hamrin*, pp. 18-38. British School of Archaeology in Iraq. Iraq Archaeological Reports – 2. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd.

Roaf, M. The Hamrin Sites. 1982. In J. Curtis (ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery. The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq 1932-1982*, pp. 40-47. London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Yes

Sex: Yes

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.60 Tell Shimshara

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.11 E44.48

Main phases: Hassuna/Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Mortensen, P. 1970. *Tell Shimshara. The Hassuna Period*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-Filosfiske Skrifter 5, 2. Kobenhavn.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: No object recorded

Additional comments:

12.1.61 Tell Songor

Location: Central Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Samarra/Halaf/Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Matsumoto, K. 1979. Tell Songor, A, B and C in Himrin. *Sumer* 35: 523-4.

Fujii, H. 1981. Hamrin Report 6. Tell Gubba. Telul Sungur, Telul Hamediat. The Japanese Archaeological Expedition to the Ham-rin Headed by Hideo Fujii. *Al-Rãfidãn* 2: 247-131.

Matsumoto, K. 1984. Tell Songor (A, B and C). *Sumer* 40: 37-8.

Matsumoto, K. 1986. The Samarra Period at Tell Songor A. *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, pp. 189-195 Paris: Editions du CNRS.

Kamada, H and T. Ohtsu. 1988. Report on the Excavations at Songor A – Isin-Larsa, Sasanian and Islamic Graves. *Al-Rãfidãn* 9: 135-172.

Matsumoto, K and S. Yokoyama. 1989. Report on the Excavations at Tell Songor B – The Graves. *Al-Rãfidãn* 10: 245-298.

Yokoyama, S. and K. Matsumoto. 1990. The Graves of Tell Songor. *Al-Rãfidãn* 11: 289-200.

Kamada, H, T. Ohtsu and Y. Wada. 1991. Second Report on the Excavations at Songor A – Ubaid Graves. *Al-Rãfidãn* 12: 221-260.

Kamada, H and T. Ohtsu. 1993. Third Report on the excavations at Songor A. *Al-Rãfidãn* 14: 183-200.

Kamada, H and T. Ohtsu. 1993. Fourth Report on the excavations at Songor. *Al-Rãfidãn* 13: 164-181.

Kamada, H and T. Ohtsu. 1995. Fourth Report on the excavations at Songor A – Samarra Period. *Al-Rãfidãn* 14: 275-281.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

12.1.62 Tell Sotto

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Proto-Hassuna

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, excavation summary

Publications used:

Merpert, N, R. Munchaev and N. Bader. 1976. The Investigations of Soviet Expedition in Iraq, 1973. *Sumer* 32 (1 and 2): 25-61.

Merpert, N. I., R. M. Munchaev and N. O. Bader. 1977. The Investigations of Soviet Expedition in Iraq 1974. *Sumer* 33: 65-104.

Merpert, N. I., R. M. Munchaev and N. O. Bader. 1979. Soviet Investigations in the Sinjar Plain 1975. *Sumer* 34(1 and 2): 27-51.

Bader, N. O. 1993. Summary of the Earliest Agriculturalists of Northern Mesopotamia (1989). In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq, pp. 63-72. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Bader, N. O. 1993. The Early Agricultural Settlement of Tell Sotto. In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq, pp. 41-54 Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate/Yes

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

Information provided for burials vary for each publication.

12.1.63 Telul eth-Thalathat

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid/Uruk

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, final reports

Publications used:

Egami, N., T. Sono and K. Horiuchi. 1966. Brief Report of the third season's excavations at Telul eth-Thalathat and some observations. *Sumer* 22(1 & 2): 1-13

Fukai, Sand T. Matsutani. 1981. *Telul eth-Thalathat. The Excavations of Tell II. The Fifth Season (1976)*. Tokyo: Yamakawa

Fukai, S., Horiuchi, K and T. Matsutani. 1970. *Telul eth-Thalathat. The Excavation of Tell II. Volume II. The Third Season (1964)*. The Institute of Oriental Culture. The University of Tokyo. Tokyo: Yamakawa

Fukai, S., Horiuchi K., and T. Matsutani. 1974. *Telul eth Thalathat. The Excavations of Tell V. Fourth Season (1965)*. Tokyo: Yamakawa

Fukai, S and Y. Matsutani 1977. Excavation at Telul eth-Thalathat 1976. *Sumer* 33(1): 48-64

Fukai, Sand T. Matsutani. 1981. *Telul eth-Thalathat. The Excavations of Tell II. The Fifth Season (1976)*. Tokyo: Yamakawa.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

The information provided for the burial record varies considerably - some burials are described in detail whilst very little information is provided for others.

12.1.64 Tepe Gawra

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N36.30 E43.15

Main phases: Halaf/Ubaid/Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, final reports, reanalysis

Publications used:

Speiser, E. A. 1932. The Joint Excavation at Tepe Gawra. January and June Reports. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 47: 17-23.

Bache, C. 1933. Mr. Bache's First Report on the Joint Excavations at Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah, 1932-3. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 49: 8-14.

Bache, C. 1933. Work at the Baghdad School. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 51: 20-26.

Bache, C. 1935. A Report from Mr. Bache on the Tepe Gawra Expedition. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 57: 12-18.

Bache, C. 1935. The Joint Assyrian Expedition: Letters from Mr. Bache. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 58: 5-10.

Bache, C. 1935. Tepe Gawra 1934-1935. *American Journal of Archaeology* 39(2): 185-188.

Bache, C. 1936. The Joint Excavation of Tepe Gawra in Assyria. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 61: 5-10.

Bache, C. 1936. The Joint Assyrian Expedition. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 62: 6-9.

Speiser, E. A. 1936. First Report on the Current Assyrian Campaign. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 66: 2-20.

Speiser, E. A. 1936. First Report on the Current Assyrian Campaign. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 66: 2-20.

Speiser, E. A. 1936. First Report on the Current Assyrian Campaign. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 66: 2-20.

Tobler, A. J. 1950. *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Forest, J-D. 1983. *Les Pratiques Funèraires en Mèsopotamie. Du Cinquième Millénaire Au Dèbut du Troisième*. Èditions Recherché sur les Civilisations. Paris.

Rothman, M and B. Peasnall. 1999. Societal Evolution of Small, Pre-state Centers and Polities: the example of Tepe Gawra in Northern Mesopotamia. *Paléorient* 25(1):101 – 114.

Peasnall, B. 2002. Burials from Tepe Gawra. In M. Rothman (ed.), *Tepe Gawra: The evolution of a small, Prehistoric center in Northern Iraq*, pp. 171-234. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Chiocchetti, L. 2007. The children's burials of „Ubaid period: Tell Abu Husaini, the Hamrin area and beyond. *Mesopotamia* XLII: 117-142.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

The spatial distribution of the Gawra burials is difficult to discern from the available publications. Tobler (1950) discuss the general location of graves for each level, however, the degree of detail provided on each burial varies considerably.

Peasnall's (2002) recent reanalysis of the Late Chalcolithic burial record maps the spatial distribution of burials, however, certain burials can still be attributed to more than one phase of occupation. This issue is partially addressed by Peasnall's allocation of a maximum and minimum number of burials that can be realistically assigned to a specific phase according to the relative depth of the burials. However, the majority of the Level VIII/IX burials can still be attributed to more than one phase of occupation.

12.1.65 Tepecik

Location: Upper Euphrates

Coordinates: N38.39 E39.27

Main phases: Late Chalcolithic

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Esin, U. 1972. Tepecik Kazısı, 1970. *Keban Project 1970 Activities*, pp. 139-147. Middle East Technical University Series I, No: 3. Ankara: TTK Publications.

Esin, U. 1979. Tepecik Excavations, 1973. *Keban Project 1973 Activities*, pp. 97-125. Middle East Technical University Series I, No. 6. Ankara: TTK Publications.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.66 Tülintepe

Location: Southeast Turkey

Coordinates: N38.38 E39.25

Main phases: Late Halaf

Excavation type: Salvage excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Esin, U. 1976. Tülintepe Kazısı, 1972. Keban Project 1972 Activities, pp. 1119-133. Middle East Technical University Series I, No: 5. Ankara: TTK Publications.

Esin, U. 1982. Tülintepe Excavations, 1973. *Keban Project 1973 Activities, pp. 121-125. Middle East* Technical University Keban Project Publications, Series 1, No. 6. Ankara: TTK Publications.

Esin, U and G. Arsebük. 1982. Tülintepe excavations, 1974. *Keban Project 1974-75 Activities*, pp.119-133. Middle East Technical University Keban Project Publications, Series 1, No. 7. Ankara: TTK Publications.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: No objects recorded

Additional comments:

12.1.67 Umm Dabaghiyah

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N35.29 E 42.47

Main phases: Hassuna/Samarra

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports

Publications used:

Kirkebride, D. 1972. Umm Dabaghiyah 1971: A Preliminary Report. An Early Ceramic Farming Settlement in Marginal North central Jazira, Iraq. *Iraq* 34: 3-15.

Kirkebride, D. 1973. Umm Dabaghiyah 1972: A Second Preliminary Report. *Iraq* 35: 1-8.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age:

Sex:

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: No objects recorded

Additional comments:

Burials cut into surface of phase 4 and are suggested by the excavator to have derived from a nearby Hassuna/Samarra period settlement situated 200m from site.

12.1.68 Umm Qseir

Location: Khabur

Coordinates:

Main phases: Halaf

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary report

Publications used:

Hole, F. and G. A. Johnson. 1986-7. Umm Qseir on the Khabur: Preliminary Report on the 1986 Excavation. *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 36-37: 172-220.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age: Approximate/Yes

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Moderate

Additional comments:

12.1.69 Ur

Location: Southern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report, thematic papers

Publications used:

Woolley, C. L. 1955. *Ur Excavations. Vol. 4. The Early Periods*. London: The British Museum; Philadelphia, PA: The University Museum.

Oates, J. 1960. Ur and Eridu: the Prehistory. *Iraq* 22: 32-50.

Wright, H and S. Pollock. 1987. Regional socio-economic organization in southern Mesopotamia: the middle and later 4th millennium B.C. In J-L. Huot (ed.) *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, pp. 317-29. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Skeletal data: Yes - Moderate

Age: Approximate only

Sex: No

Burial type data: Yes - Moderate

Burial context data: Yes - Moderate

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional comments:

No information is provided for the sex of the skeletons and the approximate age of the skeletal remains is unclear.

It is noted in the publications when the skeletal remains were those of an infant (1 example), or child (1 example), which might imply that the remainder (and majority) were adult skeletons.

However, it is also clear from the published material that the skeletal remains were very badly preserved (to the extent that in certain cases no traces of skeletal remains remained).

12.1.70 Yarim Tepe

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates:

Main phases: Hassuna/Halaf/Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Preliminary reports, excavation summaries

Publications used:

Bader, N. O., Merpert, N. Ya., and R. M. Munchaev. 1981. Soviet Expedition's Surveys in the Sinjar Valley. *Sumer* 37: 55-95.

Merpert, N. and R. Munchajev. 1969. The Investigation of The Soviet Archaeological Expedition in Iraq in The Spring 1969. Excavations at Yarim Tepe First Preliminary Report. *Sumer* 25(1 and 2): 125-131.

Munchajev, R and N. Merpert. 1971. The Archaeological Research in the Sinjar Valley (1971). *Sumer* 27: 23-32.

Merpert, N and R. Munchajev. 1971. Excavations at Yarim Tepe 1970: Second Preliminary Report. *Sumer* 27: 9-22.

Merpert, N. Y. and R. M. Munchaev. 1973. Early Agricultural Settlements in the Sinjar Plain, Northern Iraq. *Iraq* 35: 93-114.

Merpert, N, R. Munchaev and N. Bader. 1976. The Investigations of Soviet Expedition in Iraq, 1973. *Sumer* 32 (1 and 2): 25-61.

Merpert, N. I., R. M. Munchaev and N. O. Bader. 1977. The Investigations of Soviet Expedition in Iraq 1974. *Sumer* 33: 65-104.

Merpert, N. I., R. M. Munchaev and N. O. Bader. 1979. Soviet Investigations in the Sinjar Plain 1975. *Sumer* 34(1 and 2): 27-51.

Merpert, N. I., R. M. Munchaev and N. O. Bader. 1981. Investigations of the Soviet Expedition in Northern Iraq 1976. *Sumer* 37: 22-54.

Merpert, N, R. Munchaev and N. Bader. 1984. Archaeological Studies in the Sinjar Valley. *Sumer* 43: 32-53.

Merpert, N. Y. and R. M. Munchaev. 1987. The Earliest Levels at Yarim Tepe I and Yarim Tepe II in Northern Iraq. *Iraq* 49: 1-38.

Merpert, N. Ya, and R. M. Munchaev. 1993a. Burial Practices of the Halaf Culture. In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, pp. 207-223. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Merpert, N. Ya. and R. M. Munchaev. 1993b. Yarim Tepe I. In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, pp. 73-114. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Merpert, N. Ya, and R. M. Munchaev. 1993c. Yarim Tepe II: The Halaf Levels. In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, pp. 129-162. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Merpert, N. Ya., and R. M. Munchaev. 1993d. Yarim Tepe III: The Halaf Levels. In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, pp. 163-205. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Merpert, N. Ya., and R. M. Munchaev. 1993e. Yarim Tepe III: The Ubaid Levels. In N. Yoffee and J. J. Clark (eds.) *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, pp. 225-248. Tucson and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Skeletal data: Yes - Poor

Age determination: Approximate

Sex determination: No

Burial type data: Yes - Poor

Burial context data: Yes - Poor

Burial object data: Yes - Poor

Additional comments:

Information on the burial record varies considerably in publications.

A select number of burials are described in detail, with the remainder being poorly documented.

12.1.71 Yorgan Tepe

Location: Northern Iraq

Coordinates: N35.23 E44.18

Main phases: Ubaid

Excavation type: Excavation

Publication type: Final report

Publications used:

Starr, R. F. S. 1937. *Nuzi: report on the excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq, 1927-1931*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Skeletal data: Yes - Good

Age determination: Approximate/Yes

Sex determination: No

Burial type data: Yes - Good

Burial context data: Yes - Good

Burial object data: Yes - Good

Additional Comments:

12.2 Burial Database c. 6400-3000 cal. BC

12.2.1 Abu Dhahir

Main Phase **Pre-Ubaid (Hassuna?)**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Grave 1 (M4) (52)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sub phase 3.1-1	The grave consisted of an irregular cut feature measuring at least 40cm deep. The original size of the grave is uncertain as it was cut by Graves 4 and 6 and portions were also eroded and excavated together with slope-wash. The sides of the grave were vertical but slightly undercut along the south-side, and were partially burnt. The grave was cut into the top of virgin soil and was located in the east half of trench M4. It is possible that the grave was cut from above the period 1.1 deposit. The east end of the grave appeared to be associated with an ash filled hollow (M4 52 B) that extended 50cm to the north and also partially cut virgin soil. The sides of the grave were vertical but slightly undercut along the south-side, and were partially burnt. It is assumed that the body was interred within a disused sunken fire installation – there are no indications from the bones that this was a cremation.	Simple inhumation in pit	Lower portion of an adult male skeleton, consisting of a pair of articulated legs and feet in a flexed position. The remainder of the skeleton had been destroyed by the intrusion of Grave 6. However, the remains indicated that the body had been interred	Male		Adult	No grave goods present

Burial **Grave 2 (M4) (48)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sub phase 3.1-1	This grave was found in the western part of Trench M4 and was cut from above the Period 1.1 deposit (M4 32) but the position of the top of the cut is uncertain. The grave was cut at the east end by Grave 6 and at the north edge by Feature 2.	Simple inhumation in pit	Cranium and upper portion of the ribs and vertebrae of a young child. The remainder of the skeleton was presumably destroyed by later cuts. The skeleton lay on its left side, orientated east-west with the head to the west and facing northwest.			Child	No grave goods present

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Grave 3 (M4) (59)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sub Phase 3.1-2	Irregular east-west cut grave measuring 1.40m east-west and at least 70cm north-south. Despite the loss of the upper portion of the grave, it is likely that the body was placed in a side-chamber immediately south of a vertical Located in the northwest corner of Trench M4 and cut into virgin soil. The remainder of the grave was lost to later erosion and the south-west corner was cut by Grave 5. The skeleton was found in the southeast portion of the grave and placed immediately adjacent to the grave cut. The tight contraction of the burial suggest that it may have originally been bound, possibly within a mat or shroud. Despite the loss of the upper portion of the grave, it is likely that the body was placed in a side-chamber immediately south of a vertical shaft. Shaft.	Burial chamber	Skeleton of an adult female placed on its left side, orientated east-west, with the head to the east. The legs were close together and tightly contracted with the knees drawn up to the chest. The arms were in a flexed position with hands placed near the throat or mouth. The bones were in a poor condition being largely crushed in situ.	Female		Adult	A small shallow Ubaid ceramic bowl/cup with a cut-down rim and a painted band around the base was found places upside-down partly beneath the skull.

Burial **Grave 4 (M4) (64)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sub Phase 3.1-2	Rectangular vertical-sided grave 1.7m long, orientated east-west with a flat bottom cut into virgin soil. The preserved height of the south-side was 27cm. It is possible that the excavated portion of Grave 4 represents the deeper-cut side-chamber to the south of a grave shaft. Grave located at the northern edge of Trench M4 and clipping the edge of Grave 1, and cut into virgin soil. The skeleton was found in the southwest quarter of the grave.	Burial chamber	Skeleton of an adult female, on left side, orientated east-west with the head to the west and facing northeast. Legs were tightly contracted with the left knee placed in front of the pelvic area and the right in front of the chest. Arms were flexed with the hands placed close together and in front of the chest and near the cranium. Bones were in a poor condition being heavily crushed.	Female		Adult	Two small 'translucent smoky-grey' obsidian chips were found near the hands, one of which was perforated. The two fragments were likely to have originally formed a single tear-shaped pendant that would probably have been attached to a cuff or bracelet. Two small unbaked clay lumps were found (measuring 3x4cm and 3x3cm) on the removal of the cranium and upper arm. At the east end of the grave a cluster of four pained pottery vessels, a flat grey stone and a possible lump of red pigment were recovered: The first vessel was a fine painted jar with averted rim, low carnation and horizontal rows of decoration in maroon paint. Close to the base of this vessel was a smooth, flat un-worked stone. The jar may have originally been placed on the stone - and the stone also fitted well on top of the jar suggesting its original use as a lid. Next to the jar was a bowl decorated around the rim on the interior and exterior with horizontal red bands. A smaller red-painted bowl was found upright in its centre. The fourth vessel consisted of another large painted bowl that had been repaired in antiquity. The vessel was found placed upside-down in the grave with the rim directly on the grave floor. A small lump of red pigment was also found next to the

inverted bowl.

Burial **Grave 5 (M4) (61)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sub Phase 3.1-2	Grave 5 was found in the northwest portion of (M4) – the upper portion being lost due to subsequent erosion. The excavated potion measured 1.30m north-south x 1.25m east-west. The grave consisted of a rectangular shaft orientated east-west and measuring 0.5 x 1.10-1.25m with a level floor and a deeper side chamber on the south side by a 15cm deep cut step. The side chamber was also orientated east-west and measured 0.80mx1.10m. The side chamber sloped down to the south and was divided into two by a second but lower step aligned east west. The skeleton was placed south of but partially overlapping this second step. Grave 5 post-dates Grave 3 but was cut by Grave 6.	Burial chamber	A skeleton of an adult male was placed on its left side, orientated east-west with the head to the west and facing northeast. The legs were placed together in a flexed position as were the arms. The hands were together and adjacent to and in front of the face. The bones were in a poor condition having been partially crushed.	Female		Adult	In the northeast corner of the grave, slightly overlapping the step between the chamber and the shaft, a complete plain pottery bowl was found in an upright position. Directly beneath the vessel was a translucent dark bottle-green obsidian blade measuring 8.2cm long. Some articulated animal bones were found lying on the floor of the east end of the grave shaft approximately 15cm away from the other artefacts. The remains of an animal scapula was also found in the north corner.

Burial **Grave 6 (M4) (31)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sub Phase 3.1-2	Rectangular shaft orientated east-west and measuring 0.95 and 1.60m across. The north, east, west and upper south sides were vertical. The floor of the shaft was divided in two by a low cut step running east-west across the centre of the area. Along the south edge of this area was a second cut step10-20cm deep that marked the north edge of an undercut side-chamber measuring 0.40-0.75x1.8m. Grave located in the centre of Trench M4. The skeleton was placed in the west two-thirds of the side chamber.	Burial chamber	Adult female skeleton, on left side, orientated east-west with the head to the west and possibly facing east-northeast. Legs together in a flexed position and the arms tightly flexed with the hands placed together, adjacent to and in front of the face.	Female		Adult	A large red-painted ceramic jar was found placed upright 20cm away from the feet of the skeleton. The jar was perforated on the interior ledge rime with four small equally placed holes. Sealing this vessel was an inverted plain pottery bowl with a small hole through the centre of the base.

12.2.2 Abu Salabikh

Main Phase **LC2-3**

Date cal. BC **3800**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early-Middle Uruk	The burials was dug into the wall that appears to be made of pise.	Infant remains placed in a large sherd/jar bottom	Infant skeleton			Infant	The body was placed on a large sherd and a bevelled rim bowl was placed upside down over the skull

12.2.3 Al-'Ubaid

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **C.8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Part of an Ubaid period cemetery?	Simple inhumation?	Absent				Collection of pots

Burial **C.9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Part of an Ubaid period cemetery?	Simple inhumation?	Decayed bone				Five clay pots, stone objects

12.2.4 Arpachiyah

Main Phase **Early Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5800**

Burial **G1 Halaf**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VI	In a pit 75cm west of the Level VI Tholos	Secondary burial	Skull placed in a pot				Skull interred in a large plain globular high necked jar. Two painted pottery vessels, one stone vessel.

Burial **G2 Halaf**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VII	50cm below Burial G1	Multiple secondary burial in ceramic vessels	Skull placed in ceramic vessel				Skull interred in a ceramic bowl - a stone bowl and six pots were associated with this multiple burial
Level VII	50cm below Burial G1	Multiple secondary burial in ceramic vessels	Skull placed in ceramic vessel				Skull interred in a ceramic bowl - a stone bowl and six pots were associated with this multiple burial
Level VII	50cm below Burial G1	Multiple secondary burial in ceramic vessels	Skull placed in ceramic vessel				Skull interred in a ceramic bowl - a stone bowl and six pots were associated with this multiple burial

Level VII	50cm below Burial G1	Multiple secondary burial in ceramic vessels	Skull placed in ceramic vessel				Skull interred in a ceramic bowl - a stone bowl and six pots were associated with this multiple burial

Burial **G3 Halaf**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VII?	Found to the south of burials G1 and G2, 30cm below G2 in Level VIII but dug from Level VII	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton, contracted position, lying on right side				Two pottery bowls and two stone bowls placed near the feet

Main Phase **Early Northern Ubaid/Ubaid 3?**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial **G1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Two painted pots

Burial **G10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	A few broken bones			Adult	Three painted pots

Burial **G11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Feet and leg bones			Adult	Two unpainted pots, two painted pots

Burial **G12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Fragments of skull and back bones			Adult	Unpainted pot, painted bowl

Burial **G13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Backbone and feet of skeleton missing			Adult	

Burial G14 and G15

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	n a circular pit, possibly a 'catacomb', which is associated with a trench leading to the mouth of the pit. Close to a second pit with a mud-brick cairn.	Burial pit	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	
Ubaid	In a circular pit, possibly a 'catacomb', which is associated with a trench leading to the mouth of the pit. Close to a second pit with a mud-brick cairn.	Burial pit	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	

Burial G16

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	In a circular pit, possibly a 'catacomb', which is associated with a trench leading to the mouth of the pit. Close to a second pit with a mud-brick cairn.	Simple inhumation?	Ault skeletal remains			Adult	

Burial G17

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid		Fragmentary burial	Skull only			Adult	

Burial G18

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation?	Absent				Two painted pots

Burial G19

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Two unpainted pots

Burial **G2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Two painted pots

Burial **G20**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	

Burial **G21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid		Fragmentary burial	Skull, right arm and toes missing			Adult	Two painted pots, sheep teeth, animal bones

Burial **G22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Infant pot burial	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within burial urn. 'Saucer'.

Burial **G23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	See above	Multiple burial	Female(?) adult skeleton	Female		Adult	See above
Ubaid	Male on the left side, female on the right. The two bodies were locked in embrace. Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Male adult skeleton, complete	Male		Adult	Frit ring bead, painted bowl at the head, painted and undecorated pot at the feet.

Burial **G24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Spatula, two pots

Burial **G25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Glazed steatite ring bead

Burial **G26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Fragmentary skeletal remains of an adult			Adult	

Burial **G27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Two painted pots. Two steatite ring beads on the toes

Burial **G28**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	One pot, one bowl

Burial **G29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	

Burial **G3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid cemetery	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeletal remains, possibly a re-burial as head found at a distance from the body			Adolescent	An unpainted pot was placed on the crania of a ram

Burial **G30**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Pelvis missing			Adult	

Burial **G31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	One glazed steatite ring

Burial **G32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Large unpainted pot sherd and ceramic vessel

Burial **G33**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Body complete down to pelvis			Adult	Unpainted pot, 'bottle'

Burial **G34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Ibex(?) horn, painted 'bottle', clay ball (sling pellet?)

Burial **G35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Skull and portions of arm-bones, legs and backbone			Adult	Unpainted plate

Burial **G36**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Leg bones only			Adult	Two painted pots, one unpainted pot

Burial **G37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	

Burial **G38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Skull, upper bones, a few ribs			Adult	

Burial **G39**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Adult skeleton, complete, but disarticulated. Arm bones collected and laid in front of the body, leg bones laid in parallel.			Adult	

Burial **G4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Necklace of black and white glazed steatite ring-beads

Burial **G40**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Postcranial adult skeleton - skull missing			Adult	Two unpainted pots

Burial **G41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Backbone, pelvis and ribs fragmentary			Adult	Two painted pots

Burial **G42**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Fragments of unpainted pots, 'clay box'

Burial **G43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	One painted pot, one unpainted pot

Burial **G5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Skull and finger bones			Adult	

Burial **G6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Smashed skull, arm bone			Adult	

Burial **G7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Associated with burial G2. Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Fragmentary burial - skull only				See above
Ubaid	Associated with burial G2. Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Fragmentary burial - skull only				See above
Ubaid	Associated with burial G2. Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Simple inhumation - complete skeleton				Painted pot

Burial **G8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Three painted pots, one pot sherd

Burial **G9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Simple inhumation - complete adult skeleton			Adult	Broken pot at the head, two painted pots at the feet, fragment of a bowl by the side that contained a portion of a infants skull
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Fragmentary burial - fragmented skull of an infant			Infant	See above. Skull fragment placed within a fragment of a bowl.

Main Phase **Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5600**

Burial **G54**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	Below house floor	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Two painted bowls at the head, obsidian knife by the shoulder, two bone awls over the skull

Burial **G55**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	Above and below the foundations of mud-brick walls	Simple inhumation	Poorly preserved skeletal remains				Shell beads with traces of red paint

Burial **G56**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	In hard red 'pise'	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Fragments of a flint knife

Burial **G57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Halaf levels	In a pit with concave sides	Fragmentary burial	Fragmented skeletal remains of an infant			Infant	Traces of straw of matting

Burial **G58**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	Below a house floor?	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Painted pot, three miniature unpainted vessels (vessels may have bee deliberately broken at the time of burial), two stone Celts, obsidian knife, stone amulet with linear markings (stamp seal?), finger bones, a few grains of barley, bone awls and scapulae
Halaf levels		Simple inhumation					

Burial **G59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	Under doorway of a house	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton				

Main Phase **Halaf IIa**

Date cal. BC **5600**

Burial **G51**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
TT8	Outside wall of tholos TT8	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Rough limestone stele standing vertically at foot of the grave. Three painted pots at the head.

Burial **G52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
TT9	Below foundations of Tholos TT9	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	

Burial **G53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
TT8	Against outside wall of Tholos TT8	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Painted saucer

Main Phase **Ubaid 3?**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial **G49**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Unoccupied areas beyond the cemetery	Disturbed burial	Few bones only				Two painted bowls

Burial **G50**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Unoccupied areas beyond the cemetery	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton				One painted pot

Main Phase **Ubaid 4?**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **G46**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Unoccupied areas beyond the cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Skull, fragments of rib and arm bone			Adult	Clay bowl, carbonised wood

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **G44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Ubaid period cemetery	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	Two painted pots

Burial **G45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Ubaid	Groups of bones sometimes separated by a line of pebbles. Ubaid period cemetery	Multiple burial	Fragmentary remains of at least three individuals, various parts of the skeletons are missing			Adult	At least 10 painted pots, animal bones - mostly the jaw bones of sheep and cattle

Burial **G47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Unoccupied areas beyond the cemetery	Fragmentary burial	Part of backbone, lower jaw and arms missing			Adult	The body rested on traces of textile, sheep's jaw-bone, potsherds, two fragments of flint knives, disk shaped fragment of a clay pot lid with string impressions, large bell-jar.

Burial **G48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid	Unoccupied areas beyond the cemetery	Multiple burial	Remains of at least seven skeletons: Four jaw-bones, one skull, arms, ribs, pelves and leg bones.				Fragments of flint and ceramic sherds

12.2.5 Arslantepe

Main Phase **LC3-4**

Date cal. BC **3500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period VII	Probably originally under the floor of a house	Simple inhumation?	Not recorded				Necklace and armlet made of shell and stone beads
Period VII	Probably originally under the floor of a house	Simple inhumation?	Not recorded				

Main Phase **LC5**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period VIA	Found in disturbed area	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

12.2.6 Boztepe

Main Phase **Middle - Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Burial 3 (BZ1090)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In area A, Trench 1 (A-1). Burials were spaced 1m apart in a relatively straight line running from east to west. No architectural remains were found in this area suggesting that this was perhaps a cemetery area.	Simple inhumation: Deceased placed in simple pit cut into and filled in with hard clay and scattered pieces of white limestone	Adult skeleton, lying on the right side, head to the east and facing north. The body was tightly flexed with the legs bent up to the torso and the arms bent so that the hands were under the skull.			Adult	Globular hole-mouthed jar with painted decoration, a crudely made miniature straight-sided collared jar that was discovered on top of, and partly inside, a slightly larger and more bulbous jar with painted designs. Small bulbous jar with four evenly spaced lug-handles on the shoulder

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In area A, Trench 1 (A-1). Burials were spaced 1m apart in a relatively straight line running from east to west. No architectural remains were found in this area suggesting that this was perhaps a cemetery area.	Fragmentary burial	Fragments of skull, a left scapula and a left humerus. Does not appear to be the remains of a single person.				Miniature undecorated long-necked jar discovered 25cm north-west of the skull fragments

Burial **Burials 1and 2 (BZ1061 + BZ1064)**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In area A, Trench 1 (A-1). Burials were spaced 1m apart in a relatively straight line running from east to west. No architectural remains were found in this area suggesting that this was perhaps a cemetery area.	Multiple Burial: Deceased placed in simple pit cut into and filled in with hard clay and scattered pieces of white limestone	Burial 2 (BZ1064): Adult (male?) skeleton, on right side, head to the east and facing north. Legs tightly flexed and brought up to the chest, the right arm outstretched towards the north. The skeleton was interred directly beneath Burial 1.		18+	Adult	Miniature crude, undecorated straight-sided collared jar behind the ribcage. Square soapstone stamp-seal discovered near the right humerus and clavicle
Halaf	In area A, Trench 1 (A-1). Burials were spaced 1m apart in a relatively straight line running from east to west. No architectural remains were found in this area suggesting that this was perhaps a cemetery area.	Multiple Burial: Deceased placed in simple pit cut into and filled in with hard clay and scattered pieces of white limestone	Burial 1 (BZ1061): Adult female skeleton, on right side facing north. The arms were bent at the elbows, placing the hands under the mandible, and the legs were tightly flexed and brought up to the torso.	Female	20-40	Adult	A squat jar with painted decoration was placed behind the skull

12.2.7 Çavi Tarlası

Main Phase **Middle Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5600**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest.			Child	

Burial **Burial 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest.			Child	

Burial **Burial 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Associated with Tholos 8.	Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton			Child	Two horn cores were located either side of the skull. The grave also contained a shell and some flint flakes

Burial **Burial 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Simple inhumation	Child skeleton			Child	

Burial **Burial 13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Simple inhumation	Child skeleton			Child	

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime	No skeletal remains recovered				

		mortar and covered with pebbles and shards					

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	No skeletal remains recovered			Child	

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	No skeletal remains recovered				

Burial **Burial 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Disturbed burial	Disturbed skeletal remains of an individual				

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Disturbed burial	Disturbed skeletal remains of an individual				

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest			Child	

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Located outside of Tholos 3.	Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Adult skeleton			Adult	
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, lay at the feet of the adult skeleton.			Child	

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest			Child	

Burial **Burial 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest			Child	

Burial **Burial 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest			Child	

Burial **Burial 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, crouched position, head to the northwest			Child	

Burial **Burial 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Simple inhumation	Child skeleton			Child	

Burial **Burial 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf		Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Child skeleton, lay at the head of the adult skeleton.			Child	
Halaf	Sunk close to the foundations of Tholos 8.	Pit lined with lime mortar and covered with pebbles and shards	Adult skeleton			Adult	A stone axe, a clay disc, and two flint blades were placed above the shoulder by the right heads of the skeletons. In addition, the burials were accompanied by three other blades from flint and obsidian.

12.2.8 Chagar Bazar

Main Phase **Halaf IIa**

Date cal. BC **5600**

Burial **G80**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12		Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, orientated north-south with the head to the north			Adult	Painted pottery

Burial **G81**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12		Simple inhumation	Child skeleton			Child	Unpainted pottery 'lamp'

Burial **G82**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	Unpainted pottery, 'miniature dropper'

Burial **G83**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12		Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton			Adult	Unpainted pottery miniature

Burial **G84**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12		Simple inhumation?	Adult skeleton			Adult	Painted pottery

Main Phase **Halaf IIb**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 11		Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, complete			Child	

Burial **G78**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 9		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, orientated north-south, head to the north			Infant	Painted pottery

Main Phase **Halaf Ubaid Transitional**

Date cal. BC **5300**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6		Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **G86**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	Unpainted pottery lamp

Main Phase **Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC

Burial **T6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	

12.2.9 Choga Mami

Main Phase **Classic Samarra**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level III	On the floor of room 7, square O12, Level III	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Main Phase **Samarra**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 4	Within room of a building that had a 'massive' exterior wall	Infant pot burial	Fragmentary infant remains			Infant	Infant remains placed in coarse ware pot alongside high necked Samarran jar

12.2.10 Choga Mish

Main Phase **Archaic Susiana 3**

Date cal. BC **5750**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:809. Below room 809 in Building 3.	Simple inhumation in pit	Fragmentary remains.				Grave goods present but not recorded.
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:810. In open area to the south of Building 3.	Simple inhumation in pit	Fragmentary remains of a child. Missing crania.			Child	Covered with red ochre.
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:810. In open area to the south of Building 3.	Simple inhumation in pit	Crania.				
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:810. In open area to the south of Building 3.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, orientated northeast-southwest, head to the northeast, facing north.			Child	
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:809. In close proximity to architectural features.	Simple inhumation in pit	Badly preserved skeletal remains of an adult, orientated east-west, head to the east, facing north.			Adult	Ground stone quern and two stone balls.
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	O23:807. In possible courtyard of Building 3.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, orientated east-west, head to the east, facing south.			Adult	Two ceramic vessels at the head.
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:803. Open area of settlement.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, lying on back, orientated north-west to south east, head to the south-west.			Adult	Stone mace head.
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:809. In close proximity to architectural remains.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, orientated east-west, head to the east, facing north.			Adult	
Trench XXI Archaic Susiana 3	Q23:810. In open area to the south of Building 3.	Simple inhumation in pit	Fragmentary remains. Possibly related to isolated skull found in close proximity.				

Gully Cut Archaic Susiana 3	S23:824. Settlement area.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, contracted, orientated east-west, head to the east, facing south.			Adult	

Burial **Grave 5.16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Archaic Susiana 3 trench XXXII		Simple inhumation?	Skeleton, extended position				

Burial **Grave 5.17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Archaic Susiana 3 trench XXXII		Simple inhumation?	Skeleton, extended position				

Main Phase **Early Susiana**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Below entrance of southern wall P22:621 E/801. Part of 'monumental' structure Building 5.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton.			Child	
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Room 802 of Building 8.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, lying on back, facing south.			Adult	
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Below entrance of southern wall P22:621 E/801. Part of 'monumental' structure Building 5.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton.			Child	
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Below entrance of southern wall P22:621 E/801. Part of 'monumental' structure Building 5.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton.			Child	
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Below entrance of southern wall P22:621 E/801. Part of 'monumental' structure Building 5.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton.			Child	

Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Below entrance of southern wall P22:621 E/801. Part of 'monumental' structure Building 5.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton			Adult	
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 2	Below entrance of southern wall P22:621 E/801. Part of 'monumental' structure Building 5.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton			Adult	
Trench XXI Early Susiana complex, Phase 1	Found at the corner of the fragmentary T-shaped wall in P23:608.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton in stretched position, head facing north.			Adult	

Main Phase **Late Susiana 2**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench XXII, Late Susiana 2 Architecture, Phase 2.	Skeleton placed in rectangular burial pit 90x180cm. Below kilns in N10:1002.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton orientate east-west, head to the east.			Adult	Single vessel placed at the feet.
Trench XXIII, Late Susiana Architecture, Phase 1.	Next to the southern wall of Room N10:1010.	Simple inhumation?	Disturbed. A few badly preserved bones.				Stone hoe and a complete vessel

Main Phase **Middle Susiana**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Middle Susiana complex, trench XXI	In open areas.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, orientated NE-SW.			Adult	
Middle Susiana complex, trench XXI	Under the floor of rooms P22:604.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton orientated orth-south, head to the west.			Adult	Simple vessel.
Middle Susiana complex, Trench XXI	In open area.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, contracted, orientated East West, head to the east..			Adult	

Middle Susiana complex, trench XXI	Under the floor of room P22: 603.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton orientated east-west, head to the north.			Adult	Simple vessel.

Main Phase **Middle Susiana (Ubaid 2-3)**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Middle Susiana trench XXII	In the northern part of trench XXII the remnants of a badly decayed skeleton, pelvis, long bones and a completely disarticulated skull were found at 5.90 B.S. The skull had been artificially deformed.	Simple inhumation?	Badly decayed skeleton, pelvis, long bones and a completely disarticulated and artificially deformed skull				Unpainted beaker and small jar.

12.2.11 Değirmentepe

Main Phase **Ubaid Transitional**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room EC, Building EE	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a DFBW vessel
Level 7	Placed into a wall or niche of a wall of Room CF, Square 16J	Wall burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	
Level 7	Room CF in Square 16 J	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level 7	Found inside the wall of Room DB, Building EE	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level 7	Found next to Burial D.81-137, Room AY, Building DU	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Level 7	Below floor of Room CM, Building GK	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level 7	Found next to Burial D.81-137, Room AY, Building DU	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton		Infant	
Level 7	In front of the south wall of Room AU. Building BC	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeletal remains	12 months	Infant	
Level 7	Found inside a wall of Room DU, Building DU	Wall burial	Fragments of skull, lower jaw and long bones belonging to a 3 year old infant	3 years	Infant	
Level 7	Associated with Room DV, Building DU	Simple inhumation?	Disturbed skeletal remains - skull and teeth only			
Level 7	Below floor of Room BK of Square 18F	Simple inhumation in pit	Skeletal remains			
Level 7	Buried under the south-east corner of Room U, Building I	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton		Child	

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Found within the east wall of Room CH, Building GK	Wall burial	Child skeletal remains			Child	

Burial **Burial 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed within a grain bin of Room CH, Building GK	Disposed in grain bin	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **Burial 20**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed inside the north wall of Room CY, Building GK	Wall burial	Child skeletal remains - Skull, teeth and long bones		11-12 years	Child	

Burial **Burial 226**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed within grain bin (290) of Room AD, Building I	Disposed in grain bin	Skeleton a 4-5 month old infant			Infant	

Burial **Burial 227**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed with grain bin (289) of Room AD, Building I	Disposed in grain bin	Skull and long bones of 1-2 week old infant		1-2 weeks	Infant	

Burial **Burial 228**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed within grain bin (291) of Room AD, Building I	Disposed in grain bin	Infant skeleton, flexed position			Infant	

Burial **Burial 229**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed within grain bin (292) of Room R, Building I	Disposed in grain bin	Skeletal remains of a stillborn baby			Infant	

Burial **Burial 27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room BB, Building BC	Fractional burial	Skull and long bones of an adolescent		13-14 years	Adolescent	

Burial **Burial 286**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room BD,	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic

	Building BC						vessel

Burial **Burial 292**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room BD, Building BC	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in DFBW vessel

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room DB, Building EE	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Burial 33**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Found in association with Burial 32. Below floor of Room DB, Building EE	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **Burial 61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Placed inside the wall of Room DB, Building EE	Wall burial	Infant/child skeletal remains			Infant	

Burial **Burial 62**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Found to the south of Burial 64 below floor of Room DB, Building EE	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/child skeletal remains			Infant	

Burial **Burial 64**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Found at the SE corner of Room DB, Building EE	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton. Body in a flexed position			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Burial 69**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room AD, Building I	Infant pot burial	Skull and long bones of a stillborn baby			Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a DFBW vessel with two lugs

Burial **Burial 86**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Skeletal remains found within Pit 149, cut into Room I, Building I	Burial pit	Skeletal remains				

Burial **D.81-113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Below floor of Room BE, Building DU	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, flexed, in sitting position			Infant	Skeleton placed in a plain ware vessel

Burial **D.81-137**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	see above
Level 7	Below floor of Room AY, Building DU	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Placed within DFBW vessel with four lugs

Burial **D.84-75**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Room DU in square 15K	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a DFBW vessel

Burial **D.84-93**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Found in front of the door of Room U, Building I	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in DFBW vessel with two lugs

12.2.12 Djaffarabad

Main Phase **Early Susiana/Ubaid 1**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Burial 1013**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period 1: Levels 6 and 4		Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, 10 years old, Orientated N-S head to S, on back.		10	Child	Traces of red ochre on the body. Trapezoid stone axe near the head.

Burial **Burial 949**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period 1: Levels 6 and 4		Simple inhumation in pit	Infant burial, orientated N-S, head to N, on back.			Infant	Ceramic vessel placed under the head.

Main Phase **Middle Susiana/Ubaid 2**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Burial 805**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period II: Level 3		Simple inhumation?	Skeleton extended on back, head to the east, facing upwards.				Two ceramic vessels were placed behind the head.

Main Phase **Susa A/Terminal Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **Burial 535**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level II	Excavated at Level I but likely dug from Level II	Brick lined tomb	Infant skeleton, orientated E-W, placed on back, facing west, kegs folded.			Infant	Body was wrapped in matting and associated with a painted vessel, placed by the head, and a bead.

Burial **Burial 540**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level II	Excavated at Level I but likely dug from Level II	Brick lined tomb	Infant skeleton placed on back, orientated E-W, facing upwards, legs extended.			Infant	Associated with three ceramic vessels and a stamp seal.

12.2.13 Domuztepe

Main Phase **Halaf II**

Date cal. BC **5550**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Operation I Post Death Pit	Located to the south of the Death Pit, Operation I.	Burial pit	Almost complete skeleton of a child		6	Child	
Operation I Post Death Pit		Secondary burial	Fragment of skull				
Operation I Post Death Pit	To the southwest of the Death Pit a deposit contained a child's skull, and pig skull and a pot containing a fragment of human skull. Operation I.	Secondary burial	Skull of a child			Child	
Operation I Post Death Pit	Located to the south of the Death pit, Operation I	Secondary burial	Complex secondary burial				
Operation I Post Death Pit	Located south of the Death Pit, Operation I.	Cranial burial	Isolated skull				

Burial **F942**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Operation I Post Death Pit	Pit F942 was located to the northwest of the Death pit and contained distinct deposits that appear to mirror those of the Death Pit.	Fragmentary burial	Fragmentary human remains				

Burial **F868**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Operation I Post Death Pit	Pit F868 cut into Pit F942 and contained a human jaw. Northwest of the Death Pit. Operation I.	Fragmentary burial	Human jawbone				

Date cal. BC **5575**

Burial **Death Pit/Feature 148**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	40 plus	Adult	
Late Halaf	The Death Pit was feature recovered from Operation 1 that was approximately 5 x 4m in area and 1m in depth. The Death Pit, as the name suggests, was the site of a mass burial comprising of layers of disarticulated and processed bone from at least 36 individuals and a large number of animals, which was mixed with ash, broken pottery and other artefacts.	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		0-12 months	Infant	A number of coarse ware jars that seemed to lie directly above the pit, and at least two finer painted vessels, which were smashed with the sherds scattered amongst the human remains. Furthermore, several pieces of worked bone were found within the deposits and several stone seals and a headless-figurine were found in a close to the Death Pit.
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		1-4	Infant	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	40 plus	Adult	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		40 plus	Adult	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		0-12 months	Infant	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		1-4	Infant	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	20-30	Adult	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	20-30	Adult	
Late Halaf		Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	10-15	Adolescent	

Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	10-15	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		10-15	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		10-15	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		10-15	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	15-20	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	15-20	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	15-20	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		15-20	Adolescent
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	20-30	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		30-40	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	20-30	Adult

Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		5-9	Child
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	30-40	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		1-4	Infant
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		5-9	Child
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	20-30	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	40 plus	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	20-30	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	30-40	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	30-40	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Male	30-40	Adult
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		20-30	Adult

Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		5-9	Child	
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains		20-30	Adult	
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	20-30	Adult	
Late Halaf	Complex multi-stage funerary deposit	Heavily processed fragmentary skeletal remains	Female	30-40	Adult	

Date cal. BC **5590**

Burial **F1465**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Op 1. Pre-Death Pit	The burial was recovered from the Red Terrace in Operation I.	Simple inhumation	Fully articulated adult skeleton. Orientated east-west, head to the east and facing north.			Adult	

Date cal. BC **5600**

Burial **Infant burial**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Operation II	Recovered from Operation II but damaged from later cut.	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	

12.2.14 Eridu

Main Phase **post-Ubaid?**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial 91**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Possibly post-Ubaid burial due to lack of pottery and unusual orientation.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated SE			Adult	Meat bones on chest, piece of reed mat near left leg with pieces of ochre paint on it.

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery	Sealed libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended, hands at side, face westward Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 52 on the face 13A west of the feet
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery	Sealed libn box	Female skeleton, extended, hands at side, face eastward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	

Burial **Burial 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation	Adult? Skeleton, extended, hands at side, face slightly westward			Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 5C, 13A. Meat bone

Burial **Burial 100**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeletal remains - skull and vertebrae only.			Child	
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, body placed on right side, skull crushed, disturbed. Orientated NW.			Child	

Burial **Burial 101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.			Adult	See below:
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 8A, 12B,13D, 7A, 1C. (Pottery types 7A ad 1C belong to the first burial but found beneath the second corpse)

Burial **Burial 102**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward.	Male		Adult	

Burial **Burial 103**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, embryonic position, face westward. Orientated SE.			Child	

Burial **Burial 104**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery. Part of the libn box was destroyed when a space with a box of another burial was constructed.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, fractional burial, skull fallen, legs missing. Orientated NW			Adult	

Burial **Burial 105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands extended. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 13A, 1B, 5C. Two clay pellets.

Burial **Burial 106**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended slightly on left side, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.			Adult	See above.
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1C, 13E, 13E, 5C, 1B

Burial **Burial 107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.55	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, seated on shoulder of female, with the right hand on her head.			Child	See above:

Level 0.55	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands extended. Orientated NW.	Female	Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1B, 2B near right foot, 1B to the left of the child.

Burial **Burial 108**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, disturbed. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 13E, 6A, 1A. Band of red stone beads around hips.

Burial **Burial 109**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult skeleton, extended on back, right hand near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 2A with vertical handle, 6B, 8A.

Burial **Burial 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton of a 15 year old girl, extended on back, skull fallen. Orientated NW	Female	15	Adolescent	Pottery types: 1B, 5C, 13B. Frit beads at right side of neck.

Burial **Burial 111**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20		Buried in sand					
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, body on back, face upwards hands straight.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 1B

Level 1.20	Buried in sand

Burial **Burial 112**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery. The first two corpses were buried first and separated from the third corpse by a layer of earth 10cm thick. The skull of the child was found when the third corpse was interred, and was removed and placed on top of the female body. The box was then covered with libn which extended outside the box.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 7B, 5A, 13E
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery. The first two corpses were buried first and separated from the third corpse by a layer of earth 10cm thick. The skull of the child was found when the third corpse was interred, and was removed and placed on top of the female body. The box was then covered with libn which extended outside the box.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, body on back, legs crossed at feet, hand near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13C, 4B
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery. The first two corpses were buried first and separated from the third corpse by a layer of earth 10cm thick. The skull of the child was found when the third corpse was interred, and was removed and placed on top of the female body. The box was then covered with libn which extended outside the box.	Libn box	Child skeleton, disturbed, skull was found higher up in the libn box. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 1B, 12C

Burial **Burial 113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Pottery types: 5A, 13D, 8A

Burial **Burial 114**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, face westward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 12C, 5B Band of two rows of frit beads around knees. Another band of the same beads around the hips.

Burial **Burial 115**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, fractional, legs and chest in one place and smashed skull and arms in another.			Child	Pottery types: 5C, 13A

Burial **Burial 116**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, body on back, face upwards, hands near pelvis, knees slightly bent. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	See above.
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery. Two corpse are were separated by a thin layer of sand.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 5A,12A, 1A. Pottery may belong to second corpse (adult male) as placed near the right foot.

Burial **Burial 117**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Female child skeleton, face upward, ribs and arms slightly disturbed. Orientated NW	Female		Child	Pottery types: 5A, 9A, 8B, 1B,

Burial **Burial 118**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face slightly westward, left arm near pelvis. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 1B, 13C

Burial **Burial 119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Infant remains, fractional, skull in NW of box.			Infant	Pottery type: 1B

Burial **Burial 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended, right hand placed near pelvis, left hand at side. Orientated NW.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 120**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.25	Ubaid period cemetery. The libn box was wrongly orientated and seemed to be prepared before interment, so the body had to be placed diagonally in order to be in the right orientation.	Libn box	Adult? Male?, fractional. Body on back, skull east of the left arm, lower jaw east of the left leg.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 121**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery. The female corpse is partially over the male, separated by a thin layer of sand.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face eastward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery. The female corpse is partially over the male, separated by a thin layer of sand.	Buried in sand	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face westward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 13E

Burial **Burial 122**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.75	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, body on back, face eastward, disturbed, knees probably bent. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 12C, 13D, 4A.

Burial **Burial 123**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery. A skull was found east of the head of the corpse, but 20cm higher.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward, hands beside legs. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13C, 1C. Stone dish beneath skull.
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery. A skull was found east of the head of the corpse, but 20cm higher.	Libn box	Skull				

Burial **Burial 124**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery	Libn box	Infant skeleton, body on back, face upward. Orientated NW.			Infant	

Burial **Burial 125**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	On libn platform	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 3B, 5A

Burial **Burial 126**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded.

Burial **Burial 127**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded.	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded.

Burial **Burial 128**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hands on legs, skull fallen. Orientated NW.			Adult	' Bowls of three petals shape'.

Burial **Burial 129**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery. The floor of the libn box was paved with bitumen.	Sealed libn box	Child skeleton, body on back, face slightly westward, hands extended, knees slightly bent. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 4A near right shoulder. Body wrapped in matting.

Burial **Burial 13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	adult? Skeleton, skull collapsed, 'displaced' (disturbed?). Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 10B
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5B, 13E

Burial **Burial 130**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 1B, 13E

Burial **Burial 131**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13A

Burial **Burial 132**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 11B, 1A, 5D, 10A near right shoulder.

Burial **Burial 133**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female? Skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13B, 1C, 5A near left foot.

Burial **Burial 134**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands extended. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1C, 13E, 13E

Burial **Burial 135**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 13E, 3B

Burial **Burial 136**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, disturbed, body on back, legs extended but not in line with the spine, skull smashed. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 1B, 13C

Burial **Burial 137**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation	Adult? Female skeleton. Skull, shoulder and part of the chest are missing due to a pit cut, legs extended, right hand near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Band of white and black beads around the knees, other beads near the elbows.

Burial **Burial 138**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward, right hand near pelvis, left straight. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 12A. Some 'Hajji Mohammed' sherds found in the fill of tomb. Meat bones deposited above filling.

Burial **Burial 139**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box filled with sand.	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upwards, hands extended. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 3B, 6A, 1B

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, body extended, on right side. Orientated NW			Child	

Burial **Burial 140**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upward, the right knee slightly flexed. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 6A, 2A

Burial **Burial 141**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, extended on back, hands straight face upward. Orientated NW.			Child	

Burial **Burial 142**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, hands at sides, face upward. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1B, 13E

Burial **Burial 143**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1B, 13A

Burial **Burial 144**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	No human remains				Pottery types: 5C, 8B.

Burial **Burial 145**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, body on back, face upward, hands near pelvis, legs bent backward. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 13C near shoulder.
Level 1.00		Libn box	Skull. Found on the right side of this burial.				

Burial **Burial 146**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation	Body on left side, face eastward, left hand touching chin, right arm bent over the body, legs flexed at knees. Orientated NW.				

Burial **Burial 147**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, body on back, hands near pelvis, face upward, legs bent westward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 8C, 7B, near right shoulder.

Burial **Burial 148**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Extended on back, skull missing. Orientated NW.				Pottery types: 13C

Burial **Burial 149**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	On libn platform covered with sand	Child skeleton, extended on back, face slightly westward. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 5C, 13E Skull of an animal near right foot.

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton of an adolescent, extended, hands by the sides, face slightly westward.			Adolescent	Pottery types: 1B, 7A, 1B, 5C, 5A, 13E

Burial **Burial 150**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult male skeleton, disturbed, body on back, hands near pelvis, skull collapsed, legs crossed. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 8A, 13D

Burial **Burial 151**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery. Skulls missing due to pit cut.	Simple inhumation	Adult male skeleton, body on back, legs slightly bent, hand near pelvis, skull missing. Orientated NW			Adult	See above.
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery. Skulls missing due to pit cut.	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, extended, head missing. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 9C, 1C

Burial **Burial 152**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13A, 5B, 5B.

Burial **Burial 153**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, body on back, face upward, legs crossed. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 6A, 11A, 5C

Burial **Burial 154**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Pottery types: 12C

Burial **Burial 155**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery. Libn box incomplete.	Libn box	Adult skeleton, disturbed when the second corpse was interred above it. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 12C, 5C
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery. Libn box incomplete.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, left hand near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13C

Burial **Burial 156**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 157**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, body on back, face upward, hands near pelvis, legs slightly flexed. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 6A, 1C, 12A

Burial **Burial 158**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands straight, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 1A, 4B, 5C Cowrie shell and two frit beads found on chest.

Burial **Burial 159**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	'Old' male skeleton, body on back, right hand straight, left near pelvis, face slightly westward. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 7A, 1A, 12A

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Child skeleton, extended, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW			Child	13C, 1C, 5A

Burial **Burial 160**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 161**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, right hand over pelvis, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1B, 13D

Burial **Burial 162**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6B, 5C, 1B

Burial **Burial 163**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skull. Found to the left of the female skeleton.				see above.

Level 2.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Young female skeleton, disturbed, body on back, legs flexed, face westward. Orientated NW	Female			Pottery types: 1B, 3B, 6A

Burial **Burial 164**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upwards. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, disturbed, extended, face upward. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6D

Burial **Burial 165**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 1B

Burial **Burial 166**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, extended on back, face slightly westward.			Child	

Burial **Burial 167**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, extended on back, right hand near chin, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 1C, 3A (possible that pottery did not belong to this burial)

Burial **Burial 168**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 0.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation	Adult female skeleton, body on back, right hands on chest, legs flexed. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	

Burial **Burial 169**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Infant skeleton, body extended, face upward. Orientated E.			Infant	Pottery types: 12A with two handles, 4A, 7D.

Burial **Burial 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40		Libn box					
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery. On each side of this grave was a child buried outside the box and the body of at third child was above the box.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended, hands near pelvis, face slightly eastward			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 5C, 12A, 1B

Burial **Burial 170**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands extended, face upward. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 1B

Burial **Burial 171**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upwards. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6B, 1B, 12B

Burial **Burial 172**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, right hand near pelvis, left hand extended, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 1B, 13C, 13D

Burial **Burial 173**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands straight, face slightly eastward, the right femur out of position and laid across the pelvis. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 7A, 1B

Burial **Burial 174**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 4A, 7A with incisions inside. 3cm bands of frit beads below knees.

Burial **Burial 175**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face westward.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13A, 7A

Burial **Burial 176**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	On libn floor	Child skeleton, body on back, face upward. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 4A

Burial **Burial 177**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, right arm bent over the chest, left arm straight. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	

Burial **Burial 178**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands straight, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 8C

Burial **Burial 179**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Young female skeleton, extended on back, right hand on pelvis, left extended, face upward.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 13E, 1B

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, body slightly turned on left side, right hand near pelvis.	Female		Adult	See above.
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, body slightly turned on right side, right hand extended, left hand on the pelvis. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 8A, 8A

Burial **Burial 180**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, disturbed when second corpse interred. Legs missing due to pit cut. Orientated NW			Adult	
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, body on back, face upward. Legs missing due to pit cut. Orientated NW.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 181**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female? Skeleton, extended on back, face upward, right hand near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 1C, 6A, 5A, 12A

Burial **Burial 182**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 112A, 8B, 5C

Burial **Burial 183**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery. Male skeleton buried first.	Simple inhumation	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 13A, 1B
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation	Adult female skeleton, disturbed, extended on back. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 12C

Burial **Burial 184**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Shaft cut into an older libn box	Child? Skeleton, body on back, face westward, legs flexed. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 13E

Burial **Burial 185**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton of a 'youth', extended on back. Orientated NW.			Adolescent	The complete skeleton of a dog(?) was laid on its left side across the human skeleton, with its head to the south, separated by a thin layer of earth.

Burial **Burial 186**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 4B Frit beads near pelvis.
Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, disturbed when the second corpse interred. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 12B, 5C

Burial **Burial 187**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.35	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box?	No skeletal remains				

Burial **Burial 188**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Body laid on back, face upward. Legs missing. Orientated NW.				Pottery types: 5A, 13E, 12C

Burial **Burial 189**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hand extended. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13E, 12C Fragments of a large pottery bowl found laid on the chest (chest of which skeleton not recorded)
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skull near the left shoulder.			Adult	See above

Burial **Burial 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Pottery type 39C?

Burial **Burial 190**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 191**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Infant skeleton, body on back. Orientated NW.			Infant	

Burial **Burial 192**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, right arm bent on body, left arm straight, face eastward. Orientated NW.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 193**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face upward, arms straight. Orientated NW.			Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1B, 13C, 13A

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery	On libn floor	Adult? Skeleton- bad preservation. Extended, hands near pelvis, face westward. Orientated NW.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 20**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Pottery type 5C?

Burial **Burial 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.45	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended, face slightly westward, arms and legs in disorder. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 3B, 5A, 1B

Burial **Burial 23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery. Remains pushed aside when the female was buried.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended, slightly on right side, face westward. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	8A, 5A, 13A, 6A, 6A, 12C. One of the dishes were placed underneath the female skeleton, the other vessels were near the feet of both.
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended, face westward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	See above.

Burial **Burial 24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery. The body of the female partially covered that of the male.	Simple inhumation?	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face eastward, hand near pelvis.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 12B
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery. The body of the female partially covered that of the male.	Simple inhumation?	Adult male skeleton, extended on back. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 13A

Burial **Burial 25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20m	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 7A, 12B near the right foot.

Burial **Burial 26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation?	Bad preservation. Skeleton extended face eastward. Orientated NW				

Burial **Burial 27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surfaces	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation?	Bad preservation				Pottery types: 2A, 1A, 7A

Burial **Burial 28**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, c.14 years old, extended, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW		14	Adolescent	Pottery types: 5C, 1B, 2A

Burial **Burial 29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, body on back, legs slightly flexed. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 12B

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male, extended on back, hand near pelvis, face westward. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 12B
Level	Ubaid period cemetery. Female skeleton was pushed aside when the male skeleton was buried.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on right side, face westward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 8C, 12B

Burial **Burial 30**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.15	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Female adult skeleton, extended, right hand on body, head collapsed. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13D, 13A, 1C, 12C, 1B. The two cups (type 1C & 1B) were found inserted in the mouth of the two jars (types 12A & 13D). Jar type 12A with the cup in its mouth lay near the right shoulder of the female. Other vessels lay near the feet of the female skeleton. Fish and meat bones.
Level 0.15	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Male adult skeleton, extended, legs crossed.	Male		Adult	See above.

Burial **Burial 31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery. The body on the right side of the grave was buried first.	Sealed libn box	Adult? Skeleton, body on left side. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 5C, 13E, 13E, 13E. Two dishes and on jar was placed on one side of the feet and two more jars on the other side.
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery. The body on the right side of the grave was buried first.	Sealed libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on the back. Orientated NW			Adult	See above.

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery. Grave placed over an older grave.	Simple inhumation	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face upwards. Orientated NW.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 33**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Female adult skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1B, 13E. Two meat bones near the head.

Burial **Burial 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back. Orientated NW			Child	

Burial **Burial 36**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.40	Ubaid period cemetery. Grave placed over an older burial.	Simple inhumation?	Skeleton extended on back, hands near pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.				Pottery types: 5C, 2A

Burial **Burial 37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton extended. Orientated NW.				Pottery types: 5A, 2B

Burial **Burial 38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended, slightly n the left side.			Child	

Burial **Burial 39**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Child skeleton, c14 years old, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW		14	Adolescent	Pottery types: 5A, 6A, 13C, 1A near the right arm. Bead of rock crystal on the lower jaw.

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 40**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation?	Child skeleton, extended, body on the back. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 5C, 11A, 13E, 9A. Three beads of green stone near the lower jaw. A string of obsidian beads, calcite and shell around the waist.

Burial **Burial 41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face eastwards. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1C, 13C. The dish was beside the pelvis and the jar nearby. Meat bones were placed on the box after the body and vessels were covered with earth.

Burial **Burial 42**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, right hand extended, left hand on pelvis, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1B, 13E near the right leg, 13B.

Burial **Burial 43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, left hand on pelvis, face slightly eastward.			Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1B, 13C

Burial **Burial 44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, legs flexed. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 13E near head

Burial **Burial 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Infant skeleton, extended on back, head facing west. Orientated NW.			Infant	
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery. Later interment?	Libn box	Infant skeleton, position confused. Orientated NW.			Infant	

Burial **Burial 46**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.75	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adolescent skeleton, extended on back, right hand on pelvis, left hand extended, face upward. Orientated NW.			Adolescent	Pottery types: 6A, 12C, 11A, 13A

Burial **Burial 48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.35	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, body on back face westward.			Child	Pottery type: 5C, 8B, 1B

Burial **Burial 49**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded.				Not recorded.

Burial **Burial 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 50**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, c.12 years old, extended on back. Orientated NW		12	Child	Pottery types: 4A

Burial **Burial 51**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton of an elderly female, extended on back, hands on pelvis, face slightly westward. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 1A, 13E, 12A

Burial **Burial 52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upwards, hands on pelvis. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 11A, 13A, 13D

Burial **Burial 53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended, slightly on the left side, right hand on pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 7A, 13A

Burial **Burial 54**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.20	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 6A, 1C, 11A

Burial **Burial 55**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 56**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.90	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, body on back knees, slightly flexed, face upward.			Child	Pottery types: 12C near right shoulder

			Orientated NW				

Burial **Burial 57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 58**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton of elderly female. Extended on back, legs missing. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1C, 1B, 8B, 12A

Burial **Burial 59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended, hands on pelvis, face westward. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 13E
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery. Female buried first.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended, hands on pelvis, face westward. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13C, 13A - both next to the feet.

Burial **Burial 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 60**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Simple inhumation?	Adult? Skeleton, extended, face upward. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5A and 1C to the west of the feet, 8C east of the body.

Burial **Burial 61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.65	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 4A, 13A with handle on shoulder.

Burial **Burial 62**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, body on back, hands on pelvis, knees bent, skull collapsed. Orientated NE.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 13A, 1B Two beads of red stone on both sides of the jaw.

Burial **Burial 63**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, left hand on pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	See above.
Level not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands on pelvis. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 7B, 8B. Bodies wrapped in a mat.

Burial **Burial 64**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton extended on back, left hand on pelvis Orientated NW.				Pottery types: 7C, 13E, 5B

Burial **Burial 65**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, right hand on pelvis, left hand extended. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 1C, 13E

Burial **Burial 66**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, left hand extended. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13A, 1C

Burial **Burial 67**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upward, left arm bent, the right arm straight. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 13D, 7C, 1B

Burial **Burial 68**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.70	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Adult female skeleton, face slightly westward, hands on pelvis.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1B, 13E Band 6.5cm wide of white and black beads around the body near the pelvis. Figurine (no. 602) found near the left shoulder.

Burial **Burial 69**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a clay floor	Child skeleton, extended on back. Orientated NW.			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 1B, 13E

Burial **Burial 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.55	Ubaid period cemetery.	Sealed libn box	Child skeleton, extended, face upward. Orientated NW			Child	

Burial **Burial 70**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.10	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, right hand extended, left hand on pelvis, face slightly westward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13D

Burial **Burial 71**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery. The female was buried after the male.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands on pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5C, 12B
Level 1.25	Ubaid period cemetery. The male was buried before the female.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6A with partition, 1B

Burial **Burial 72**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery. Male buried before female.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6B, 1B, 1B
Level 1.70	Ubaid period cemetery. Female buried after male.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face slightly eastward. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	see above.

Burial **Burial 74**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Pottery types: 5A?

Burial **Burial 75**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Surface	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Pottery types: 12A?

Burial **Burial 76**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a clay floor	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face eastward, left arm straight, right arm flexed on abdomen. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 1C, 13A

Burial **Burial 77**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.85	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Child skeleton, body on back, legs slightly flexed, left arm straight, right arm flexed on body. Orientated NW.			Child	

Burial **Burial 78**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.85	Ubaid period cemetery. Two of the burials are	Buried on a libn floor	Adult? skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands			Adult	Pottery types: 4A, 4A, 12B, 11A

	superimposed.		near pelvis. Orientated NW				
Level 0.85	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult? Skeleton, disturbed. Orientated NW			Adult	see above.
Level 0.85	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW			Adult	see above.

Burial **Burial 79**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Skeleton extended on back. Orientated NW				Pottery types: 6A, 1C

Burial **Burial 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, legs slightly bent, hands meeting at the pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.			Adult	Meat bone on the breast.

Burial **Burial 80**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Skeleton of a 'girl', extended on back. Orientated NW.	Female			Pottery types: 13A, 5A, 1B. Necklace of calcite around the neck. Necklace of yellow, white and black beads around the body near the hips.

Burial **Burial 81**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, face upward, arms extended by the sides. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 12A, 1B

Burial **Burial 82**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.00	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, legs crossed, hands on pelvis, face upward. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 6B, 12B, 1B, 13D

Burial **Burial 83**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hands one over another near the pelvis. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13A, 13A, 12B
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult male, body on back, face eastward, hands near pelvis, legs flexed.	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6A, 13A

Burial **Burial 84**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 85**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Not recorded	Not recorded				Not recorded

Burial **Burial 86**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level not recorded	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hands on pelvis.			Adult	Pottery types: 13C, 6A, 1B

Burial **Burial 87**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.30	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 13E
Level 0.30	Ubaid period cemetery. The second burial was partially buried over the other.	Libn box	Adult male, extended on back, hands on chest. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 4A

Burial **Burial 88**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward, right leg slightly flexed. Orientated NW	Male	Adult	Pottery types: 1B, 1B, 13C
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, right arm straight, left hand on pelvis, face westward. Orientated NW	Female	Adult	Pottery types: 2A

Burial **Burial 89**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended, face upward. Orientated NW			Child	

Burial **Burial 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on pure sand, lump of clay beneath the head	Adult? Skeleton, body on back, legs slightly bent, hands meeting at pelvis, face upward.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 90**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery. The male was buried first and the skeleton disturbed when the female was buried.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 5A, 4A, 8C, 12B, 13A, 6B with ring base. Two necklaces - one of frit and one of obsidian beads - around the body near the hips (which body is not specified).
Level 0.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands near pelvis. Orientated NW.	Female		Adult	See above.

Burial **Burial 92**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Child skeleton, disturbed, skull turned. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 4B, 6A, 8C
Level 0.80	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried on a libn floor	Child skeleton, embryonic position, face eastward. Orientated NW			Child	See above.

Burial **Burial 93**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.60	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Child skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands below pelvis. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 5A, 11A, 13E, 13E. Animal jaw east of the head

Burial **Burial 94**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Adult? Skeleton, body on back, legs flexed, face upward covered with a large fragment of an Ubaid bowl.			Adult	Skeleton covered with a large fragment on an Ubaid bowl.

Burial **Burial 95**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1.50	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, hands below pelvis.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 96**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult female skeleton, extended on back, face upward, left hand near pelvis.	Female		Adult	Pottery types: 13A, 2B
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Libn box	Adult male skeleton, extended on back, face upward, hands below pelvis. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Pottery types: 6A with ring base.

Burial **Burial 97**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery. The complete corpse was buried first with the pot and 'in the right position' and then the fragmented remains and skulls were interred.	Not recorded	Adult? Skeleton, extended on back, slightly disturbed. Orientated NW			Adult	Pottery types: 2B
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery. The complete corpse was buried first with the pot and 'in the right position' and then the fragmented remains and skulls were interred.	Not recorded	Sixteen Adult? skulls and 'two portions of a third corpse'			Adult	See above.

Burial **Burial 98**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.90	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, body disturbed, originally extended. Orientated NW			Child	Pottery types: 13E, 6B

Burial **Burial 99**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.40	Ubaid period cemetery.	Buried in sand	Child skeleton, extended, right hand on pelvis, face eastward.			Child	

Main Phase **Uruk?**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 0.10	Buried above sealed libn box of grave 22. 'Probably of Uruk period'.	Simple inhumation?	Adult male skeleton, extended, skull collapsed, left arm extended, right hand flexed on pelvis. Orientated NW	Male		Adult	Stone jar 35cm from right of shoulder, ceramic dish and a mace head near the skull.

12.2.15 Farukhabad

Main Phase **Middle Uruk/LC 3-4**

Date cal. BC **3500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	The burial was found eroding from the bank 50m northeast of Excavation B	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on back, facing west, legs flexed			Adult	Small black-on-red painted jar, three concrete bowls, one stone bowl, two small jars of alabaster, a sandstone palette with hematite in one face all at the knees of the corpse. In the fill off the grave was an intact gray chert blade, a small pink limestone bead, a mussel shell, fragments of sheep or goat remains and the long bones of a large mammal.

Burial **Feature 29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Excavation B Layer 34	Not directly associated with any features. Excavation B, Layer 34.	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, body on right side			Infant	

Burial **Feature 34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Excavation B Layer 34.	Not directly associated with any features. Excavation B, Layer 34.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, facing northeast			Child	

Burial **Feature 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Excavation B Layer 34.	Not directly associated with any features. Excavation B, Layer 34.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult male skeleton, on left side facing south	Male		Adult	

Burial **Feature 36**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Excavation B Layer 34.	Not directly associated with any features. Excavation B, Layer 34.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult female skeleton, on right side, facing NW	Female		Adult	

12.2.16 Girikihaciyan

Main Phase **Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Associated with disused plaster basin. Trench E4N2	Simple inhumation	Male adult skeleton, complete. On left side in flexed position, orientated east-west	Male	25-40	Adult	

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	At elevation of the second house floor, but may postdate the structure. Operation A	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a female child, flexed position	Female	7	Child	

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Associated with 'dump' area over an abandoned house. Operation A.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete. Skeleton covered with a potion of a large jar.		3	Infant	Portion of a large jar used to cover the skeletal remains

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	On floor area of the northwest quadrant of a tholos structure but postdates structure. Operation A.	Fragmentary burial	Five rib fragments and a humerus				

12.2.17 Grai Resh

Main Phase **LC 3**

Date cal. BC **3600**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton was placed in a ceramic vessel, which was covered with another vessel.

Main Phase **LC1**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LC 1	Chantier A	Pise burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Bracelet of 16 carnelian and 2 lapis and 1 gold beads by the wrist.

12.2.18 Hacinebi Tepe

Main Phase **LC 3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial **Burial 57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase B1	Mud bricks were arranged in the pit around the skeleton. Set into a trash deposit in an open area. Area C, phase B.	Brick lined pit	Adult skeleton, flexed and articulated.			Adult	

Main Phase **LC2**

Date cal. BC **3900**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Open area at the edge of the settlement?	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	
	In ash deposits	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Infant placed in ceramic vessel

Burial **Individual 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase A	Settlement area. Operation 1, locus 87, lot 89	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		Neonate	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Individual 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase A	Settlement area. Operation 1, Locus 90, Lot 92	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton aged 4-5 years		4-5 years	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Individual 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase A	Settlement area. Operation 1, Locus 86, Lot 87	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, aged 0-6 months		0-6 months	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Locus 73**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase A	Sealed beneath a floor of a room in the northeast corner of Operation 17	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within a ceramic vessel. Inside the vessel was placed 1 miniature ceramic vessel, 1 copper ring and 2 silver rings.

Main Phase **LC2?**

Date cal. BC **3900**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Open area at the edge of the settlement?	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	
	Open area at the edge of the settlement?	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	
	Open area at the edge of the settlement?	Infant pot burial	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
	Open area at the edge of the settlement?	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	
	Open area at the edge of the settlement?	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Infant skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Main Phase **LC4**

Date cal. BC **3400**

Burial **Individual 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase B2	Associated with rooms at the base of the terrace platform wall. Operation 1, locus 70, lot 72.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, 1 year old, possibly female	Female	1 year	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

12.2.19 Hammam et-Turkman

Main Phase **Terminal Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **Burial HMM 84-B1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period IV Stratum 10	Dug into wall AD from level above.	Buried in small oval clay box ca. 24-31 cm.	Infant skeleton, orientated W-E.			Infant	

Main Phase **Ubaid 3b**

Date cal. BC **4800**

Burial **Burial HMM 84-B4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period IV Stratum 6	Underneath floor associated with walls BR, BQ, BS.	In oval clay ring capped by two layers of mud-brick.	Child skeleton, orientated WSW-ENE, facing N, legs flexed.			Child	

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **Burial HMM 84-B2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period IV Stratum 8	East of wall AU in mud brick debris. Dug in from level above architecture to which wall AU belongs.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, orientated SW-NE, facing SE. Supine position.			Adult	

Burial **Burial HMM 84-B3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period IV Stratum 8	Against eastern butt of wall BK.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, orientated NE-SW, legs flexed.			Adult	Bowl in front of knees.

12.2.20 Hamoukar

Main Phase **Middle Northern Uruk/LC3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Area B Middle Northern Uruk	In a rectangular pit/grave below the surface of an industrial area.	Object burial?	A few human bones were present in this burial pit				Over 100 bone and stone stamp seals, 7000 tiny bone beads, 'dozens' of larger fiance beads, 21 impressed sealings of clay and bitumen, a number of 'eye idols'.
Area B Middle Northern Uruk	Area B	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	Bone 'eye idol'

12.2.21 Jebel Aruda

Main Phase **LC4-5**

Date cal. BC **3200**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In the dog-leg in the terrace wall between S 129 and S 101, partially resting on the rock outcrop (i.e. more than a meter above floor level). The burial was probably inserted when the walls were still recognisable, although the process of erosion was already well advanced.	Wall burial	Skeletal remains of a person in advanced age. Crouched position.			Adult	

12.2.22 Jemdet Nasr

Main Phase **Late Uruk/LC5**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Uruk Phase One pot at the back of the	central southern room in 3B77	In the corner of the pit	Simple inhumation in position, was placed with head to the west facing north				Skeleton in tightly crouched skeleton and a group of five small pots and a stone bowl at the base of the skeleton. Several of the pots had been filled with bivalve shells and placed in a woven basket whose impression survived on fragments of bitumen coating.

12.2.23 Jerablus Tahtani

Main Phase **Late Uruk**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period 1	Seven disarticulated long bones placed in a pile within a small cut in the top of wall 2000. Wall 2000 formed part of building B2185, which represents the earliest phase of Late Uruk occupation at the site.	Secondary burial	Seven disarticulated long bones				

12.2.24 Kashkashok II

Main Phase

Date cal. BC

Burial **T1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T104**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T106**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T120**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T122**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T124**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T126**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T134**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Beads

Burial **T16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2 Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Beads

Burial **T17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
2	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Main Phase **Early - Late Northern Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **T103**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early - Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar, three ceramic beads

Main Phase **Early Northern Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4800**

Burial **T20**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, two ceramic jars

Burial **T26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Early Northern Ubaid	Tomb	Adult skeleton		Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Three ceramic bowls, two ceramic jars

Main Phase **Early Post Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial **T108**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid	One ceramic bowl, one	In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton ceramic jar	Adult

Burial **T109**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid	One ceramic bowl, one	In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton ceramic jar	Adult

Burial **T11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid	One ceramic bowl, one	In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton ceramic jar, bead	Adult

Burial **T114**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Early Post Ubaid Beads		In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Infant skeleton	Infant

Burial **T116**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid Three ceramic jars		In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton	Adult

Burial **T13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid Two ceramic jars		In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton	Adult

Burial **T4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid One ceramic bowl, one		In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton ceramic jar	Adult

Burial **T8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid One ceramic jar		In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton	Adult

Burial **T9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds	
Early Post Ubaid One ceramic bowl, one		In tomb within cemetery				Tomb	Adult skeleton ceramic jar	Adult

Main Phase **Early-Late Northern Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **T19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early-Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Main Phase **Late - Terminal Northern Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4450**

Burial **T111**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late - Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, two ceramic jars, bead

Main Phase **Late Northern Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **T14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Infant skeleton			Infant	One ceramic jar

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **T101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T112**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl

Burial **T115**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, two ceramic jars

Burial **T118**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Two ceramic bowls, one ceramic jar

Burial **T119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Ceramic jar

Burial **T121**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T123**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T127**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, two ceramic jars

Burial **T130**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T132**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T135**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Main Phase **Late Post Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4200**

Burial **T102**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl

Burial **T110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T128**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, mace-head

Burial **T25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Two beads

Main Phase **Terminal Northern Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **T10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T117**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Two ceramic jars

Burial **T125**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T129**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl

Burial **T131**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T136**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	Two ceramic bowls, two ceramic jars

Main Phase **Terminal Northern Ubaid - Early Post Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial **T113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid - Early Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One bone object

Burial **T133**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid - Early Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **T5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid - Early Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic jar

Burial **T6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid - Early Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic bowl, one ceramic jar

Burial **T7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Terminal Northern Ubaid - Early Post Ubaid	In tomb within cemetery	Tomb	Adult skeleton			Adult	

12.2.25 Kenan Tepe

Main Phase **LC5**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Child remains placed in pit L2042, which cut into both the plaster surface and niche/platform of a Phase B structure.	Pit burial?	Fragmentary remains of a child			Child	Mud, brick debris, pottery fragments and a cylinder seal was placed in the pit alongside the skeletal remains.

Burial **Burial F. 19.4.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F 19 Level 1	Area F Trench F 19	Disturbed burial	Heavily disturbed. Fragmentary remains. Middle aged to older adult.			Adult	

Burial **Burial F.21.6.8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Area F, Trench F21	Infant pot burial	Highly fragmented infant skeleton		2-4 years	Infant	Placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Burial F.7.7148.3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F7 Level 4	Area F, Trench F7. Likely to have been disturbed by a later cut	Simple inhumation in pit	Disturbed male skeleton - lower torso and right arm missing	Male	25-40	Adult	

Burial **Burial F.7.7150.2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F7 Level 4 Phase C or B	Area F, Trench F7	Simple inhumation in pit	Fragmented adult skeleton in a flexed position		15-20 years	Adult	

Burial **Burial F.7.7221.8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F7 Level 4	Discovered in a mud brick lined pit adjacent to the Phase B buildings. Burial composed of three courses of burnt and un-burnt brick. No evidence of a roof or cover. It is not clear is this was originally a brick-lined pit or a freestanding structure. Area F, Trench F7	Brick lined pit	Skeleton was in a flexed position on its left side, orientated east-west and facing south. The right leg and foot was resting on top of the left leg and foot, while the right arm was resting on the left forearm. The left hand was positioned so that it rested in front of the face. Skeleton was relatively complete but moderately fragmented. Probably a female skeleton.	Female	18-22	Adult	It is possible that the left hand contained copper or bronze objects, which would account why the left hand and left side of the body contained green staining.

Burial **Burial F.9.9042.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Area F, Trench F9	Simple inhumation in pit	Orientated face down, skeleton flexed with arms folded up and the hands placed by the skull. Poor condition and highly fragmented.			Adult	

Burial **Burial F22.6.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F22 Level 1		Multiple burial					

Trench F22 Level 1		Multiple burial					
Trench F22 Level 1	Recovered from intersecting pits L6 and L13 from Level 1	Multiple burial	Nearly complete articulated skeleton of a young adult, lying on its back with flexed legs and knees rolled to the north.			Adult	A bronze pin with a straight shaft and ball head was uncovered near the legs
Trench F22 Level 1	Recovered from intersecting pits L6 and L13 from Level 1	Multiple burial	Fragmentary skeleton - possible secondary burial that disturbed Individual 1. Middle aged to older adult.			Adult	Fragments of a pedestal base with vertical burnish, carinated bowl with simple rim and a fine ware plain rim bowl with corrugated exterior were recovered inside the first burial pit.

Burial **Burial F7.7104.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F7 Level 4	Area F, Trench F7	Simple inhumation in pit	Fragmentary female skeleton	Female	40 years	Adult	

Burial **F.7.7200.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Trench F7 Level 4	Skeleton discovered in a pit lined on the north, east and south sides by three separate mud bricks	Brick lined pit	Fragmentary infant skeleton		18 months - 2 years	Infant	

Main Phase **LC5-EB1**

Date cal. BC **3000**

Burial **Burial G.7.38.2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Area G	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton		1-2 years	Infant	Skeleton buried in a ceramic vessel

Main Phase **LC5-EBI**

Date cal. BC **3000**

Burial **Burial G.7.25.5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Area G	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		3-5 years	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Burial **Burial G.7.28.6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Area G	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		2-4 years	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Main Phase **Terminal Ubaid/LC1**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial **Burial D.4.4128.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Phase 4 - probably terminal Ubaid or LC1 ca. 4400-4200 BCE	Skeleton placed in basket/thick cloth and set into a simple burial pit Remains of organic matter under the burial suggest that the individual was placed in a basket or thick cloth before being placed in a simple burial pit. The burial pit was dug into an outside surface.	Skeleton placed in basket/thick cloth and set into a simple burial pit	Infant skeleton, in a poor condition, many elements such as the skull are fragmented, but the vertebrae and long bones are in good condition.		2 years	Infant	

Burial **Burial D.6.145.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Phase 4 - probably terminal Ubaid or LC1 ca. 4400-4200 BCE.	The infant was found beneath a surface area that was covered with matting in what is thought to be an outdoor area. The individual was interred in a basket, which is indicated by darker soil outlined by reed pseudomorphs, leaving the impression of the basket.	Basket burial placed in a pit.	Infant skeleton, highly fragmented.		0-6 months	Infant	A calcareous bead was discovered with the burial.

Burial **Burial D.6.155.4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Phase 4 - probably terminal Ubaid or LC1 ca. 4400-4200 BCE.	The burial was found in the NE corner of trench D6 in a context associated with a surface covered in a reed or grass mat. The infant was placed in a ceramic vessel which was then covered with a ceramic bowl.	Infant pot burial	Complete infant skeleton in good condition. then covered with a ceramic		6-12 months	Infant	The infant was placed in a ceramic vessel which was bowl.

Burial **Burial E.2.174.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Phase 4 - probably terminal Ubaid or LC1 ca. 4400-4200 BCE.	The individual was placed within a mud-brick wall directly between the second and third phase of the construction of Ubaid Structure 3. Area E.	Wall burial	Child skeleton, in a poor state of preservation.		4-5 years	Child	

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Burial D.8.54.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels c.4650 cal.BC.	The skeleton was placed in a ceramic vessel under what was likely a floor surface	Infant pot burial	Highly fragmented infant skeleton.		3-9 months	Infant	Skeleton placed within a ceramic vessel.

Burial **Burial D.8.90.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels c.4700-4460 cal.BC.	Area D, trenches 8 and 10. The skull and many of the disarticulated small bones of the hands and forearms were found in cell L97, whilst the legs extended into (and not under) the mud bricks that made up wall L70. Cell 87 was part of Ubaid Structure 2, which consisted of two groups of mud-brick walls running roughly north-south and east-west that were intersected at right angles forming a series of cells that measured 1 and 1.5m in width. The series of cells seems to have formed two free standing storage structures. The remains seem to have been purposefully deposited as a secondary inhumation during the construction of Ubaid Structure 2.	Wall burial	Highly fragmented skeleton of an adolescent. Only the skull, some of the arm bones and the leg bones were included in the inhumation.		12-18	Adolescent	

Burial **Burial E.2.146.6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels c.4720-4520 cal.BC.	Area E Trench 2: The body was placed in a ceramic vessel, which was then placed within the walls of a cell room during the construction of Ubaid Structure 3. Ubaid Structure 3 is likely to have been a storage structure.	Urn burial	Fragmented but complete skeleton of a female adult.	Female	30-40	Adult	The body was placed in a ceramic vessel.

Date cal. BC **4700**

Burial **Burial D.5.5221.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Phase 1 (c. 4700 BCE)	The infant was placed in a ceramic vessel and then placed into a prepared burial pit, dug into an ephemeral outside surface.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton in excellent condition, except for the skull which was fragmentary.		0-2 months		The skeleton was placed in a ceramic vessel.

Burial **Burial D.8.162.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Phase 1 (c. 4700 BCE)	The burial was found in an outside work area in close proximity to a kiln pit and numerous grinding stones. The individual was wrapped in textile or placed into a finely made grass basket before being placed in a shallow pit.	Basket burial placed in a pit.	Infant skeleton.		0-6 months	Infant	

12.2.26 Khanijdal East

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **Burial 41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Cut into Pit 67, Area F	Unfired clay container	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in an unfired clay container

Burial **Burial 42**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Cut into Pit 67, Area H	Unfired clay container	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in an unfired clay container

Burial **Burial 65**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Area F	Unfired clay container	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in an unfired clay container

12.2.27 Kharabeh Shattani

Main Phase **Middle-Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **BAL:BC2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	The skeleton was placed in a sub-oval burial cut, 2.28m N-S and 1.4m E-W. Found at the lowest Halaf stratum, may have been dug from or through middle Halaf stratum	Simple inhumation	Adult male skeleton, in a contracted position. Orientated N-S, head at the north, lying on right side, facing west.	Male	40	Adult	Worn bone point, white stone bowl. Girdle of shell, stone and bone beads at the hip

Burial **BDD**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Early phase of Halaf deposits	In oval pit BDD which measured 1.8x1.5m with a depth of 1.03m. The pit consisted of a dark ashy fill and contained in its upper parts concentrations of charcoal, a few large flat slabs and concentrations of disarticulated human bone and a spindle whorl. In early phase of Halaf deposits.	Fragmentary burial	Concentration of disarticulated human remains.				A spindle whorl was found in the upper part of the pit.

Burial **BKK**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	Not associated with any features. There was no evidence of a grave cut, which suggests that the remains were deposited within the generalized fill. Recovered from the northeastern part of the excavation area within the upper part of deposit BBC.	Fragmentary burial	Fragmented remains of a child. Mainly the skull, part of a mandible and part of a limb.			Child	

12.2.28 Khirbet Hatara

Main Phase **Late Uruk/LC5**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial **T10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3a	S18	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Remains of a foetus (?)			Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic vessel covered by a vessel sherd.

Burial **T11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 3a	S18	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult(?) skeleton, orientated E-W, facing N.			Adult	

Burial **T12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3b	S18	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Disarticulated skeleton of a young male adult.	Male	20	Adult	Skeletal remains placed in vessel covered with a large pot sherd.

Burial **T13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3b	S18	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Neonate skeletal remains			Infant	Necklace of 2133 beads made primarily from shell, obsidian and carnelian.

Burial **T14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3b	S18	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Neonate skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed in ceramic vessel covered with a ceramic bowl.

Burial **T15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3b	S18	Vessel burial	Skeletal remains of a child		10	Child	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel, and was associated with a decorated vessel, bronze pin, and necklace consisting of 663 shell, obsidian and carnelian beads, and a stone mace head.

Burial **T16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3a	S18	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Neonate skeletal remains			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel covered with a vessel fragment

Burial **T4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3a-3b	S7	Simple inhumation in pit	Poorly preserved fragmentary skeletal remains				

Burial **T5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3b	S18	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, orientated E-W.			Adult	Large ceramic vessel

Burial **T9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3a	S18	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Neonate skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic vessel covered by a vessel fragment.

Main Phase **Late-Final Uruk**

Date cal. BC **3000**

Burial **T8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3a-4a	S17	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton			Adult	Ceramic cup by the head
Level 3a-4a	S17	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Main Phase **Middle Uruk/LC3-4**

Date cal. BC **3500**

Burial **T 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2b	S 7, A9	Simple inhumation in pit	Poorly preserved remains of an adult(?), crouched on right side, orientated SE-NW			Adult	The body was covered with red ochre pigment

Burial **T6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2a	S7, section N.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton, age 7 years, orientated E-W.		7	Child	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel covered with a bowl.

Burial **T7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2a	S7, A5	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, poorly preserved.			Adult	

Main Phase **Middle-Late Uruk**

Date cal. BC **3200**

Burial **T3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2a-3a	S7, A12	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Neonate skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic vessel covered with a large potsherd.

12.2.29 Korucutepe

Main Phase **Early LC2?**

Date cal. BC **4000**

Burial **Burial J12 no.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XXXVI? (recovered from XXXIV)		Simple inhumation in pit	Skeleton orientated NE-SW, on left side, arms and legs flexed. Poor preservation, skull missing.			Adult	

Main Phase **LC2-3?**

Date cal. BC **3800**

Burial **Burial K12 no. 3.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XXXIX	Unoccupied area of settlement used as cemetery	Mud-brick rectangular tomb	Adult female skeleton, orientated W-E, on left side, flexed.	Female	18-21 years	Adult	Silver band with a series of concave, disc-shaped bone beads around the lower part of the band placed around the head. Two pairs of small silver rings with overlapping ends near the skull. Two more silver rings on top of the skull, probably part of a hair ornament. Silver crescent-shaped gorget around the neck. Two lozenge-shaped silver sheet beads. 16 pieces of silver thread near the right forearm, probably forming a bracelet from which a series of shell beads were hung. Girdle, sleeves and lower part of garment had originally been decorated with thousands of tiny disc-

							shaped limestone beads. Girdle originally consisted of at least ten strings of beads as indicated by the number of holes found in several bone spacers. Girdle was also decorated with several large red and blue bead of a glass-like material. A bent silver pin, with a thin silver thread holding a red bead was found next to the pelvis. Two vessels – a gray scraped beaker and a buff orange burnished bowl was found in the grave.

Burial **Burial K12 no. 5 and K12 no. 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XXXVII		Mud-brick rectangular tomb	Adult male skeleton orientated W-E, on right side, flexed position Age 24-35	Male	24-35	Adult	Metal mace head (iron-ore?), Tanged dagger with midrib next to the right forearm. Silver band ending in spirals around the wrist. Belt decorated with small limestone disc-shaped beads.
Stratum XXXVII	Unoccupied area of settlement used as cemetery	Mud-brick rectangular tomb	Adult skeleton orientated W-E, on left side, flexed position. Skull missing due to later pit cut.			Adult	Grave goods: Stamp seal around the wrist: a solid silver cone engraved with a depiction of a horned animal, terminating in two long tabs, one broken, the other perforated. Next to the skeleton was a round button with convex sides and a central hole, one side of which is decorated with incisions of alternating length that project towards the centre. Two small round metal beads, a blue chalk bead and a number of small white disk shaped beads were found on the skeletons. The grave also contained a grey, round-bottomed burnished jar and a cream-slipped orange pot-stand.

Burial **Burial K12 no.1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Infant pot burial	Skull at the bottom of the jar		Less than 1 year	Infant	Ceramic vessel. Several lumps of copper ore were found in association with the burial – association however is uncertain.

12.2.30 Kosak Shamali

Main Phase **Post-Ubaid/LC1**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial **Feature B506**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sector B Level 6 (Post-Ubaid)	Burial pit dug into floor of Room B608. Room was related to pottery production and part of a Post-Ubaid	Burial pit 35cm in diameter and 35cm deep	Infant skeleton			Infant	Possible association with a small circular pit (B506) dug into floor of Room B503 of Level 5. Pit contained a storage jar surrounded by

	pottery production complex						dense greyish olive fill with charcoal inclusions

Main Phase **Ubaid 3**

Date cal. BC **5100**

Burial **Feature 1318**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sector A Level 13 (Early Northern Ubaid)	Burial pit dug into a passage at least 1m wide that extended between spatial units 1302 and 1305. Each spatial unit was represented by a small square or rectangular room/open space about 1.6m long. Units part of a building complex partitioned by mud brick walls and constructed on stone foundations.	Burial pit 42x35cm in diameter and 20cm deep	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **Feature 412**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sector A Level 4 (Late Northern Ubaid)	Skeleton was placed in a jar (25cm in diameter) and buried in a pit (40x35cm) dug through part of a level 4 wall, which was then covered by another wall (407) of the same level. Wall 407 was part of a rectangular building consisting of at least seven small rooms. The building was re-floored at least three times. The burial had been dug from the first or second floor and was completely covered when the last floor was in use	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	

Burial **Feature 505**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sector A Level 5 (Late Northern Ubaid)	Burial pit to the south of poorly preserved fragments of mud brick wall and stone foundations	Burial pit 60cm in diameter and 30cm in depth enclosed by small limestone cobbles and plastered with 2-2.5cm thick mud paste	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	

Burial **Feature 824**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sector A Level 8 (Late	Discovered close to Wall 823 of Level 8 Sector A	Infant burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	

Northern
Ubaid)

12.2.31 Kudish

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Burial directly on the uppermost floor of the circular room of trench 2.	Infant remains covered by an inverted bowl	Skeleton of a newborn child, legs contracted, hands raised to the head, on right side, facing southwest			Infant	Skeleton covered by a large inverted bowl of crude hand-made ware

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4?**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In trench 2, close to Burial 2.	Infant pot burial	Poorly preserved skeletal remains of an infant			Infant	Skeleton placed in a round-bottomed vertical sided jar 35cm in diameter of 'undecorated coarse buff' or 'yellow grey ware'

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Trench 2, close to Burial 1	Infant pot burial	Poorly preserved remains of an infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a round-bottomed vertical sided jar 37cm in diameter of 'undecorated coarse buff' or 'yellow grey ware'

12.2.32 Kurban Hoyuk

Main Phase **Halaf levels**

Date cal. BC

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 3	Dug into Phase 2, Unit 2.1 from Phase 3	Simple inhumation	Female adult skeleton, complete, flexed position	Female		Adult	

Main Phase **LC4-5?**

Date cal. BC **3200**

Burial **Loci A08:045/044**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Period VIA, Phase 8		Shallow oval pit 1.30 x 1.75m	Young male, facing west. Articulated but poorly preserved in sprawled positions.	Male		Adult	
Period VIA, Phase 8	In disturbed area north of pebble and sherd surfaces, and immediately southeast of a massive stone feature. Bodies seem to have been flung into the pit rather than carefully placed.	Shallow oval pit 1.30 x 1.75m	Female adult skeleton, face to east. Articulated but poorly preserved in sprawled positions.	Female		Adult	Burnished Late Chalcolithic bowl placed against the northern edge of the burial.

12.2.33 Matarrah

Main Phase **Northern Samarra (Hassuna III-V)**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **S-M-2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
First Floor Operation IX	In pit dug into the first floor of operation IX	Multiple burial in pit	Dismembered skeletal remains of young adult, possibly female	Female		Adult	
First Floor Operation IX	In pit dug into the first floor of operation IX	Multiple burial in pit	Dismembered skeletal remains of 10 year old child		10	Child	
First Floor Operation IX	In pit dug into the first floor of operation IX	Multiple burial in pit	Dismembered skeletal remains of infant/new-born			Infant	
First Floor Operation IX	In pit dug into the first floor of operation IX	Multiple burial in pit	Dismembered skeletal remains of adolescent		13-16	Adolescent	

Burial **S-M-3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
First Floor Operation IX	First floor Operation IX	Simple inhumation	Mature male adult skeleton, complete but badly preserved	Male		Adult	Incised bowl, small thin jar, one bone bead

Burial **S-M-5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
First floor Operation IX	First floor Operation IX	Simple inhumation	Fragmentary and poorly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	

Burial **S-M-6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
First Floor Operation IX	First floor Operation IX	Secondary burial?	Skull and long bone				

Main Phase **Standard Hassuna (Hassuna Ia or Ib-II)**

Date cal. BC **6100**

Burial **S-M-4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Operation VI		Simple inhumation?	Skeletal remains poorly preserved			Infant	

Burial **S-M-8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Operation VI Level 4	Operation VI, 4	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton			Child	Shell and stone necklace

12.2.34 Norşuntepe

Main Phase **LC3-4?**

Date cal. BC **3500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Level 7		Infant pot burial				
Level 7		Infant pot burial				
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton		Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton		Infant	
Level 7	Cut down from level 7 into the underlying deposits	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton		Infant	

12.2.35 Qalinj Agha

Main Phase **Late LC2?**

Date cal. BC **3800**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large

							hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids
Level I		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeletons placed in large hemispheral spouted vessels or in large globular pots, usually covered with shallow plate-like lids

Main Phase **Late Ubaid?**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **O.B. 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level IX		Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **O.B. 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level XI		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a broken globular jar

Main Phase **LC 2?**

Date cal. BC **3900**

Burial **O.B 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Dug down from Level III (found in Level IV)	Located on or near the floor of Level IV, dug from Level III. Dug into walls of Level IV.	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **O.B. 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Dug down from Level III (found in Level IV)	Located on or near the floor of Level IV, dug from Level III.	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **O.B. 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Dug down from Level III (found in Level IV)	Located on or near the floor of Level IV, dug from Level III. Dug into walls of Level IV.	Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Main Phase **LC1?**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial **O.B 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VI	Burial was sunk into a wall of level VI, from Level VI	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult female skeleton, contracted position, orientated towards the west	Female		Adult	Two large brownish-buff Uruk pots, one being placed by the head and the other near the chest. The latter pot, larger in size, may have contained foodstuffs. The pot placed by the head contained a number of gold, lapis, carnelian and shell beads that would make a medium size necklace.

Burial **O.B 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VI	Located in fill above floor of Level VII, dug from Level VI.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Burial **O.B. 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VI	Located in fill above floor of Level VII, dug from Level VI.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Burial **O.B. 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VI	Located in fill above floor of Level VII, dug from Level VI.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Main Phase **LC2?**

Date cal. BC **3900**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level III	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic Vessel

12.2.36 Sabi Abyad

Main Phase **Balikh IIIA**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Misc.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In the open areas of the settlement	Isolated bones	Isolated skeletal remains belonging to adults and children				

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6	Between Ovens CR and CS. Burial destroyed when oven was constructed	Infant burial	Infant remains, fragmented			Infant	

Burial **SA B91-B1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6 Stratum 3c	Remains lying on a 10cm thick layer of brown loom, with a similar deposit on top of the skeleton followed by burnt debris. In Oven T in NW corner of Room 2, Building 1. Oven T was a rounded beehive-shaped oven 75-80cm in diameter and built of pise and lined with a thick mud plaster	Infant burial in oven structure	Infant skeleton. Orientated NNE-SSW, lying on its back, head to the south-west, legs spread and right arm in a flexed position		18 months	Infant	Small bowl at the feet

Burial **SA B92-B1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6	Below the floor of the Room 10, Building II. Along the northern wall of Room 10. The floor was renewed after the interment	Infant burial in a shallow pit ca. 45cm in diameter and 22cm deep	Infant skeleton, flexed position on right side. Orientated east-west, head facing south		2-3	Infant	

Burial **SA B92-B2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 5	Found immediately below	Infant burial in	Infant skeleton, on right side in		2-3	Infant	Eight circular beads below

	the floor and doorway of Room 12, Building 1.	shallow oval pit 1.4m long, 1m wide and 25cm deep. Partly lined with mud-brick	flexed position. Orientated east-west, head to east, facing south				the skull, small piece of red ochre and a small piece of black pigment. Triangular pottery sherd. A low painted bowl was placed at the head, two jars with flaring necks and rounded bases were found near the lower spine - the largest of which was burnished, red painted and incised. The jar was painted.

Burial **SA B92-B3 and SAB92-B4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6	Found high in the fill of Room 7, Building 5. It is suggested that the bodies were originally placed on the Roof of Building 5.	In fill of room due to building collapse - originally on the roof of the building?	Adult male, bones crushed and burnt	Male		Adult	Associated with large oval clay objects, one of which contained the horns of a wild sheep
Level 6	Found high in the fill of Room 7, Building 5. It is suggested that the bodies were originally placed on the Roof of Building 5.	In fill of room due to building collapse - originally on the roof of the building?	Adult female, bones crushed and burnt, legs tightly flexed and head facing south	Female	30	Adult	Associated with large oval clay objects, one of which contained the horns of a wild sheep

12.2.37 Samarra

Main Phase **Classic Samarra**

Date cal. BC

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Samarra period cemetery?	No architectural remains reported - Samarra period cemetery?	Shallow inhumations, sometimes surrounded with a row of mud bricks or a pise layer.	Badly preserved skeletal remains, at least one infant pot burial. No consistent orientation of the body. Skeletons lay on right side in a contracted position				Samarran decorated ceramics, oblate macehead, sling stones, flint implements, bone pins with disk shaped heads, stone and shell beads, alabaster vessels, perhaps pieces of copper (may be intrusive from later levels)

12.2.38 Samsat

Main Phase **LC5**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton	Infant	
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Pithos burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a pithos jar
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Pithos burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a pithos jar
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Pithos burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a pithos jar
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Pithos burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a pithos jar
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Pithos burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a pithos jar
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXV	Under the floors of Level XXV	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level XXV	Under the floors of Level XXV	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXV	Under the floors of Level XXV	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton	Infant	

Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton	Infant	
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXVII	Recovered from under the floors of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton	Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Level XXVI	Recovered from under the floors and walls of houses	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level XXV	Under the floors of Level XXV	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

12.2.39 Shams Ed-Din Tannira

Main Phase **Halula VI-VII**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf related levels	In southwest quarter of A2. Dug down from the second architectural level from the edge of a stone base.	Burial pit	Badly preserved skull and some bones of an incomplete child's skeleton.			Infant	

12.2.40 Susa

Main Phase **Late Chalcolithic/Uruk**

Date cal. BC **3500**

Burial **Tomb 330**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Simple inhumation in pit	Skeleton on left side, hands to the head				Spouted ceramic vessel, alabaster jar, bitumen bowl, bitumen phallic-shaped object, copper disk

12.2.41 Tell Abada

Main Phase **Ubaid 3a**

Date cal. BC **5100**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 1a, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands on knees. Orientated SE-NW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a roughly made, large, deep bowl

Burial **Burial 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, on the floor of Room 27, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands on the chest. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted globular jar sealed with clay plaster, which was later baked

Burial **Burial 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 28, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted conical bowl, sealed with clay and covered with a smooth grey earth

Burial **Burial 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 27, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on rights side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted globular jar sealed with gypsum plaster 3cm thick

Burial **Burial 13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 27, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot sealed with gypsum plaster 4cm thick and covered with ashes

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 21, Square J-8/K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a medium sized globular jar 'fixed with sherds around', covered with earth

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 5, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted wide-mouthed pot, lidded with half of another painted jar

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 29, Squares J-8/K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a small oval-shaped pot of unbaked clay, covered with earth

Burial **Burial 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 21, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated SE-NW			Infant	Skeleton in large painted pot sealed with 2cm thick layer of clay plaster that seems to have been baked. Another layer of gypsum plaster was added later

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 21, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in large painted pot sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 22, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot covered with a double mouthed jar sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 24a, Square J-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands on the knees.			Infant	Skeleton placed in large urn lidded with a bowl

Burial **Burial 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 28, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in large painted urn covered with a painted bowl

Burial **Burial 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1	Building F, Room 68f, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot sealed with clay plaster 2cm thick

Burial **Burial 23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 66, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted jar lidded with a dish

Burial **Burial 24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 73, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large wide painted pot lidded with a large sherd

Burial **Burial 25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 70, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side.			Infant	Skeleton placed in medium-sized painted pot lidded with a plated and covered with earth

Burial **Burial 26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 70, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, 'confined'			Infant	Skeleton placed in painted urn, covered with half a pot

Burial **Burial 27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 27, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated E-W			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot lidded with a dish

Burial **Burial 28**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 9, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated E-W			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot, lidded with a similar pot, and sealed with clay which was later baked. Another layer of clay plaster was then added

Burial **Burial 29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a small oval-shaped bowl, painted on the rim only, and sealed with clay

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Building A, Room 25, Square J-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands on chest. Orientated E-W			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted urn that was broken and repaired with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 30**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	To the north of Building F, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S.			Infant	Skeleton placed in large painted vessel lidded with fragment of a dish.

Burial **Burial 31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 31, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a small oval shaped jar

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1	Placed over Burial 30 in the same pit. Building f, Room 69, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in upper half of a globular jar

Burial **Burial 33**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 71, Square J-8	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete. Contracted on left side, hands on chest. Orientated N-S.			Infant	Skeleton was 'lidded' with a large bowl

Burial **Burial 34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Square I-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated E-W			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large broken urn with fine small beads.

Burial **Burial 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 66, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated E-W			Infant	Skeleton placed in large plain vessel sealed with clay plaster 2cm thick and lidded with sherds. The inner side of the vessel was lined with gypsum plaster

Burial **Burial 37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 66, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Hands on keeps. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel, the mouth and rim of which was sealed with clay plaster, and heavily baked. Another layer of clay plaster was then applied.

Burial **Burial 38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 17, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large wide pot, the mouth of which was sealed with gypsum plaster 3cm thick

Burial **Burial 39**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Burial A, Room 17, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large vessel sealed with gypsum plaster

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 8, Square J-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted spouted jar covered with earth

Burial **Burial 40**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 15, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated E-W.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot sealed with clay, which was then baked, and then sealed again with another layer of clay

Burial **Burial 41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 15, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in unbaked vessel. Skeleton covered with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 42**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 79, Squared I-9 and I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed.			Infant	Skeleton placed in incomplete unbaked vessel, lidded with sherds and sealed with clay plaster.

Burial **Burial 43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1	building F, Room 68, Square I-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated S-N.			Infant	Skeleton placed in large, roughly made, plain vessel lidded with sherds.

Burial **Burial 44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 68, Squares I-9/I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed.			Infant	Skeleton placed in impressed vessel lidded with sherds.

Burial **Burial 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 65, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated SW-NE			Infant	Skeleton placed in large painted vessel sealed with clay plaster 2cm thick.

Burial **Burial 46**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building F, Room 65, Square I-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, confused,			Infant	Skeleton placed in small carinated jar.

Burial **Burial 47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 15, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, confused			Infant	Skeleton placed in an unbaked pot, the mouth of which was sealed with clay plaster and later baked.

Burial **Burial 48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 3, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, confused			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel, lidded with a plain roughly made dish

Burial **Burial 49**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 2, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated SW-NE			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a plate.

Burial **Burial 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands on the chest.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a medium sized rounded jar, placed upside down with the lower part broken to insert the skeleton. Associated with a small cup

Burial **Burial 50**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	To the west of Building F, Square H-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, confused			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel, lidded with a similar but smaller pot (Both broken).

Burial **Burial 51**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building E, Room 52, Square J-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated SW-NE			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel sealed with clay plaster which was later baked.

Burial **Burial 52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building E, Room 52, Square I-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, contracted on right side. Orientated SW-NE			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a dish

Burial **Burial 53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1	Building H-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side, hands on the knees. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed a large painted globular vessel, sealed with clay plaster 2cm thick and fixed with sherds on the sides

Burial **Burial 54**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	West of buildings E and F, Square H-9	Simple inhumation in oval shaped pit 30x25x20cm. Skeleton covered with an oval shaped bowl	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated S-N			Infant	Skeleton covered by an oval shaped bowl

Burial **Burial 55**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	West of buildings E and F, Square H-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a plain ceramic vessel lidded with a broken plate

Burial **Burial 56**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	West of buildings E and F, Square H-9	Simple inhumation in a rounded pit 30cm in diameter and 20cm in depth. Skeleton covered with a smashed plate.	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton covered with a broken plate

Burial **Burial 57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building H, Room 84H, Square J-7	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a broken ceramic vessel and lidded with a broken plain and roughly made dish

Burial **Burial 58**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Near Kilns 7-10, Square L-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with a broken plate and sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Near Kilns 7-10, Square L-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted jar

Burial **Burial 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 10, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands of the chest.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted globular jar, the mouth of which was sealed with gypsum plaster 2cm thick

Burial **Burial 60**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building B, Room 120, Square M-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted jar, lidded with a plate, and sealed with gypsum plaster

Burial **Burial 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Skeleton placed in an unbaked urn lidded with a plain plate

Burial **Burial 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated S-N			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large, roughly made, partly-painted urn, lidded with a plate and covered with earth

Burial **Burial 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 1	Building A, Room 28, Square J-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands on the chest. Orientated N-S.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted urn, lidded with a painted plate covered with clean earth

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Burial **Burial 100**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building J, Square F-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	East of Building A, Square M-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated SE-NW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel lidded with a plate (both broken)

Burial **Burial 102**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	East of Building A, Square M-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated SE-NW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds.

Burial **Burial 103**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 7, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted pot plastered with baked clay.

Burial **Burial 104**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 106**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 25, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S.			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel plastered with clay

Burial **Burial 107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building C, Room 44, Square L-11	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel which was plastered with clay all around it, which was later baked.

Burial **Burial 108**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building C, Room 44, Square L-11	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a short spouted jar (broken)

Burial **Burial 109**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building E, Room 63, Square J-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted jar lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 2	North of Building A, Square K-7	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 111**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	East of Building A, Square M-10	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds (broken)

Burial **Burial 112**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building D, Room 30, Square K-11	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a vessel lidded with a plate and plastered with clay (broken)

Burial **Burial 113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building B, Room 113, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic urn sealed with clay plaster (broken)

Burial **Burial 114**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building B, Room 113, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, contracted, on right side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 115**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building D, Room 38, Square J-11	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a bowl lidded with sherds belonging to a plate

Burial **Burial 116**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	North of Building H, Square I-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel sealed with plaster 2cm thick

Burial **Burial 117**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building H, Square H-7	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel, covered with earth

Burial **Burial 118**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building G, Room 79, Square J-7	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building F, Room 65	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a large sherd

Burial **Burial 120**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	West of Building A, Square H-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a small vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 121**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 2	West of Building A, Square H-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Infant skeleton place in a large roughly made vessel, lidded with a painted dish.

Burial **Burial 122**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 28, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted jar lidded with a plate (broken and repaired with bitumen in antiquity).

Burial **Burial 123**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 27, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large jar lidded with a plate (both broken)

Burial **Burial 124**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 27, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated SW-NE			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel sealed with gypsum plaster 2cm thick

Burial **Burial 125**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 26, Square J-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a roughly made jar lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 126**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	East of Building C, Square M-11	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a pot lidded with a plate (broken).

Burial **Burial 127**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	East of Building D, Square L-11	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large jar lidded with sherds (broken)

Burial **Burial 61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 27, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 62**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 22, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large broken painted vessel lidded with a broken plate

Burial **Burial 63**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 16, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted pot lidded with a plain broken plate

Burial **Burial 64**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 2, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in painted vessel lidded with a plate

Burial **Burial 65**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 66**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 2, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. On left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 67**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel, lidded with a broken plate alongside fine small beads

Burial **Burial 68**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with sherds. Figurine associated

Burial **Burial 69**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 29, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a broken plate

Burial **Burial 70**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 71**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted ceramic vessel lidded with a similar vessel
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel lidded with a similar painted vessel (both broken)

Burial **Burial 72**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 8, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated S-N			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel, which was again placed in a similar but larger vessel lidded with a broken pot

Burial **Burial 73**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 74**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a plate, both broken.

Burial **Burial 75**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 12, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel lidded with a plain plate.

Burial **Burial 76**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 18, Square L-9	Simple inhumation in an oval shaped pit covered with a plain plate	Infant skeleton, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton covered by a plain plate

Burial **Burial 77**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	To the east of Building A, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a broken ceramic vessel lidded sherds

Burial **Burial 78**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 18, Square L-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton was placed in a plain ceramic vessel lidded with a roughly made plate

Burial **Burial 79**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 29, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 80**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 7, Square K-9	Simple inhumation in an oval shaped pit covered with a plain plate	Infant skeleton, laid straightly towards the north			Infant	

Burial **Burial 81**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 2	Building F, Room 68, Square I-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a large plate (both broken)

Burial **Burial 82**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building F, Room 82, Square I-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large jar lidded with sherds and sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 83**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with a plate and sealed with clay plaster
Level 2	Building A, Room 1, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large vessel, lidded with a flat dish, sealed with gypsum plaster

Burial **Burial 85**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 7, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessels lidded with a plate and sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 86**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building A, Room 6, Square K-9	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted jar sealed with clay plaster 2cm thick
Level 2	Building A, Room 6, Square K-8	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel sealed with clay plaster 2cm thick

Burial **Burial 88**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building J, Room 98, Square H-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted jar placed upside down and sealed from all sides with clay plate, which was later baked

Burial **Burial 89**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building J, Room 104, Square G-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large painted vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 90**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Burial 90	North of Building J, Square F-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 91**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	North of Building J, Square F-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 92**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building J, Room 1-3, Square H-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on left side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted jar sealed with clay plaster

Burial **Burial 93**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 2	Building J, Room 102, Square H-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated NE-SW			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted vessel which was lidded with sherds and then sealed with clay plaster. The plaster then seems to have been baked.

Burial **Burial 94**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	North of Building J, Square F5/6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a vessel sealed with clay plaster 1.5cm thick

Burial **Burial 95**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	North of Building J, Square 5/6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 96**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	North of Building J, Square G-5	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated SW-NE			Infant	Skeleton placed in the upper half of a double mouthed jar, which was placed upside down and lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 97**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	North of Building J, Square G-5	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted on right side. Orientated N-S			Infant	Skeleton placed in a plain ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

Burial **Burial 98**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 1	North of Building J, Square G-5	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a plain vessel lidded with half a plate (both badly made and broken)

Burial **Burial 99**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Building J, Square F-6	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel lidded with sherds

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Main Phase **Ubaid 4/Terminal Ubaid?**

Date cal. BC **4450**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
1b	Square IV. Below floor of room 8	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a jar covered by a beaker.

Burial **Burial 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square N20, in central area	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered by a shallow bowl

Burial **Burial 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square F16. Below floor of Room 30.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large beaker covered with a jar

Burial **Burial 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square F17. Below floor of Room 25.	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker

Burial **Burial 13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square F17. Below floor of Room 25.	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a jar

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square F17. Below the floor of Room 25	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic jar

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1c	Square G17. below floor of Room 28	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1c	Square E18. Below floor of Room 40	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in globular pot covered with a jar

Burial **Burial 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square E17. Below the floor of Room 27.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large beaker covered with a jar

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Phase 1b	Square E17. Below the floor of Room 27	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered with a jar and a beaker

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
1b	Square IV. Below floor of room 8.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered by a jar

Burial **Burial 25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square F17. Below floor of Room 24	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large vessel covered with a spouted vessel

Burial **Burial 26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square P18. Below floor of Room 57	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a globular pot covered with a jar

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square IV. Below the floor of Room 14.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in beaker covered by a jar

Burial **Burial 31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1a	Square P23. Below floor of Room 61	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a spouted vessel covered with jar

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square N24. below floor of Room 63	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered with a jar

Burial **Burial 34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1a	Square P23. Below floor of Room 61	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic jar

Burial **Burial 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square N28. Below floor of Room 67	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered with a jar

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square IV. Below floor of Room 14.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a jar covered by a jar.

Burial **Burial 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square O21, in central area.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered by a shallow bowl.

Burial **Burial 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Phase 1b	Square N21, in central area.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered by a shallow bowl.

Burial **Burial 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square N21, in central area.	Vessel burial with brick cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a large beaker covered with mudbricks

Burial **Burial 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1b	Square III, Below floor/foundations of room 5-10	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a beaker covered with a jar

12.2.43 Tell al-'Abr

Main Phase **Terminal Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **Br. 2-1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Below floor of a structure between two walls.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton in fetal position			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted jar lidded with pot sherds. A piece of flint was placed in the vessel.

Burial **Br. 3-1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3	Found under the northwest corner of room R3-3. The size of the burial pit was 26cm in diameter, 17cm in depth, and coated with 2cm thick clay.	Clay lined pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **Br. 3-2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 3	Burial placed in pit measuring 25cm in diameter, 18m in depth and coated in 1.5cm thick clay, and covered with a few pot shards. The kiln (K3-1) was built directly above this burial.	Clay lined pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **Br. 3-3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3	Burial placed in clay lined pit - clay coating had originally been plastered around an adult skull that could be traced by the negative outline left in the soil. The skull was presumably removed prior to the interment. No structure could be associated with the burial due to surface erosion.	Clay lined pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **Br.2-2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Located to the east of Br.2-1. Partly buried under a wall of a structure	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, fetal position			Infant	Skeleton placed in a plain jar lidded with a large broken cooking pot. Flint flakes were placed in the vessel

Burial **Br.2-3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Found to the north of Br.1 and Br.2	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton - disturbed			Infant	Skeleton placed within a ceramic vessel

Main Phase **Ubaid 3**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial **Br.7-1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Located at the lowest edge of the tell, to the west of three small rooms (R7-21, R7-22 and R7-23). Found just under the eroded surface and neither burial pit nor the burial structure could be traced.	Simple inhumation in pit	Poorly preserved skeletal remains of an adult			Adult	

12.2.44 Tell 'Azzo

Main Phase **Halaf**

Date cal. BC

Burial **1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In tholos structure. Relationship between burials and structure unclear	Multiple burial	Several post-cranial skeletons				

12.2.45 Tell Brak

Main Phase **LC 3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial **TW809**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
TW Level 17	Cut into Level 18 wall 582	Vessel burial	Adolescent skeleton			Adolescent	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Main Phase **LC1?**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 21		Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, 5-6 years old, in a foetal position		5-6	Child	Grave goods included some 1500 shell beads that seem to have been stitched onto cloth in long straight lines, the cloth itself having been placed next to, and partly below, the upper body. There was also a necklace of obsidian, soft stone and dentalia beads together with two attractive mother of pearl pendants. The total number of beads was over 2500.
Early Level 20 or late Level 21		Multiple burial	Neonate remains			Infant	
Early Level 20 or late Level 21		Multiple burial	Neonate remains			Infant	

Early Level 20 or late Level 21	Three neonates and a small spectacle idol were recovered from a burial pit situated below the northwest corner of the Basalt Threshold Building	Multiple burial	Neonate remains	Infant	Small eye idol
Level 20		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 20		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 20		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 20		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 20		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 20		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 21		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 21		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	
Level 21		Simple inhumation?	Child/Infant skeleton	Child	

Main Phase **LC3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
TW Level 17	Infant jar burial in northeast corner of trench TW	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a jar with pot mark

Main Phase **Northern Middle Uruk - LC3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
At least after the Level 3 occupation		Multiple burial	Child skeleton		5-8	Child	
At least after the Level 3 occupation		Multiple burial	Child skeleton		5-8	Child	
At least after the Level 3 occupation	At the bottom of the pit were the complete skeletons of five children aged approx 5-8 years of age (A4151). Two bodies lay on their backs in the bottom of the pit, and a third flexed body was placed on top of them. A fourth flexed burial with a different orientation was placed on top of this group, and the fifth was 'squeezed' around the fourth body against the pit edge.	Multiple burial	Child skeleton		5-8	Child	There were no obvious grave goods directly associated with this burial group, although there were several large sherds and small cattle horn. After the bodies were deposited, a clean layer of soil was place on top of the bodies, and the pit was filled with a number of complete pots that were deposited in two distinct phases. In the later phase of deposition two layers were recognized - the upper one consisted of closely-packed large sherds, belonging respectively to a coarse plate with hammer-head rim and a double string impression on the external wall; a short neck jar with band rim; and a fine-ware hemispherical bowl with simple rim and very thin walls, red slipped on the interior; a coarse chaff funnel, burnished on the interior; a pie-plate; hammer-head and angular rim bowls; a small fine ware jar. In the lower layer there was a complete jar with globular body and a shallow bowl. Among the other sherd was a flaring neck jar rim preserving a large part of the body, a fine carinated bowl and two casseroles. From the lowest deposit, directly associated with the burials, was a 'pie-plate', an overhanging rim casserole, a large jar band rim sherd and a fine carinated bowl with a marked corrugation

At least after the Level 3 occupation	Recovered from a 60cm diameter pit (A4006) cut from at least after the level 3 occupation. The exact level from which it was cut has been lost to erosion	Multiple burial	Child skeleton	5-8	Child	
HS 1 Level 6	In pit (A4112), which was cut into surface A4111 to the west of Rooms 1, 2 and 3. The pit is thought to date from the post-abandonment phase of this building.	Sealed pot burial	Complete skeleton of an infant	2 years	Infant	Skeleton placed in a flared rim jar with a potters mark below the rim. The vessel was sealed with a clay plug fixed in place by an additional ring of clay around the neck of the vessel.
At least after the Level 3 occupation		Multiple burial	Child skeleton	5-8	Child	

12.2.46 Tell el-Kerkh

Main Phase **El Rouj 2c**

Date cal. BC **6400**

Burial **Locus 145**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El Rouj 2c	Square E290a, Structure 145.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, fragmentary.		0-6 months	Infant	

Main Phase **El Rouj 2d**

Date cal. BC **5800**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El Rouj 2d Layer 2	Squares E291 and E311. Under a stone foundation.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted position.			Infant	

Main Phase **El-Rouj 2c**

Date cal. BC **6400**

Burial **Concentration 1: Str. 716 (Complete**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Child skull			Child	
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Adolescent skull			Adolescent	

El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Adolescent skull			Adolescent	
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Adolescent skull			Adolescent	
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Adult skull			Adult	
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Adult skull			Adult	
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Multiple burial	Adult male skeleton in a flexed position on left side. Left side of the head rested on left arm and a stone pillow. Head to the east, facing south. Right arm contracted with hand to the face.	Male	30	Adult	Burial concentration 1, which was associated with a lime-block and a Dark-faced burnished jar.

Burial **Concentration 2: Str. 731.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Burial concentration 2: A small square 2 x 1.5m surrounded by stone rows which contained 7-8 human skeletons. Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Multiple burial	(Str. 731) Adult male skeleton, in flexed position, lying on back. Legs folded on left side.	Male	Late 20's	Adult	Agate bead near left hand of Str. 731
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Some 7 other secondary burials in this concentration.				

Burial **Locus 141**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Square E290a, Structure 141	Multiple burial	Infant skeleton		0-5 months	Infant	
El-Rouj 2c	Square E290a, Structure 141	Multiple burial	Infant skeleton		0-5 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 142**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Square E290c, Structure 142.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, fragmentary - only a few skeletal elements are preserved.		0-5 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 153**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c Layer 5 c.5700-5500 uncal.BC.	Square E290c, Structure 153. The skeleton was buried in the south-western corner at the top levels of a small square pit (structure 153). Structure 153 measured 0.9x0.8m and was 0.74m deep. The four walls of the pit were covered by small limestone and flint pebbles piled up in 15-17 rows, and the floor of the pit was paved with large flat stones. Numerous animal bones were recovered from the uppermost layer of the pit (i.e. they were gathered and deposited in the pit). Structure 153 was found below the south-western floor of structure 74. Structure 74 is a square building measuring 3x2.6m and characterized by a carefully made lime-plastered floor above a stone pavement and pise walls, wit a 60cm wide doorway at the eastern part of the northern wall.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, largely complete, contracted position.		0-5 months	Infant	an Amuq type flint point was placed on the corpse.

Burial **Locus 155**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Square E310d, Structure 155. Probably placed beneath dwelling floor.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted position, fragmentary.		0-6 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 166**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Square E310d, Structure 166. Probably placed beneath dwelling floor.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted position, flexed on left side.		0-6 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

El-Rouj 2c	Square E290d, Structure 44.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a young adult, remains fragmentary with no cranial elements present.			Adult	

Burial **Locus 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El Rouj 2c	Square E290d, Structure 45.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, fragmentary. Remains consist of a few cranial and rib elements only.		18-24 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2C	Square E290b, Structure 48.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, largely complete.		9 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 76**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Square E290c, Structure 76.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, fragmentary. Burial contained an extra scapula also belonging to an infant.			Infant	Infant scapula associated with this burial.

Burial **Str. 712.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Discovered above a pebble lined pit (Str. 736). Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult female skeleton.	Female	20's	Adult	Two lithic blades

Burial **Str. 715.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Mature adult male skeleton (in 40's) buried in a flexed position, on right side. Head to north, facing west. Arms contracted and hands to the face.	Male	40's	Adult	A spherical limestone vessel was placed at the back of the head, whilst a conch shell bead and a flint blade were placed together near the back.

Burial **Str. 725.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Young adult female skeleton. Flexed position, lying on back. Holding left elbow with right hand. Legs folded down on left side. Head to north, facing south.	Female	20	Adult	

Burial **Str. 726.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed position on right side. Head to west facing south.		1-2 years	Infant	

Burial **Str. 729.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult female skeleton, on back, legs folded tightly in front of abdomen. Head to north facing south.	Female	20	Adult	Serpantinite stamp seal besides left femur. Flint blade.
El-Rouj 2c		Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton			Child	
El-Rouj 2c		Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton			Child	

Burial **Str. 732.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult female skeleton, in prone position on right side with legs folded. Head to north, lying face down.	Female	20	Adult	Skeleton held a large wild cattle metacarpal.

Burial **Str. 739.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Mature male(?) adult skeleton in a flexed position, on right side. Head rested on right arm, Head to north-west.	Male	40	Adult	Seven beads found in a line from the back of his upper vertebra – deceased was wearing a necklace.

Burial Str. 746.

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Cremation burial	Burnt skull and humerus of a child. Heap of smashed burnt bones found to the west of the skull.			Child	

Burial Str. 748.

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c		Multiple burial	Infant skeletal remains		6-12 months	Infant	
El-Rouj 2c	Skeleton placed in a small square pit measuring 1.2 x 0.8m which was then plastered over and partly surrounded by rows of limestone. A Complete Dark Faced Burnished Ware shallow bowl was placed on the centre of the plastered floor. Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Multiple burial	Adult male skeleton, buried in prone position, legs folded in front of the chest. Body tightly contracted. Head to northwest, facing downwards. Skeleton held the remains of an infant (6-12 months old) in its arms.	Male	20	Adult	

Burial Str. 751.

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Burial discovered beside and under the southern part of the east side of the square pit of Burial Concentration 2. Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Badly preserved skeletal remains of a child.		5-6 years	Child	Small limestone stamp seal placed by the pelvis. Small turquoise bead and a serpantinite bead found near the jaw.

Burial Str. 757.

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2c	Recovered from the eastern end of the central area which remained unoccupied. Square E271.	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, flexed position, on right side. Legs tightly folded in front of the abdomen. Head to southeast, facing north-east.		7-8	Child	Bone awl recovered besides the skeleton.

Main Phase El-Rouj 2d

Date cal. BC **5800**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d Layer 2	Squares E291 and E311. Located just outside the areas of stone foundations.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted			Infant	
El-Rouj 2d Layer 2	Squares E291 and E311. Located just outside the areas of stone foundations.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted.			Infant	
El-Rouj 2d Layer 2	Squares E291 and E311. In relation to the stone foundation areas.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted position			Infant	
El-Rouj 2d Layer 2	Squares E291 and E311. In relation to stone foundations.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted.			Infant	
El-Rouj 2d Layer 3	Squares E291 and E311	Simple inhumation?	No details			Infant	

Burial **Locus 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E270d, Structure 19.	Infant pot burial	Skeleton of an infant - included fragments of the skull, mandible, ribs, vertebrae and long bones.		0-5 months	Infant	Skeleton placed in a coarse hole-mouthed jar.

Burial **Locus 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	'Ritual pits' near infant burial locus 23 in Square E310. All the ceramics are restorable pieces and seemed to have been intentionally broken and carefully placed in the shallow pits. Most of the pots found in the pits are high quality and elaborate pieces. The pits were also filled with carbonized ash and burnt clay.	Object burial	No remains				Pedestal bowl, cream bowl and a cylindrical necked jar - all broken

Burial **Locus 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	'Ritual pits' near infant burial locus 23 in Square E310. All the ceramics are restorable pieces and seemed to have been intentionally broken and carefully placed in the shallow pits. Most of the pots found in the pits are high quality and elaborate pieces. The pits were also filled with carbonized ash and burnt clay.	Cremation burial	A few burnt infant bones			Infant	Shallow bowl and hole-mouthed jar - all broken.
El-Rouj 2d	Square E310B, Structure 22.	Infant pot burial	Fragmentary infant skeleton. Remains consisted of a few pieces of the cranium plus other small fragments.		2 years	Infant	Skeleton placed in a large cream-ware pot.

Burial **Locus 223**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E271c, Structure 223	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, fragmentary.		9 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 226**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E271c, Structure 226.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, fragmentary - a few post-cranial fragments only.		0-6 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d.	Square E310d, Structure 23.	Simple inhumation	Fragmented infant skeleton. Skeletal remains included fragments of the cranium, mandible, left tibia and an ulna.		9 -12 months	Infant	One small stone vessel was placed near the skull.

Burial **Locus 246**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E271c, Structure 246.	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, lying on left side.			Adult	

Burial **Locus 29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E310b, Structure 23.	Simple inhumation	Fragmentary adult skeleton, poor state of preservation. Highly contracted position, head bent forward, knees to the forehead. Possibly male.	Male		Adult	

Burial **Locus 331**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El Rouj 2d Layer 3	Squares E291 and E311. The skeleton was placed near a rectangular shaped stone foundation.	Infant remains covered by a large body fragment of a dark faced burnished ware sherd	Infant skeleton, contracted position.			Infant	The skeleton was covered by the large body fragment of a dark faced burnished ware vessel. Small dark faced burnished ware bowl, 113 small flat stone beads (mostly serpantinite) and 6 small turquoise sphere beads.

Burial **Locus 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E270a. Structure 35.	Simple inhumation	Fragmented infant skeleton. Poor preservation.		9 months	Infant	

Burial **Locus 38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	'Ritual pits' near infant burial locus 23 in Square E310. All the ceramics are restorable pieces and seemed to have been intentionally broken and carefully placed in the shallow pits. Most of the pots found in the pits are high quality and elaborate pieces. The pits were also filled with carbonized ash and burnt clay.	Object burial	No skeletal remains				Pedestal bowl and cylindrical necked jar - both broken

Burial **Locus 60**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
El-Rouj 2d	Square E270b, Structure 60.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton on an adolescent or young adult, fragmentary remains with no cranial elements present.			Adolescent	

12.2.47 Tell es-Saadiyah

Main Phase **Ubaid 2-3**

Date cal. BC **5200**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Lower phase	Recovered from Room 7 of an architectural unit	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Lower phase	Recovered from Room 7 of an architectural unit	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Lower phase	Recovered from Room 7 of an architectural unit	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Upper phase		Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Upper phase		Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Upper phase		Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic Vessel

12.2.48 Tell es-Sawwan

Main Phase **Classic Samarra**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Misc. Burials**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level III	Below floors A and B of Level III	Adults buried in large oval pits. Infants buried in round or oval shallow gypsum	Adults buried in large oval pits. Infants buried in round or oval shallow gypsum pots from Level IIIb onwards. Infants				Ceramic vessels - mainly plain but some painted. Beads.

		pots from Level IIIb onwards. Infants from Level IIIa buried in small oval pits and wrapped in	from Level IIIa buried in small oval pits and wrapped in bitumen coated matting.				
Level IV	Level IV	Infant pot burial	Several infant skeletons placed in oval gypsum vessels				Infants placed in oval gypsum vessels, some of which had lids of the same material. Listed objects include shell beads and small ceramic vessels
Level V	Level V	Simple inhumation	Four graves containing skeletons in a contracted position on right side, with heads to the east and facing north				In the graves included a plain Samarran pot which was placed under the skull. The body was also wrapped in bitumen coated wrapping
Level IV or V?	Burials occurred at the south end of Room 364, in Area 391 and in the western corner of Room 402. Level III.	Infant pot burial	Several infant pot burials.				Infant remains placed in oval or circular gypsum vessels with lids of the same shape.

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level III	Below floor of Room 345	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, complete, contracted, head to south			Child	
Level III	Sunk from Level III into Level II wall of Room 32	Simple inhumation	Not recorded				Alabaster statuette, broken and repaired in antiquity
Level III		Object burial					Alabaster statuette
Level IV or V?	Dug into the eastern corner of Room 355, Level III	Simple inhumation - skeleton wrapped in matting and coated with bitumen	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted, head to the east			Adult	

Level III	Below floor of Room 345	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted, head to the west	Adult	Two Samarran vessels, one of which was painted.
Level III	Below floor of Room 345 in the western corner	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, complete, contracted, head to south	Child	
Level III	Below floor of Room 345, northern corner	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, complete, contracted, head to south	Child	
Level IV or V?	Dug into the southern wall of Room 348, Level III	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted, head to the south	Adult	Painted Samarran bowl and a painted cylindrical clay object
Level IV or V?	Dug into southern wall of Room 358, Level III	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, kneeling, head to the south	Adult	
Level IV or V?	Outside Room 352, Level III	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted, head to the south	Adult	Bone awl
Level IV or V?	Dug into the eastern wall of Room 352, Level III	Simple inhumation	Adolescent skeleton, complete, contracted	Adolescent	
Level III	Below floor of Room 346 in the northern corner	Fragmentary burial	Adult skeletal remains, bones piled in a heap with the skull separate.	Adult	
Level III	Dug into the eastern wall of Room 328, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete, contracted	Child	Plain Samarran vessel by the skull, small shell beads

Main Phase **Proto-Hassuna**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Misc. Burials**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below the floor of Room 12, Building 1	Fragmentary burial	Three graves, two of which contained only a few bones, the third grave contained the hand bones of a child in a small alabaster jar				Alabaster vessels and beads of onyx, turquoise and shell.
Level I	Under floor of Room 408, Building 8	Simple inhumation and fragmentary burial	Two infant skeletons that were complete and contracted, and the remains of two small infant bones.			Infant	One alabaster statuette and three alabaster vessels were associated with the three burials
Level I	Below surface of mound C, in an area situated between building 1, Level 1 and the 'cliff'.	Small oval pits used for graves	Remains of 36 individuals, the majority of which were infants, very few adults and two adolescents.				Alabaster vessels and statuettes, beads of various materials

Date cal. BC **6285**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Sounding 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster statuette and flask

Burial **Burial 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Two alabaster bowls, one pink stone bowl, ground stone celt

Burial **Burial 100**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster bowl and flask

Burial **Burial 101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster vessel

Burial **Burial 102**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster vessel and flask

Burial **Burial 103**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster vessel, ground stone celt, dentalia, carnelian and bitumen beads

Burial **Burial 104**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 106**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Three alabaster bowls, three dentalia shell beads

Burial **Burial 107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				One univalve shell, one carnelian and one green stone bead

Burial **Burial 108**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask, two dishes, necklace of carnelian, dentalia and one univalve shell bead

Burial **Burial 109**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish

Burial **Burial 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster plate, small animal bones

Burial **Burial 110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Area 19	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster phallic object

Burial **Burial 111**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Area 19	Fragmentary burial	Adult skeletal remains. Bones disarticulated and in heap.			Adult	Two alabaster bowls, burnt material

Burial **Burial 112**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Area 19	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster flask

Burial **Burial 113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Area 19	Fragmentary burial	Adult female. Bones disarticulated and in heap.	Female		Adult	Traces of red ochre, alabaster pear shaped jar with 'cable' around base. Beads of pink stone and alabaster

Burial **Burial 114**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Area 19	Fragmentary burial	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Two alabaster dishes

Burial **Burial 115**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Object burial	Absent				Two alabaster dishes, two bowls and a flask. Dentalia beads.

Burial **Burial 116**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Four alabaster bowls, the largest of which contained four stone balls.

Burial **Burial 117**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster plate and bowl, turquoise beads

Burial **Burial 118**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster punt-shaped bowl, turquoise beads

Burial **Burial 119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted			Infant	Alabaster dish and flask

Burial **Burial 120**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Object burial	Absent				Two alabaster bowls, dentalia beads

Burial **Burial 121**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Object burial	Absent				Flask of red stone

Burial **Burial 122**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster cup, three stone balls

Burial **Burial 123**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 20	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster plate

Burial **Burial 124**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 21	Fragmentary burial	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Alabaster cup and plate

Burial **Burial 125**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 21	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains, wrapped in matting			Infant	Two alabaster bowls, dentalia beads

Burial **Burial 126**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 21	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Two alabaster bowls, carnelian, alabaster and bitumen beads

Burial **Burial 127**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 141, Building 2	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster plate, cup and bowl, obsidian blade

Burial **Burial 128**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 141, Building 2	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Two alabaster flasks - one with a projection similar to a pair of legs on one side. Alabaster dish, ball of black stone, dentalia beads

Burial **Burial 129**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 142, Building 2	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster plate

Burial **Burial 13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 1, Building 2	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Two alabaster bowls, carnelian and turquoise beads.

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Alabaster cup and plate, large bead of green stone

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask with projection resembling a pair of legs

Burial **Burial 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Two alabaster flasks, shell needle, carnelian beads

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Two plates

Burial **Burial 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Adolescent skeleton, contracted			Adolescent	Hands resting on an alabaster plate, alabaster flask, two alabaster phallic shaped objects between the hands and the skull, alternating bitumen and dentalia beads around the hips

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Alabaster statuette and plate, flask of pink stone

Burial **Burial 20**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Two alabaster dishes, two flint scrapers

Burial **Burial 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask and dish, three green stone beads

Burial **Burial 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, contracted			Infant	Alabaster statuette, plate dish and ribbed hollow cylinder. Dentalia and bitumen beads

Burial **Burial 23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Three alabaster bowls, beads, pendant of green stone, one carnelian bead, turquoise and bivalve shell beads

Burial **Burial 24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster dish, plate, two flasks and a large bead of green stone

Burial **Burial 25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor or Room 3, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Skeletal remains of at least one adult			Adult	Six alabaster statuettes - some pierced, eight plates, flask and bowls, figurine of a rabbit (?), shell ring, ground stone celt, bone needle, turquoise and dentalia beads

Burial **Burial 26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 3, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Three alabaster bowls, bitumen spindle whorl

Burial **Burial 27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 4, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster statuette

Burial **Burial 28**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 4, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish containing the skull of a bird

Burial **Burial 29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 4, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster plate

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Dish of black stone, alabaster plate

Burial **Burial 30**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 4, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Alabaster dish, large green stone beads

Burial **Burial 31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 1, Building 2	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Alabaster flask, 'sauce boat' resembling tortoise

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 4, building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Two alabaster bowls

Burial **Burial 33**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 4, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains wrapped in matting			Infant	Alabaster dish, blackstone dish, dentalia beads

Burial **Burial 34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I		Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted	Male		Adult	Alabaster statuette, cup, two bowls, half hollowed cylindrical objects under head

Burial **Burial 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 36**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster statuette

Burial **Burial 37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Two alabaster flasks

Burial **Burial 38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster dish

Burial **Burial 39**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Adolescent skeleton, contracted			Adolescent	Two alabaster bowls, bivalve shell beads

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster plate, flint blade, dentalia shells

Burial **Burial 40**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster dish and bowl, green stone beads

Burial **Burial 41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Alabaster bowl, blackstone dish, two flint blades, univalve shell beads

Burial **Burial 42**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 6, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Alabaster statuettes, three flasks, flint blade, one carnelian bead

Burial **Burial 44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				One alabaster flask and dish, grey stone flask

Burial **Burial 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster cup, large carnelian beads
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster flask

Burial **Burial 47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted and wrapped in matting			Infant	Two alabaster bowls

Burial **Burial 48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains			Adult	Alabaster plate, figurine of a rabbit (?)

Burial **Burial 49**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Two alabaster bowls

Burial **Burial 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adult skeletal remains				Alabaster bowl, flask, plate and pendant

Burial **Burial 50**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Three alabaster bowls

Burial **Burial 51**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains				

Burial **Burial 52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Three alabaster bowls

Burial **Burial 53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Three alabaster dishes

Burial **Burial 54**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 7, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Pink stone dish

Burial **Burial 55**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster flask

Burial **Burial 56**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster plate, ribbed hollow cylinder

Burial **Burial 57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster flask and dish

Burial **Burial 58**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Adolescent skeleton, complete, contracted			Adolescent	Black stone bowl

Burial **Burial 59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster plate, broken and mended in antiquity

Burial **Burial 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask

Burial **Burial 60**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster bowls with two vertically pierced lugs

Burial **Burial 61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask, beads of carnelian and turquoise

Burial **Burial 62**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Pierced alabaster statuette wearing bitumen cap. Alabaster flask and plate

Burial **Burial 63**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Alabaster flask, 'sauce boat' and necklace of small beads

Burial **Burial 64**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 8, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Three alabaster flasks, conical object of grey stone, necklace of carnelian beads, dentalia beads around hip

Burial **Burial 65**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask and three plates

Burial **Burial 66**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Alabaster dish, flask and bowl, bitumen and dentalia beads

Burial **Burial 67**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under the floor of Room 9, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Two alabaster bowls, univalve shell bead with traces of ochre

Burial **Burial 68**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish

Burial **Burial 69**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish

Burial **Burial 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Cup of red-stone with red ochre staining at bottom

Burial **Burial 70**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 71**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Three alabaster flasks

Burial **Burial 72**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				'Male' statuette

Burial **Burial 73**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 9, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Three alabaster bowls

Burial **Burial 74**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 10, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster statuette and bowl

Burial **Burial 75**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 10, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish, fragment of bracelet

Burial **Burial 76**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 11, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster dish with two vertically pierced lugs

Burial **Burial 77**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 11, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Two alabaster dishes and two bowls

Burial **Burial 78**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 12, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Alabaster plate, flask and phallic object

Burial **Burial 79**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 12, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster tetrapod bowl

Burial **Burial 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of room 2, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish, beads and large bivalve shell beads

Burial **Burial 80**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 12, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains				Alabaster cup and tetrapod plate

Burial **Burial 81**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 12, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 82**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 12, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster statuette and cup

Burial **Burial 83**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster flask

Burial **Burial 84**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster statuette, bitumen beads

Burial **Burial 85**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster plate

Burial **Burial 86**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster plate

Burial **Burial 87**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Adolescent skeleton, complete, contracted and wrapped in matting			Adolescent	Two alabaster dishes, one in front of the mouth, one under the hands

Burial **Burial 88**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Black stone dish

Burial **Burial 89**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Alabaster bowl

Burial **Burial 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 2, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster flask, bitumen resembling snake head

Burial **Burial 90**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Alabaster flask, broken and mended in antiquity

Burial **Burial 91**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 13, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster cup

Burial **Burial 92**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 14, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Three alabaster statuette - one pierced with eyes inlaid with shell, three alabaster flasks, carnelian and turquoise beads

Burial **Burial 93**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 14, Building 1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Alabaster statuette, cup, flask and turquoise beads

Burial **Burial 94**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 14, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster statuette -pierced, with bitumen cap, eyes inlaid with shell. Necklace of alabaster and bitumen beads

Burial **Burial 95**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Under floor of Room 14, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster dish

Burial **Burial 96**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Five alabaster dishes and two bowls. Sling ball. Dentalia.

Burial **Burial 97**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Adolescent skeletal remains			Adolescent	Two alabaster statuettes, alabaster plate and two flasks. Dentalia

Burial **Burial 98**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Fragmentary burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Alabaster statuette, plate and flask. Obsidian blade

Burial **Burial 99**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level I	Below floor of Room 18, Building 1	Object burial	Absent				Alabaster bowl and flask

12.2.49 Tell Haizalun

Main Phase **Ubaid 4?**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Infant skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

12.2.50 Tell Halula

Main Phase **Halula III**

Date cal. BC **6200**

Burial **1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Pre-Halaf levels	Below floor of domestic structure	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Burial **2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Pre-Halaf levels	Below floor of domestic Structure	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

12.2.51 Tell Hassan

Main Phase **Ubaid**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial HAT 60**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid levels	Area TS, in western extent.	Simple inhumation	Female adult skeleton, orientated NW-SE, head to NW.	Female		Adult	Four ceramic vessels by the feet.

Main Phase **Uruk**

Date cal. BC **3500**

Burial **Burial HAT 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square L13, in the south-western area	Simple inhumation in oval pit	Child skeleton, contracted position. Orientated E-W, head to the W, facing S.			Child	Ovicaprid bones

Burial **Burial HAT 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square L13, along the western edge	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult female, crouched position. Orientated E-W, head to the east, facing south.	Female		Adult	

Burial **Burial HAT 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square L11, southern area	Simple inhumation in oval pit	Adult female skeleton, orientated SE-NW, facing up	Female		Adult	

Burial **Burial HAT 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square H14, in central area	Simple inhumation	Female adolescent skeleton, orientated N-S.	Female		Adolescent	

Burial **Burial HAT 24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square L 10, in western area	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton. c. 9 months		9 months	Adult	Placed in ceramic vessel covered with a vessel.

Burial **Burial HAT 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square K12, near the SE corner.	Simple inhumation in pit	Female adult (?) skeleton, orientated N-S, head to the north.	Female		Adult	Necklace made up of 21 bone beads by the neck.

Burial **Burial HAT 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square K12-13	Simple inhumation?	Fragmentary skeleton, orientated S-N.				

Burial **Burial HAT 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square L13, western section.	Simple inhumation in pit	Highly fragmented remains of an infant.		2	Infant	Adult Ovicaprid and neonatal pig bones

Burial **Burial HAT5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square K12, near section E	Simple inhumation in oval pit	Adult female skeleton, on back, legs contracted, orientated E-W, head to east, facing up.	Female		Adult	One bone and two carnelian beads placed near the chest. Ovicaprid animal remains.

Burial **Burial HAT6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Uruk levels	Square K12, near the NE corner.	Simple inhumation in oval pit	Adult (?) skeleton, on left side, in crouched position. Orientated E-W, head to the east, facing north.			Adult	Eight carnelian and bone beads placed by the head.

12.2.52 Tell Hassuna

Main Phase **Hassuna I-III**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level Ic	40cm below floor of room 6. Three sides of the grave were formed by the foundation walls of the room, while the fourth side was formed by a row of large stones	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton				

Burial **Burial 10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 17**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level Ia	Level 1a 'camp site'. In between two hearths.	Simple inhumation?	Slightly disturbed skeletal remains				A large storage jar and a stone hoe were associated with the remains

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level III	Discarded in grain bin of level III	Disposed in grain bin	Postcranial skeletal remains of adult			Adult	
Level III	Discarded in grain bin of level III	Disposed in grain bin	Complete adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **Burial 6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level II	In northwest corner of area 17. Area contained at least eight jars, flint nodules, worked flints, flint blades set in bitumen, an almost complete sickle, five bone awls, a pounding stone, two polished stone balls, the horns of a sheep or goat, bones of small animals, lumps of ochre and knuckle bones.	Multiple infant pot burial	Infant skeleton - twins?			Infant	Skeletons placed within burial urn accompanied by a tall-sided standard incised jar, two vessels and a tiny pottery cup.
Level II	In northwest corner of area 17. Area contained at least eight jars, flint nodules, worked flints, flint blades set in bitumen, an almost complete sickle, five bone awls, a pounding stone, two polished stone balls, the horns of a sheep or goat, bones of small animals, lumps of ochre and knuckle bones	Multiple infant pot burial	Infant skeleton - twins?			Infant	Skeletons placed within burial urn accompanied by a tall-sided standard incised jar, two vessels and a tiny pottery cup.

Burial **Burial 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Burial **Burial 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Hassuna levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within burial urn

Main Phase **Standard Hassuna/Northern Samarra**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **Burial 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level IV	In rubbish pit of level IV. Perhaps associated with postcranial skeleton of burial 5.	Skull in rubbish pit	Crushed skull			Adult	

Burial **Burial 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level IV	Placed in two cavities cut into the walls of room 4 in the southeast and southwest corners.	Fractional burial	Two groups of bones from the same skeleton but missing the skull			Adult	

12.2.53 Tell Hazna

Main Phase **Proto-Hassuna**

Date cal. BC **6200**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Proto-Hassuna Levels		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed inside large ceramic vessel alongside one clay and one marble vessel and a necklace of stone beads

12.2.54 Tell Kurdu

Main Phase **Amuq C, D or E**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial 24:16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Post Amuq C occupation level		Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	The skeleton was placed in a ceramic vessel.

Main Phase **Amuq C, D or E?**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial 12.13**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Phase 1: Post Amuq C occupation level		Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton.			Adult	

Burial **Burial 23:10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Post Amuq C occupation level		Simple inhumation?	Badly disturbed burial - only the lower leg bones were preserved				Several astragali of a medium sized mammal. Grave contents badly disturbed.

Burial **Burial 24:27**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Post Amuq C occupation level		Simple inhumation?	Female skeleton	Female		Adult	Small horn core. Possible ceramic vessels.

Main Phase **Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Burial 22:2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Post Amuq C occupation level but Amuq C grave goods.		Not recorded	No data				Grave goods present.

Main Phase **Amuq C**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq C c.5500-5200 BC	Trench 7. Excavated in 1998 season.	Cremation burial	No data				No data

Burial **Burial 12.14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq C c.5500-5200 BC	Burial was located in Room R06, cut into floor 12.28, but at a higher level than Burial 12.81. The burial therefore dates to a later occupation phase of this room, or to a late phase before the wall remains were covered by later deposits.	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult male skeleton, tightly flexed position on left side, head orientated westward and the face looking north.	Male		Adult	Five sling pellets and a bone awl.

Burial **Burial 12.81**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Amuq C c.5500-5200 BC	The grave is located inside room R06, cut into the plaster floor (floor 12.80) and sealed by a later floor.	Simple inhumation in pit	Male skeleton, tightly flexed.	Male		Adult

Burial **Burial 25.89**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq C c.5500-5200 BC	Found in the room fill deposits of Room 45 in area G.	Simple inhumation in pit	Flexed skeleton of a small child.			Child	

Burial **Burial 25:8**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq C c.5500-5200 BC	The burial was located within the bonded walls of the north-eastern corner of Room R39, indicating that the remains and the vessels were placed inside the wall as it was erected. It is suggested that Room R39 may have been used for ritual purposes. The room contained a platform (altar?). In the western niche next to the platform lay an in situ cup, whilst a plaster circular basin was set into the floor close to the western corner of the platform.	Cremation burial	Cremated remains of a female placed in a jar.	Female			The cremated remains were placed in a jar, which was associated with a painted bowl and a small narrow necked vessel.

Main Phase **Amuq C, D or E**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial 12:12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Post Amuq C occupation level	The pot burial lay within a shallow pit that cut into the collapse and wash that covered the Phase 2 architecture.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton.			Infant	The skeleton was placed within a ceramic vessel.

Burial **Burial 26:12**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Post Amuq C occupation level	The inhumation was set into a floor within a corner of room R.54 exposed in trench Tr.24, although it is difficult to establish whether the burial belonged to a later phase of occupation of the room or post-dates the walls.	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton with flexed legs.			Infant	The skeleton was covered by a large oval ceramic bowl. A miniature painted jar was found in the direct vicinity of the bowl.

Main Phase **Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Burial 25:80**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Post Amuq C occupation level but Amuq C grave goods		Simple inhumation?	Skeleton of a young adult male.	Male		Adult	At least one ceramic vessel - a partial cattle mandible was placed over the jar.

Main Phase **Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq E c.5000/4900-4400/4300 BC	Revealed in trench Tr.4. excavated in the 1998 season	Not recorded	No data				No data
Amuq E c.5000/4900-4400/4300 BC	Revealed in trench Tr.4. excavated in the 1998 season	Not recorded	No data				No data

Burial **Burial 23:11**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq E c.5000/4900-4400/4300 BC	Area I, Trench Tr.24	Simple inhumation?	No data				Three painted vessels - one bowl, one cup, and one jar that contained a few legumes.

Burial **Burial 24:3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq E c.5000/4900-4400/4300 BC	Area I, Trench Tr.24. Rectangular grave lined by mudbricks of which one course is preserved.	Rectangular grave lined with mudbricks	No data				

Main Phase **Ubaid related**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Amuq E c.5000/4900-4400/4300 BC	Revealed in trench Tr.4. excavated in the 1998 season	Not recorded	No data				No data

12.2.55 Tell Kutan

Main Phase **Halaf**

Date cal. BC

Burial **1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf levels	Simple inhumation?	Adult skeleton			Adult	

12.2.56 Tell Madhur

Main Phase **Ubaid 3b-Ubaid 4?**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Burial 5E:259**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3	In open area associated with domestic activities, to the west of the Level 3 building	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a deep bowl covered by a bowl

Burial **Burial 5F:320**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level II	Below floor of Room 4, Level 2 structure.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a deep bowl covered by a bowl

Burial **Burial 6D:68**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 4	In fill of Level 4 structures	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a deep bowl covered by a bowl

Burial **Burial 6E:194**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level III	A pit was cut into the north wall of Room 9 from the Level II House, apparently from Level III above. The infant was placed in this pit and covered by sherds from a large deep bowl.	Infant skeleton covered by vessel sherd	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	The skeleton covered by sherds from a large deep bowl.

12.2.57 Tell Mashnaqah

Main Phase **Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4900**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum III	Stratum III?	Burial pit lined with a brick wall	Badly preserved adult? Skeletal remains			Adult	Ceramic vessels

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum I-II	Area to the north of the building complex of stratum I and II	Burial pit lined with a brick wall	Adult? Skeletal remains			Adult	Ceramic vessels

Main Phase **Ubaid 3**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum I-II	Area to the north of the building complex of stratum I and II	Burial pit lined with a brick wall	Adult? Skeletal remains			Adult	Ceramic vessels

Stratum I-II	Area to the north of the building complex of stratum I and II	Burial pit lined with a brick wall	Adult? Skeletal remains			Adult	Ceramic vessels

Burial **Tomb 107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Associated with wall 105	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on left side, head to the east, looking south. Arms folded under the chin and legs also folded.			Adult	Four ceramic vessels were placed by the feet

Burial **Tomb 131**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeletal remains - only upper part of skeleton preserved.			Adult	

Burial **Tomb 132**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
		Simple inhumation in pit	Incomplete child skeleton, on back			Child	

12.2.58 Tell Rashid

Main Phase **Ubaid 3**

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3	The burial was recovered below the floor of Room 3, which belonged to a small tripartite building.	Urn burial	Skeleton of a child			Child	The skeleton was placed in a ceramic vessel.
Level III	The burial was recovered below the floor of Room 3, which belonged to a small tripartite building.	Urn burial	Skeleton of a child			Child	The skeleton was placed in a ceramic vessel.

12.2.59 Tell Rubeideh

Main Phase **LC5**

Date cal. BC **3100**

Burial **Grave 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Late Uruk	Undisturbed burial was found dug under the south face of wall 1104. 2F46/47	Simple inhumation	Adult male skeleton. Body flexed on left side, facing north-east. Arms folded across the waist.	Male		Adult	Traces of reed mat observed under the body. An upturned bowl was found next to the left foot.

12.2.60 Tell Shimshara

Main Phase **Standard Hassuna/Northern Samarra**

Date cal. BC **6100**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 13	40cm away from two clay basins set into the floor.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child in a contracted position			Child	

12.2.61 Tell Songor A

Main Phase **Classic Samarra**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **Burial 247**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Samarra Levels	0.4m below surface at VI-16	Simple inhumation: Oval pit 200 x 140 cm	Adult skeleton Contracted on left side lying north-south			Adult	One painted pot, two incised pots, 5 plain beaker-shaped pots, one clay figurine, one horn shaped object, one stone quern

Burial **Burial 279**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Samarra Levels	Uncovered at V-22	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton Contracted on left side, lying east-west			Adult	One cross-hatched painted jar, one plain dish, one oval shaped pot with handles, one beaker shaped jar

Main Phase **Middle -Late Halaf?**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Grave 65**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Dug into mud brick debris of the Samarra period	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, contracted, on right side, head to south-east, facing north. Upper Body only.			Infant	Two ceramic vessels - open bowl and a small jar, both painted

Main Phase **Ubaid 3?**

Date cal. BC **4800**

Burial **Burial 266**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid IX-22. Found in the Northern Area. Burial pit measuring 1.14x0.87m. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Burial pit	Skeleton lay contracted on its left side facing towards the northwest. Arms and legs heavily flexed and the hands near the forehead.				Fragments of pottery found in the grave fill.

Burial **Grave 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid XXVIII-22. The burial pit was dug slanting from the north and ending vertically at the bottom. The pit widens towards the bottom in the northwest end. Pit measures 2.87m Long and has a maximum basal width of 2.87m. Its deepest part is 0.58m from the remaining upper end. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Burial pit	Fragmented remains of an adult(?) skeleton. Body was found lying on the face, facing slightly towards the east. Left side of the body was in the north and the right side in the south. Bones of the upper body badly preserved but the backbone was still in the centre. The legs must have been bent backwards when the body was buried.			Adult	Painted jar was found near the knees and a painted pot was placed above the head. One pierced chalk ball was placed near the left shoulder. Seven pieces of pottery was placed collectively in the northwest end of the pit (four painted pots and three plain pieces). All the pots had been laid with the mouths upside-down. One of the pots lay above another, whilst yet another pot lay atop three other vessels. The 'tortoise jar' was placed with its spout upside down under which bone fragments of a small animal were found. Stone beads (obsidian) that measuring 1cm in length were unearthed near the right ear. Abundant stone and wooden beads measuring 0.4cm in diameter were found by the breast, hips and knees.

Burial **Grave 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid XXVII-20. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Simple inhumation?	Skeletal remains very badly preserved. Fragments of bones recovered.				Ceramic vessel.

Burial **Grave 276**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid XXVIII-21 and 22. Oval burial pit measuring 1.18x0.75m. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Burial pit	Skeleton orientated NNW-SSE, lying on its left side with the face towards the east. The arms are flexed so that the right upper arm is projecting outside and the left hand is crossing the right hand. Bottom half of the skeleton is missing due to later grave cut.				A stone vessel was found at the end of the pit near the head.

Burial **Grave 277**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid XXVIII-21. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Simple inhumation?	Fragmentary remains: right shoulder, arm and fingers only.				Two pottery vessels were recovered above the human remains. One vessel was laid on the bottom of the other with its mouth facing down.

Burial **Grave 280**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid XXVII=21 and 22. Burial pit was largely out of the range of the excavated area. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Simple inhumation?	Part of a bone.				Painted jar placed upside-down was found at the south-west corner.

Burial **Grave 4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	XXVVIII-20. Burial Pit measuring 1.4x1.1m. The grave-goods and human remains were found at different levels in this grave. A bell shaped bowl was placed at the uppermost level of the burial. 20cm below the bowl four ceramic vessels were recovered. Below these vessels a further vessel was discovered - a large ceramic bowl. Human remains were recovered 30-40cm below these objects. A stone vessel was	Burial pit	The skeleton was found lying on right side with head to the northeast, facing west. The skeleton was in a crouched position with hand to the face and legs bent strongly forward.				Two ceramic bowls painted at the rim, a painted jar, one undecorated jar and two undecorated bowls. Stone palette and animal bones.

found by the mid-portion of the femurs and animal bones were recovered beside the back of the head.
Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.

Burial **Grave 5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Grid XXVII-21. Graves discovered in an area of 50m2 in Grid XXVIII- 20-22. The dense distribution of graves suggests that the Southern Area at Tell Songor A was utilized for a grave yard during the Ubaid Period.	Burial pit	Badly preserved remains. Body lay on its right side with the head to the northwest and facing south. Body contracted with the arms and legs strongly flexed towards the trunk.				

12.2.62 Tell Songor B

Main Phase **Late Halaf?**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Grave 50**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf levels	Grave dug 50cm below the surface at grid X/XI-7	Oval Grave Pit: 110x70cm	Adult skeletal remains, Knees and arms bent. Skull missing.			Adult	Three sling balls

Burial **Grave 81**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	209cm below the surface of Grid VI-9	Grave pit: 92x42cm	Infant skeleton, complete, facing north-east. Outstretched arms and bent knees			Infant	Coarse ware bowl by the skull and fine ware jug by the knees

Main Phase **Late Halaf-HUT**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Grave 25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Layer II	Under floor of Layer II, 120cm below surface in Grid VII-8	Oval Grave Pit: 175x55cm	Adult skeletal remains, complete, on left side facing north-west. Knees and arms bent.			Adult	

12.2.63 Tell Songor C

Main Phase **Ubaid 3?**

Date cal. BC **4800**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Ubaid Levels	Found below the floor of a house in the settlement at Tell Songor C.	Infant pot burial	Skeletal remains of an infant.			Infant	Skeletal remains placed in a ceramic urn.

12.2.64 Tell Sotto

Main Phase **proto-Hassuna**

Date cal. BC **6400**

Burial **Burial 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Lower layers	Square 10-B-2 Burial made in a hearth pit.	Burial in hearth pit	Dismembered child/adolescent Head and limbs separated from and placed on top of torso. Each leg cut off with half of the pelvic bone and arms severed together with shoulder blades. Retained anatomical order despite dismemberment.		10-14	Adolescent	

Burial **Burial 14**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Lower layers	Found on the floor, south of unit no. 22.	Infant skeleton covered by vessel sherd	Remains of upper part of skeleton. Legs did not preserve. Crouched position, left side.			Infant	Covered by vessel sherd. Fragment of same vessel used to hold small coarse ceramic vessel.

Burial **Burial 15**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Lower layers		Infant pot burial	Dismembered remains of an infant. Body cut across the chest and separated, skull separate from body and legs torn from torso. Skull crushed.			Infant	Placed in ceramic vessel.

Burial **Burial 16**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Lower layers	Under floor of house no. 29 Next to the wall.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton. The remains of the vertebra were located almost vertically, with the head on the grave floor and		1	Infant	

the legs fallen on top of the torso.

Burial **Burial 18**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VII	Square 18-A-3 On living floors of the open court of level 7, in front of reservoir 85.	No grave determined	Infant skeleton Crouched, on right side.			Infant	

Burial **Burial 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level VII upper fill	Square 17-D-3 In open basin made of unbaked clay and then plastered. Basin was 26cm in diameter and 4cm in height.	Buried in an open basin that was plastered	The skeletal remains of an infant. Not in anatomical order. May have been dismembered.			Infant	

Burial **Burial 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6 or 7	Square 17-C-1 In disturbed layer below unit 40 of level 6.	Infant skeleton covered by vessel sherd	Infant skeleton. Skeleton missing legs. Crouched position on left side.			Infant	Small coarse basin next to body contained a tubular animal bone. On the skeletons neck was a bead necklace. Consisted of 4 beads of small snail shells, 1 white stone bead, 1 disk shaped turquoise bead, 1 globular turquoise bead and 2 copper beads.

12.2.65 Telul eth-Thalathat

Main Phase

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial urn no. 19**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
MVIII		Infant pot burial	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 20**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
QVIII/1		Infant pot burial	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
OVIII		Infant pot burial?	Infant skeletal remains?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 26**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LIX		Infant pot burial?	Skeletal remains of an infant?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial Urn no. 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
MX		Infant pot burial	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
OVIII		Infant pot burial?	Infant skeletal remains?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 36**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LIX		Infant pot burial?	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LIX	In pit dug into Room 27	Infant pot burial?	Infant skeletal remains?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within a ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LX		Infant pot burial?	Infant skeletal remains?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Main Phase **Proto-Hassuna**

Date cal. BC **6200**

Burial **S-119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level XV	Square O-X Level XV	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant Skeleton Contracted on left side			Infant	
Level XV		Simple inhumation in Pit					

Burial **S-120**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level XVc	Under the wall between R-140 and R-141. Square O-IX Level XVc	Simple inhumation: placed on urn fragment	Infant skeleton Contracted position			Infant	Skeleton placed upon fragment of ceramic urn and skull covered by a further fragment

Main Phase **Terminal Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **S-101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XII	Square M-VIII, Stratum XII	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, contracted on left side			Infant	Skeleton placed in a spouted jar

Main Phase **Ubaid 3**

Date cal. BC **4800**

Burial **GP-201**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Below room of structure F2	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on right side. Orientated south-west		18 months	Infant	

Burial **GP-202**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Below room of building F4	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on right side. Orientated south-east		Newborn	Infant	

Burial **GP-203**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Below structure F3a	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on right side. Orientated north		9 months	Infant	

Burial **GP-204**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Below structure F2	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on left side. Orientated north-east		9 months	Infant	Ornament of six shell and three obsidian beads

Burial **GP-205**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Below structure F2	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on left side. Orientated north		6 months	Infant	

Burial **GP-206**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Below structure F3	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed on left side. Orientated south-east		18 months	Infant	

Burial **GP-207**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	In close proximity to remains of F4 brick construction	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on right side. Orientated north-east		3 months	Infant	

Burial **GP-208**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Stratum XIV	Disturbed	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed, on left side. Orientated north-east		Newborn	Infant	

Burial S-118

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIV	Under the burnt soil at the east corner of R-127 in stratum XIV of F4. Square IV-IX	Fragmentary burial?	Skull and two fragments of rib				

Main Phase Ubaid 3-4

Date cal. BC

Burial S-102

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Between construction C and construction E. Square L-IX	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, contracted position on left side, head to southwest		6-7 years	Child	

Burial S-106

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Found in upper part of fill R-109, Square M-VIII	Placed on vessel fragment	Infant skeleton, contracted, on left side			Infant	Placed on a fragment of earthenware

Burial S-108

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Skeletal remains placed in a pit dug into Stratum XI. Square O-IX	Fragmentary burial?	Fragmented skeletal remains				

Burial S-109

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

	Found in ditch E, Square L-X	Fragmentary burial?	Fragmented skeletal remains - possibly belonging to more than one individual				

Burial **S-110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In pit dug into fill of construction E3. Square L-X	Placed on vessel fragment	Infant skeletal remains, originally contracted on left side			Infant	Skeleton placed on an urn fragment

Burial **S-111**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In fl-3 under Construction E. Square O-X	Infant pot burial	Remains of a newborn/stillborn baby			Infant	Placed in a covered urn (cover type not specified)

Burial **S-112**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In fl-2 below C-R. Square O-X	Disturbed burial	Disturbed skeletal remains - knee parts of skeleton only				

Burial **S-113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In fill of Ditch E. Square P-X	Placed on vessel fragment	Infant skeleton, contracted, on right side			Infant	Placed on, and covered by, large urn fragments

Burial **S-114**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In fill of Ditch E. Square N-X	Fragmentary burial?	Scattered left tibia of adult			Adult	

Burial **S-115**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	3cm above the floor of construction E and under Construction C. Square M-IX	Simple inhumation?	Child skeleton, contracted position lying on back.			Child	

Burial **S-116**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In pit dug into F1 between construction E1 and E3. Square O-IX	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, contracted in left side. Missing bones from the forearms, hands and lower extremities.			Infant	

Burial **S-117**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	In F3 of R-120. Square M-IX	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, contracted, on left side			Infant	

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **S-104**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIII	Square M-IX, Stratum XIII	Disturbed burial	Fragments of infant skull			Infant	

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **S-107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Found in the south wall of R-111 of Construction E3, Square M-IX.	Wall burial	Infant skeleton, contracted on back			Infant	Two pottery fragments were found at the right side of the head

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4?**

Date cal. BC

Burial **S-105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIII	Square M-IX, Stratum XIII	Disturbed burial	Fragmented infant skeletal remains			Infant	

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **S-103**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Stratum XIII	Square M-IX, Stratum XIII	Disturbed burial	Fragments of infant skull			Infant	

Main Phase **Ubaid?**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial urn no. 43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LIX/C-R.3	Under floor of C-R.3/Room 26	Infant pot burial	Skeletal remains of an infant			Infant	

Burial **Burial urn no. 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
O, PVIII,VIIa	Under floor of Room 26/Q-R.5 ('courtyard')	Infant pot burial?	Infant skeletal remains?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 46**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
OVIII/VIIA	Room 29/Q-R.8	Infant pot burial	Skeletal remains of an infant			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
OVIII, IX/VIIB	In fill of Q-R.4	Infant pot burial?	Skeletal remains of an infant?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **No. 35**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LX/C-R.8	In Room C-R.8	Simple inhumation	Skeletal remains of a child			Child	Next to a large jar filled with a stone ring, stone palette, animal bones and ash

Burial **No. 37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LX C period layer	In pit within courtyard of a C period structure	Simple inhumation?	Skeletal remains				

Burial **no. 38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
LX C period layer	In pit within courtyard of a C period structure	Simple inhumation?	Skeletal remains				

Main Phase **Uruk**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Burial urn no. 30**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
QX	In pit dug into Building T-R 8 - 'Uruk Temple"	Infant pot burial?	Skeletal remains of an infant?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

Burial **Burial urn no. 31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

QIX	In pit dug into the courtyard of an 'Uruk temple'	Infant pot burial?	Skeletal remains of an infant?			Infant	Skeletal remains placed within ceramic urn

12.2.66 Tepe Gawra

Main Phase **Early LC 2**

Date cal. BC **4100**

Burial **161**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Child	Reed matting

Burial **166**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing S			Child	Ceramic cooking pot, ceramic dish

Burial **167**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to the E, facing W			Child	Tiny white beads, 1 gold foil over bitumen coil ear ornament. White beads located at the neck and gold ornament at the left ear.

Burial **183**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton			Child	Ceramic pot, incomplete ceramic vessel

Burial **188A and B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XIAB	Square 5Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing W			Adult	Beads, ceramic sherds
XIAB		Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing W			Adult	

Burial **194**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **236**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	Brown ware vessel

Burial **237**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **238**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E			Adolescent	1 oolite macehead bone bead spreader. The macehead was held in one of the hands.

Burial **241**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XIAB	Square 3M	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **243**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing E			Child	511 small white ring beads, 1 shell ring bead, 588 tiny white ring beads, 605 small obsidian ring beads, reed matting

Burial **248**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 3K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **250**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on back, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing SW			Child	Small brown ware jar

Burial **251**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing SW			Child	Reed matting

Burial **254**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Brown ware pot

Burial **255**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton			Child	Painted green ware cup, large ceramic vessel, broken ceramic vessel. Cup located at the chest near the right shoulder.

Burial **257**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5-M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing NE		7-10	Child	

Burial **259**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6S	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Incomplete spouted burnished red slipped black ware pot

Burial **265**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6S	Vessel burial	Adult skeleton			Adult	Ceramic vessel

Burial **268**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **272**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XIAB	Square 5M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant/child skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing SE			Infant	

Burial **273**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Painted ceramic pot

Burial **274**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Spouted ceramic pot, incomplete cooking pot

Burial **275**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton		2	Child	

Burial **276A**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **276B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/Child skeleton			Infant	

Burial **325**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 3O	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **36-002**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Painted ceramic jar

Burial **36-003**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5O	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Two ceramic vessels

Burial **36-004**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **36-005**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4S	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Ceramic jar

Burial **36-006**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XIAB	Square 4Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	186 small white ring beads, ceramic vessel

Burial **36-007**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel, painted red ware vessel.

Burial **36-008**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic jar, spouted brown ware pot

Burial **36-009**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Child? Skeleton			Child	Ceramic jar, mottled black brown ware pot

Burial **36-010**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Not recorded				Green ware bowl, ceramic sherd

Burial **36-011**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4S	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Red ware jar

Burial **36-015**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Green-gray ware of vessel, ceramic vessel

Burial **36-017**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Pise burial	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated S-N, head to N, facing L			Adult	

Burial **36-019**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Adult skeleton,			Adult	Ceramic vessel

Burial **36-022**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Skeleton on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing N				Ceramic bowl in the right hand held at the chest

Burial **36-043**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton on left side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing W				

Burial **36-051**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XIAB	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Green slipped brown ware pot

Burial **36-057**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Wet-smoothed buff ware jar

Burial **36-058**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel, ceramic bowl

Burial **36-060**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton			Child	Small brown ware jar, 3075 beads, 3300 ring beads, Yellow past rosette pendant, ivory rosette ornament, reed matting. Jar was held in both hands and located above the hand. Beads found at the neck and wrist.

Burial **36-062**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5M	Infant remains covered by an inverted bowl	Infant skeleton			Infant	Green slipped red ware pot, ceramic vessel

Burial **36-074**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing SW			Adult	

Burial **36-077**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 6K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Red slipped brown ware jar, beads

Burial **36-082**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 3M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	4 beads, large ceramic vessel

Burial **36-087**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 3O	Pise burial	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing W			Adult	

Burial **36-090**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 5K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton on left side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E				Ceramic bowl

Burial **36-091**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 3M	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Large green ware jar

Burial **36-120**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XIAB	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E			Adult	

Burial **36-122A, B and C**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB		Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton			Infant	
XIAB	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton			Adult	
XIAB		Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **36-134**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 4J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE			Adult	White paste stamp seal at the right shoulder

Burial **36-171**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 11M	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton			Child	Bone pipe or whistle, two ceramic vessels

Burial **7-026**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 8M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE			Adult	Paste seal

Burial **7-028**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 9M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing NE			Infant	Broken ceramic vessel, ceramic sherds

Burial **7-029**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 8M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing SW			Child	

Burial **7-030**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XIAB	Square 8M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Adult	

Main Phase **Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Burial A**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In pit at the eastern corner of the Area A sounding. Pit was 5m deep and 3.1m wide. Probably a disused well re-used as a burial pit.	Multiple burial	Adult skeleton, complete				Bowl. Impressions of wooden poles - perhaps burial construction?
Halaf	See above	Multiple burial	Adult skeleton, complete				See above

Burial **Burial B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Halaf	In pit at the eastern corner of the Area A sounding. Pit was 5m deep and 3.1m wide. Probably a disused well re-used as a burial pit.	Multiple burial	Disarticulated remains of twelve adults including the skull of at least one female				Squat, lug handled jar. Two stone pendants. Basalt pestle.

Burial **Burial C**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In pit at the eastern corner of the Area A sounding. Pit was 5m deep and 3.1m wide. Probably a disused well re-used as a burial pit.	Multiple burial	Disarticulated remains of nine adults				Painted bowl and jar

Burial **Burial D**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	In pit at the eastern corner of the Area A sounding. Pit was 5m deep and 3.1m wide. Probably a disused well re-used as a burial pit.	Burial pit	Skeleton of a young adult, complete, contorted.			Adult	

Burial **G36-158**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level F, Area A	In dump area at foot of thee mound	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete. Orientated north-south, flexed position on left side			Child	Painted bowl

Burial **G36-159**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
20-30cm below Level F, Area A	In dump area at foot of the mound	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, wrapped in a reed mat. Orientated southeast-northwest.			Adult	Two painted jars - one placed in front of the body, one placed by the feet

Burial **G36-160**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
20-30cm below Level F, Area A	In dump area at foot of the mound	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete			Adult	

Main Phase **Late LC 2**

Date cal. BC **3800**

Burial **113**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X		Simple inhumation in pit					
X	Square 6O	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-SW, head to SE, facing N.			Child	100 small white and yellow beads, 1 black stone bead.

Main Phase **Late LC2**

Date cal. BC **3800**

Burial **006**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6O	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic bowl
X	Square 6O.	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic open mouth jar, ceramic bowl.

Burial **059**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 9O/9Q Outside wall of north-central-west houses	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing SW.			Child	

Burial **100**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 60 Below wall of architectural unit	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SE, head to NE, facing S			Infant	1 coarse red-brown ware bowl, 1 green stone pendant, 1 tiny white past bead. The bead was found in the bowl and the pendant just outside of it.

Burial **101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6O	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing S			Child	Reed matting

Burial **102**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5O Outside of, and in close vicinity of 'shrine complex'	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NE, facing NE.			Adolescent	1 obsidian spouted pot, 1 obsidian spouted bowl, 1 marble macehead, 7 marble spheres, 2 marble discs, 3 marble stones, 204 shell ring beads, 56 carnelian carinated and ring beads, 24067 white ring beads, 1125 obsidian ring beads, 1 red ware bowl.

Burial **107**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5M/6M Libn tomb in shrine room'. Floor of room made of Libn 1m thick and built up to the top of tomb 107 - making top of tomb floor level.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to the SE, facing W.			Adult	6 alabaster spheres, reed matting.

Burial **108**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6K Associated with tripartite building	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Child	1 carnelian bead, 1 turquoise bead. Both beads found in from of the face.

Burial **109**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

X	Square 5K In settlement area in close vicinity to tombs 111,114 and 110.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing SW			Adult	1 marble jar, 1 oolite bowl, 1 alabaster bowl, 4 gold rosette ornament, 21 turquoise beads, 1 gold ribbon-rosette ornament, 50 gold studs, 6 gold ornaments, 1 gold ferrule, 20 gold crescent ornaments, 3 gold and lapis eye shape ornaments, 90 gold bangles, 125 gold beads, 34 large electrum beads, 76 small electrum beads, 366 lapis beads, 1 lapis stamp seal, 1 large lapis carved bead, 15 various shaped lapis beads, 432 carnelian beads, 390 turquoise beads, 3 white carinated beads, 5 carnelian ring beads, 11 carnelian carinated beads, 52 lapis ring beads, 3 lapis carinated beads, 5 lapis cylinder beads, 3 lapis irregular beads, 5 turquoise carinated beads, 5 turquoise teardrop beads, 2 turquoise flat square beads, 23 turquoise natural pebble beads, 2 electrum spherical beads, 3 carnelian beads, 28 lapis beads, 24 turquoise beads, 2 gold beads, 9 electrum beads, 2 obsidian blades, 1 unidentified ceramic object, 1 gold and lapis fly figurine, 1 bone comb, 145 shell beads, 1 ceramic sphere, 1 bone, gold, lapis and turquoise hair ornament, traces of blue pigment on head, chest and forearms. Comb was held in from of the face with one hand. One of the stone vessels were placed near the comb. The gold crescents, beads and bangles were in the other hand. Large electrum and lapis beads found near the wrist of hand holding gold crescents. Carved lapis and turquoise beads placed at the top of the head. Head was covered with beads. Oolite and alabaster bowl as well as hair ornament found at the skeletons feet.

Burial **110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 4K/4M In settlement area in close vicinity to tombs 111,114 and 109.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing SW.			Adolescent	5 gold rosette ornaments, 1 gold rosette ornaments, 1 gold ribbon-rosette ornaments, 2 eye ornaments, 1 lapis stamp seal, 6 brown marble spheres, 2 marble mace heads, 2 serpentine cups, 2stone beads, 198 carnelian spherical beads, 3 lapis beads, 8 gold cylindrical beads, 1 bone comb, traces of blue and green pigment on chest and femora. Rosettes were found at the top of the skull, Beads were found near the chest. Comb found in front and above the skull. Macehead and marble sphere placed near comb.

Burial **111A, B and C**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X		Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing W.			Adult	1 stone bead, 19 carnelian beads, 2 lapis beads, 40 turquoise beads, 4 gold beads, 1 gold hoof pendant, 1 gold spatula pendant, 1 gold spiral ornament, 1 ceramic jar. Jar located near feet, beads and pendants located near fingers which were raised above the skull.
X		Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing W.			Adult	Ceramic vessel located by the feet
X	Square 5-M In settlement area in close vicinity to tombs 109,114 and 110.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing SSE			Adult	Green ware jar located at the head.

Burial **114**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 4K/4M In settlement area in close vicinity to tombs 111,109 and 110.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to the SE, facing NE			Adult	1 electrum wolf head figurine, 282 lapis beads, 399 turquoise beads, Stone with gold band honing stone, hematite mace head, alabaster macehead, 6 red jasper stones, 1 bone with gold band hair ornament, 3 bone ornaments, 64 gold beads, gold rosette ornament with lapis centre, 1 lapis stamp seal, 45 shell beads, 88 carnelian beads. Hair ornament and gold beads at the chest, Hone and beads of shell and carnelian near the abdomen. Rosette and electrum wolf head at the top of the skull. Red jasper stones placed near the northwest wall of the tomb and arranged in rows of three.

Burial **119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5J	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, , orientated SW-NW, head to SW.			Infant	

Burial **124**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

X	Square 6M In room of 'shrine complex'.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Age unknown, orientated S-N, head to S.				

Burial **126**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6M Associated with 'shrine complex'.	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Ceramic vessel

Burial **177**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6G	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, orientated E-NW			Child	35 stone beads found at the pelvis

Burial **182**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5J	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated SW-NE, head to the SW, facing N			Infant	

Burial **190**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **201**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6K	Simple inhumation: placed on urn fragment	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic sherd

Burial **202**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6J Associated with tripartite building	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E.			Child	354 small white ring beads, 62 small white carinated beads, 22 obsidian carinated beads, carnelian ring bead, turquoise natural pebble bead

Burial **205**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6J	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing S			Child	Ceramic vessel, reed matting

Burial **206**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5J	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing S			Child	Wet-smoothed green ware jar

Burial **207**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton,			Infant	Ceramic jar base

Burial **208**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6J	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing N			Child	1084 white ring beads, 2 black stone ring beads, 2 obsidian ring beads, 2 carnelian ring bead, 24 dentalia shells. Cylindrical and medium sized beads formed a bracelet, tiny white beads formed a necklace. 3 carnelian beads at the chin and a number of beads at the knees

Burial **210**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

X	Square 6J	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton			Child	Reed matting

Burial 216

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 5J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial 217

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 6J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic dish

Burial 219

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing SW			Child	

Burial 220

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7K Associated with central room of 'Temple' structure.	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	Reed matting

Burial 256

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7O Associated with north-central houses	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Child	985 tiny white paste carinated beads, 4 small black stone ring beads, 346 tiny brown paste barrel beads. Beads found at wrist and ankle of the skeleton.

Burial **269**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 8M Associated with north-central houses	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic dish, 38 white stone ring beads, 7 obsidian ring beads, 54 grey stone ring beads.

Burial **36-013**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N,			Adolescent	1 mother of pearl triangular pendant, 1 bead, reed matting

Burial **36-014**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 8Q	Pise burial	Child skeleton, on back, orientated W-E, head to W, facing S			Child	Reed matting

Burial **36-016**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 8O	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing SW			Child	56 white paste ring beads. Beads found at the neck.

Burial **36-020**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 8Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, facing E			Child	White beads, black stone beads, 1 carnelian bead, 1 gold beads. White and black beads found at the ankles and wrists. Gold and carnelian beads at the neck.

Burial **36-026**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

X	Square 8O	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N			Child	Marble bead, reed matting

Burial **36-031**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 8O	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing S			Infant	

Burial **36-034**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7K Associated with room of 'Temple' building.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, facing S			Child	5046 ring and cylinder beads, 267 small white paste carinated beads, 11 white shell barrel beads, 202 obsidian ring beads, 14 obsidian carinated beads, 14 obsidian rough surfaced beads, 47 grey stone ring beads, 1 carnelian rough surface beads, 48 dentalia shells, c.900 white and black paste ring beads. 2000 ring beads. Beads found at the head, neck, wrists, fingers and waist of the skeleton. Beads by the waist formed a herringbone pattern.

Burial **36-035**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7K Associated with room of 'Temple' building.	Pise burial	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S.			Child	Reed matting

Burial **36-037A and B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 8K	Simple inhumation in pit	Skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E.				
X	Square 8K	Simple inhumation in pit	Skeleton, on right side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing W				

Burial **36-040**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E			Infant	130 small white ring beads, 46 small brown paste barrel beads, 1 dentalia shell, woven textile. The beads were found at one of the wrists.

Burial **36-044**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7Q	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N			Child	Woven textile

Burial **36-047**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing S			Infant	Reed matting

Burial **36-079**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 7Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing W			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **7-001**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 11M In room of 'public-secular' building	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing S			Adult	

Burial **7-005**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

X	Square 11M	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	

Burial **7-009**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 9M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Child	4 small white paste beads

Burial **EE**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
X	Square 1O	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton			Child	

Main Phase **LC 3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial **001**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6J.	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton. On left side. Orientated SW-NE, head to the Southwest, facing northwest.			Infant	Black stone beads, carnelian bead, 6 crystal ring beads, 1 quartz cylinder bead. Beads found near the chest of the skeleton, some of which seem to have been strung together and hung around the neck.

Burial **CCI**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Main Phase **LC2**

Date cal. BC **3900**

Burial **122**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 4K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing S			Infant	Blue cylindrical bead found in front of the face

Burial **123**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7O	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Age not recorded				Ceramic dish and bowl

Burial **125**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **127**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5-O	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, , orientated NW-SE, head to NW			Infant	27 small white beads, 1 shell

Burial **128**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic bowl, small white bead

Burial **129**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5O	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N			Child	

Burial **130**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E.			Infant	Bitumen. Reed matting

Burial **134**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6O	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing S			Infant	Reed matting

Burial **136**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Infant skeleton covered by vessel sherd	Infant skeleton., on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing SE			Infant	Ceramic vessel sherd

Burial **137**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing NNW			Infant	Stone acorn, ceramic vessel

Burial **138**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5O	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E			Infant	Small white ring beads, gold disk ornament

Burial **140**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 5O	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing N			Infant	1 white bead, ceramic vessel

Burial 141

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6M	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing S			Infant	Ceramic vessel and dish

Burial 142

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NE, head to SE, facing SW			Adolescent	1348 tiny white ring beads, 129 small white carinated beads, 733 small blackstone ring beads, 1 carnelian ring bead, 1 lapis grooved bead, 1 gold rosette ornament, 1 slate axe head. White beads located at neck, gold ornament found by left ear.

Burial 144

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E.			Child	Tiny white ring beads, 1 mother of pearl ornament, 1 decomposed orange-brown ornament, reed matting. Bead and mother of pearl ornament formed a necklace. Decomposed ornament located near lower part of chest,

Burial 145

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing W			Adult	Reed matting

Burial 146

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6O	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Child	Reed matting

Burial **151**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **154**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Child	2 white stone beads found at the neck, reed matting.

Burial **158**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5O	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **159**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE			Infant	Tiny white beads around each wrist, reed matting.

Burial **160**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing SW			Child	Reed matting

Burial **163**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 5Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing N			Child	2 lapis ring beads, 2 turquoise natural pebble beads, 1 buff natural pebble beads. Two of the beads found on the head

Burial **164**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic pot, red-ware plate

Burial **168**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6K	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SE, head to NE, facing SE			Child	Reed matting

Burial **170**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Painted ceramic bowl. Ceramic vessel

Burial **175**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Spouted burnished red slipped gray ware pot

Burial **176**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3K	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E			Child	Ceramic vessel, beads

Burial **178**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, orientated NW-SE, head to NW			Infant	

Burial **179**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on back, face up			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **180**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N			Child	Large beads, lapis pendant, 320 small white ring beads, 378 small white carinated beads, 1white stone irregular bead, 29 carnelian ring beads, 10 carnelian carinated beads, lapis cylinder bead, 20 dentalia shells

Burial **181**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N			Child	2 alabaster stone objects, 2 alabaster sphere, 2 marble sphere, 3 alabaster hemispheres, 1 gold rosette ornament, 1 gold disc ornament, shell beads, carnelian beads, gold beads.

Burial **184**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5G	Simple inhumation in pit	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing NW			Adolescent	Reed matting

Burial **186**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 6K	Disturbed burial	Infant/Child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **187**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 30	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **189**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **191**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5K	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing SE			Child	

Burial **192**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **193**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7K	Infant remains covered by an inverted bowl	Infant skeleton			Infant	2 ceramic vessels, 167 small white ring beads, 6 spherical beads, 1 Plano convex bead, dentalia shell

Burial **215**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6J	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic bowl, 1 incomplete wet-smoothed buff ware pot

Burial **218**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **221**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Adolescent skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing SW			Adolescent	Obsidian blade at the rib of the skeleton

Burial **222**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated SW-NW, head to SW, facing SE			Child	Reed matting

Burial **223**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **224**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 5M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Spouted ceramic pot

Burial **225**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	1 spouted ceramic vessel, 1 incomplete ceramic bowl

Burial **226**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing W			Infant	3290 tiny white paste carinated and ring beads, 1 white paste ring bead, 1 white paste incised plano convex bead, 1 blackstone rectangular bead, 2 carnelian ring beads, 1 carnelian cylinder bead. The beads were at the skeletons ankles.

Burial **227**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6Q	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Ceramic jar base

Burial **228**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6Q	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on back, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing up			Child	740 small white carinated, ring and cylinder beads. Reed matting,

Burial **229**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing SW			Child	

Burial **230**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant/Child skeleton			Infant	1 brown ware jar, 1 coarse ceramic plate

Burial **231**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6Q	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **233**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5K	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing NE			Adult	Reed matting

Burial **234**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic cooking pot

Burial **235**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic cooking pot

Burial **239**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 3k	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing S		12	Child	

Burial **242**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E		3-4	Child	25 white stone beads, 26 grey stone beads, 79 white ring beads, 19 obsidian ring beads, 1 obsidian rough surface bead, 3 grey stone ring beads. The obsidian and some of the white beads were located at the waist. Gray and white beads formed a bracelet at the right wrist.

Burial **244**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **245**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/Child skeleton			Infant	

Burial **246**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3K	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **247**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **249**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, head to W			Child	Reed matting

Burial **252**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **253**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic jar base

Burial **258**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **263**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7K	Vessel burial	Infant/Child			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **266**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 5S	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E		2-3	Child	1 macehead, white beads, lapis beads, copper beads, gold ear ring, reed matting. Beads found around the left wrist, macehead held by the chest by one hand.

Burial **270**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7M	Vessel burial	Infant/Child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **278**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 8O	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **290-A**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7K	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Large ceramic jar sherd

Burial **315**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic bowl, ceramic dish, beads

Burial **318**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	Small stone acorn

Burial **36-027**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 8Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing S			Child	White paste bead, Carnelian bead, 2 white ring beads, 960 cowrie shells

Burial **36-030**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 8O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E				Reed matting

Burial **36-032**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing N			Infant	

Burial **36-038**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Red ware jar

Burial **36-039A and B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA		Pise burial	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E			Child	
XI/XA	Square 5J	Pise burial	Adolescent skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E			Adolescent	

Burial **36-041**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	12 beads, incomplete ceramic pot

Burial **36-042**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant or child skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E			Infant	

Burial **36-046**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant or child skeleton, on left side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing W			Infant	Reed matting

Burial **36-048**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E			Child	

Burial **36-052**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **36-068**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 5M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Not recorded. Disturbed.				Brown ware vessel

Burial **36-080**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Pise burial	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing W			Child	

Burial **36-081**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Pise burial	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to the SE, facing W			Adult	

Burial **36-083**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing N			Child	2 ceramic vessels

Burial **36-084**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5K	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Child skeleton			Child	Two ceramic vessels

Burial **36-086**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing S			Child	

Burial **36-088**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	Two ceramic vessels, beads

Burial **36-089**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **36-100**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SSE, NNW, head to SSE			Child	Paste beads found in the right hand

Burial **36-104**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 3K/3M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E			Adult	1 bead, 1 painted wet-smoothed green ware pot, 1 brown slipped grey ware bowl

Burial **36-105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton, on right side, orientated N-S, , head to N, facing E				Ceramic vessel at the feet

Burial **36-110**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 3M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton			Adult	1 grey-black steatite stamp seal, 1 small ware buff jar

Burial **36-111**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult? skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E			Adult	Small buff ware bowl

Burial **36-129**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 7S	Vessel burial	Adult skeleton			Adult	1 small double rimmed gray slipped brown ware pot, 1 ceramic vessel, 1 black stamp

Burial **36-135**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 5G	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing E			Adult	1 Copper double spiral pendant, 1 obsidian discoid pendant, 1 gray ware vessel. Pendants found at the neck, vessel at the hip.

Burial **36-137**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6G	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing S			Child	Paste ring beads at the wrist

Burial **36-144**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 6J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated W-E, head to W, facing N			Child	650 hard white paste beads near the left hand

Burial **36-146**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 4G	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing S				Wet smoothed brown ware bowl

Burial **36-168**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 11M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	Very small beads

Burial **7-012**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 8M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated ESE-WNW, head to ESE, facing S		1-2	Child	Reed matting

Burial **7-014**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 9M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE		5-6	Child	Reed matting

Burial **7-015**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 10M	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated S-N, head to S, facing E			Adult	Reed matting

Burial **7-018**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

XI/XA	Square 11M	Simple inhumation in pit	Adolescent skeleton, on right side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing NE		14-15	Adolescent	Reed matting

Burial **7-023**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 9M	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **7-10**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
XI/XA	Square 9M	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing SE		4-5	Child	Reed matting

Main Phase **LC3**

Date cal. BC **3700**

Burial **002**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 5K.	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, orientated SE-NW, head to the SE.			Child	Limestone beads, 32 carnelian beads, 10 lapis beads, 1 conical jar spout. Traces of copper oxide on bones. Reed Matting. Bead found near the chest. White and Black beads original strung into separate strings.

Burial **003**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 5J	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, facing south.			Infant	Reed matting.

Burial **004**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 5J	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NE, head to the SE, facing North.			Infant	Beads were found near the hips and above the chest of the skeleton.

Burial 005

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 5J/6J.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, orientated NE-SW, head to the NE.			Child	Reed matting.

Burial 007

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 5J.	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial 009

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10K	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/Child			Infant	18 shell barrel beads, ring beads, 2 pink stone ring beads, obsidian beads.

Burial 010

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	378 small white ring beads, 110 white shell ring beads, 1 white shell barrel bead, 454 black stone ring beads, 4 carnelian ring beads, 15 turquoise ring beads.

Burial 011

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/child			Infant	White stone ring beads, white shell ring beads, black stone ring beads, black stone wheel beads, 1 carnelian flat bead, turquoise beads, crystal ring beads, 1 rose quartz pendant, 1 shell fluted bead.

Burial **012**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10/M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant/child			Infant	3 gold over bitumen core ornaments, 242 small white beads, 37 turquoise ring beads, 1 turquoise pendant, 10 lapis beads, 1 black stone bead, 2 lapis bird figurines, ivory pendant, 4 gold beads, white paste beads, 28 carnelian beads, 1 carnelian pendant, 1 lump of iron.

Burial **013**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 11O	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/Child			Infant	White stone ring beads, shell ring beads, black stone ring beads, 186 white ring beads, 5 white shell barrel beads, 175 black stone ring beads, 1 turquoise ring bead, 4 bronze flat band rings, white shell ring beads, white shell spherical beads, black stone ring beads, green stone ring beads, 89 white ring beads, 85 black stone ring beads, 2 gray stone ring beads, 3 carnelian ring beads, 14 turquoise ring beads, 1 turquoise triangular bead, 12 red and white variegated stone ring beads, 29 white spherical beads, 81 black stone ring beads, 1 amethyst irregular bead, 1 cowrie shell, 3 gold ornaments.

Burial **014**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW.			Child	8 white ring beads, 2 shell barrel beads, 530 black stone ring beads, 1 carnelian carinated bead.

Burial **016**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10M	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant/Child skeleton, orientated SSW-NNW, head to SSW, facing NW. On right side.			Infant	Small white ring beads, black stone ring beads, small brown paste barrel beads, 23 dentalia shells, reed matting.

Burial **017**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 10M	Simple inhumation in pit	Adolescent skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to the SE, facing NE.			Adolescent	Reed matting

Burial 018

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 8Q.	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Possible adult skeleton. Disturbed.			adult	

Burial 020

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 8M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, disturbed.			Child	Reed matting

Burial 024

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to the SW facing SW.			Adult	1 bone comb with traces of blue pigment, 1 bone, lapis, turquoise and gold hair ornament, 1 oolite ointment jar, traces of blue and green pigment on the chest.

Burial 025A and 025B

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX		Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing NW			Adult	
VIII/IX	Square 9Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing SE			Adult	1 red-brown slipped red-buff ware jar, 1 gold discoid pendant, 1 turquoise pendant.

Burial 029A and 029B

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 6Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adolescent skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to Se, facing SW.			Adolescent	1 gold ribbon-rosette ornament, 1 gold rosette ornament, 1 bone hemisphere button, 1 obsidian blade, 1 limestone footed mortar, traces of red, green and blue pigment on chest, reed matting. Double burial but all grave goods associated with skeleton 029A of youth.
VIII/IX		Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing NE.			Adult	

Burial **030A and 030B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9O/9Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing SE.			Child	Reed matting.
VIII/IX	Square 9O/9Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing NE.			Adult	Reed matting, traces of blue-green pigment on and around head.

Burial **031**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to the SE, facing SW.			Adult	32 white shell beads, 57 carnelian beads, 1 pink carnelian pendant, 29 lapis beads, 120 turquoise beads, 2 crystal beads, 16 gold spherical beads, 1 alabaster ointment vase, 1 bone zigzag hair ornament, 1 translucent serpentine ointment dish, 1 gold-foil ribbon rosette ornament, 11 gold over bitumen core hemispheral studs, 1 oolite ointment vessel, 1 ivory or bone plaque seal, 256 beads, 1 mosul marble double ointment dish, 2 mosul marble eye or hut idol, 2 bone combs, traces of green pigment on chest, animal bones with traces of green pigment, reed matting. God, lapis and carnelian beads found around the skull, remains of gold foil found on the nose of the skull, mother of pearl beads found near left hand. Also near left hand were the comb, plaque seal, stone cup, hut idol and a white cylinder bead. Animal bones were found at the feet of the skeleton.

Burial **034**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to Se, facing SW.			Adult	1 bone comb, 1 limestone macehead, 4 large shell ring beads, 1 black stone ring bead, 1 carnelian ring bead, 1 carnelian carinated bead, 2 small lapis ring beads, 27 turquoise ring beads, 1 bone spatula, reed matting, traces of woven textile. Burial appears to have been robbed. This is suggested by the disturbed grave contents.

Burial **037**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton			Child	2 copper pin, 1 white shell ring bead, 1 white shell barrel bead, 4 white shell spherical beads, 8 blackstone ring beads, 1 blackstone spherical bead.

Burial **040**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7-Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton, bones burnt.			Infant	2 red ware bowls, 1 red ware stand.

Burial **045**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6O/7O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton of uncertain age				1 green serpentine bowl, 1 marble lugged jar, 1 alabaster globular jar, reed matting. Grave possibly robbed as suggested by disturbed nature of burial.

Burial **046**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 8O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adult skeleton, on left side, orientated N-S, head to the N, facing E.			Adult	1 gold foil rosette ornament, 6 shell ring beads, 11 carnelian beads, 48 green stone ring beads, 24 blue stone ring beads, 8 rose quartz ring beads, 1 gold bead, 1 stone frog shaped bead, traces of blue pigment on head, reed matting. Gold rosette found at the head of the Skeleton. Suggested that burial was robbed due to disturbance.

Burial **047**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 8O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton			Child	1 gold head band, 21 carnelian carinated beads, 2 lapis beads, 26 green stone beads, 1 blue stone bead, 15 gold spherical beads, 2 bronze beads. The gold foil headband was found in situ around the skull.

Burial **050**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10O	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated NE-SW, head to NW, facing SW.			Infant	Ceramic buff ware bowl

Burial **051**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing SW.			Infant	

Burial **052**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 8)	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing NW.			Infant	1 grey-ware jar, 1 ceramic ballista.

Burial **053**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing N.			Infant	Reed matting

Burial **054**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 7O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing SE.			Infant	

Burial 055

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10s	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton			Infant	2 ceramic dishes

Burial 056

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10Q. Vessel burial in libn enclosure.	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Red ware bowl

Burial 057

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9Q	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated W-E, head to west, facing S. Disturbed.			Child	

Burial 058

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10Q	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	1 red ware bowl

Burial 060

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10M/11M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing NE.			Infant	1 carnelian bead, 2 green stone beads, charred barley grains, reed matting. Barley was found at the hands and knees of the skeleton.

Burial **061**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 11M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-Se, head to NW, facing SE.			Infant	Blackstone beads, numerous tiny white beads. All the beads were found at the chest of the skeleton.

Burial **062**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7-M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton			Child	Charred wheat. Burial disturbed.

Burial **063**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10-K	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on right side, head to N, facing SW			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **064**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 11K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated, NE-SW, head to NE facing NW.			Infant	Reed matting

Burial **065**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 11K	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on right side, orientated W-E, head to the W, facing S.			Child	Ceramic sherds under reed matting.

Burial **067**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 10J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Bottom portion of a ceramic jar

Burial 068

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-W, head to the SE, facing SW			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial 069

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX		Simple inhumation: placed on urn fragment	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing W			Infant	Large red ware sherd

Burial 070

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX		Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing NE.			Adult	

Burial 171

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Adolescent skeleton, on right side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing NW.			Adolescent	Reed matting

Burial 200

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6J	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to Se, facing SW.			Child	

Burial **203**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 5J/6J	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SSW-NNE, head to SSW, facing N.			Child	White stone beads, carnelian beads - bracelet

Burial **204**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 5J/6J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic dish

Burial **209**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E.			Child	14 white ring beads, 381 small black stone ring beads, 3 small carnelian yellow beads, 40 dentalia shells, reed matting. All the beads were located at the top of the head of the skeleton.

Burial **211**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6J	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NW-SE, head to NW, facing E.			Child	

Burial **212**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6G	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing SE.			Child	30 shell cylinder beads, 90 black stone ring beads, 79 quartz ring beads, reed matting.

Burial **213**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 7M	Cist burial: Chamber lined with stone and covered with stone or libn brick	Child skeleton			Child	18 small white ring beads, reed matting

Burial **214**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6G	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	282 small white carnelian beads, 71 white carinated beads, 3 white barrel beads, 107 obsidian ring beads, 114 grey stone ring beads, grey stone barrel bead, 18 dentalia shells, ceramic bowl, ceramic vessel.

Burial **261**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6G	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **267**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX		Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **36-036**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7J	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton, on left side, orientated E-W, head to E, facing S.			Infant	White limestone cylinder beads, blackstone beads, blackstone pendant, carnelian beads, jadeite beads, white marble beads, pinkstone beads, woven textile, reed matting

Burial **7-007**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9M	Side-wall burial: single libn brick wall parallel to the body.	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated SW-NE, head to SW, facing E.			Infant	

Burial **A**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10Q	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton			Infant	Shell beads, black stone beads, carnelian beads

Burial **AA I**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing W			Infant	Ceramic vessel, flat gray ware bowl, obsidian blade

Burial **AA II**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9Q	Vessel burial with vessel cover	Infant skeleton, on right side, orientated N-S, head to N, facing W			Infant	2 Ceramic vessels, ceramic bowl, ceramic spindle whorl, small copper fragment

Burial **B**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton, age uncertain, on left side, orientated NE-SW, head to NE, facing SE				Alabaster jar

Burial **Burial 199**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6J	Simple inhumation in pit	Adolescent skeleton, on right side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE, facing NW.			Adolescent	

Burial **C**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

VIII/IX	Square 7M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Infant skeleton			Infant	Lapis acorn bead, lapis animal head, lapis square bead, crystal ring bead

Burial **CC II**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7J	Vessel burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **D**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6M	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton, no age determination				

Burial **DD**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 7M	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **E**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 6O	Libn burial: Chamber made of sundried brick, often covered with wood, stone or libn brick	Skeleton, no age given				

Burial **FF**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9O	Simple inhumation: placed on urn fragment	Infant/Child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic sherd

Burial **GG**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10O	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic bowl, beads

Burial **HH**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 9O	Vessel burial	Infant/child skeleton			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Burial **JJ**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10M	Vessel burial	Child skeleton			Child	Ceramic vessel

Burial **KK**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
VIII/IX	Square 10O	Simple inhumation in pit	Child skeleton, on left side, orientated SE-NW, head to SE,facing SW.			Child	

Main Phase **Terminal Ubaid/LC1**

Date cal. BC **4300**

Burial **Burial 307**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-M, elevation 7.08m	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted pot

Burial **Burial 287**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 12	In Square 5-S, elevation 7.38m	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed in lidded burial urn

Burial **Burial 291**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-O, elevation 7.45m	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded burial urn

Burial **Burial 294**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-Q, elevation 7.94m	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded burnished spouted pot

Burial **Burial 301**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-Q, elevation 7.01m	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted jar

Burial **Burial 308**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-M, elevation 7.65m	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in burial urn

Burial **Burial 310**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-O, elevation 7.08m	Inverted urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed within two urns, the top one inverted forming a capsule.

Burial **Burial 317**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-M, elevation 7.63m	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted jar

Burial **Burial 321**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-S, elevation 7.63m	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in painted jar

Burial **G36-101**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 3-Kb	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted pot

Burial **G36-106**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-Kd	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted bowl
Level 12	In square 5-M	Pise burial	Skeleton of a child, complete. Contracted, arms extended away from body, on right side, orientated west-east			Child	Engraved bead

Burial **G36-119**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 3-Ka	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded ceramic jar

Burial **G36-124**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-Jd	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a young adult, complete			Adult	Skeleton placed in lidded painted jar

Burial **G36-126**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-Jd	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a young adult, complete			Adult	Skeleton placed in lidded beaker

Burial **G36-131**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-J	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed in lidded plate

Burial **G36-141**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-Gb	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded vessel with a grooved ornamental stud

Burial **G36-154**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 6-Sa	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted bowl

Burial **G36-156**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 12	In square 6-Qc	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed in lidded vessel with a marble jar

Burial **G36-23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-K	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in an incised jar

Burial **G36-25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-Mb	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed in lidded painted pot

Burial **G36-29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In Square 4-Kc	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted jar

Burial **G36-53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	The skull of an infant enclosed by mud bricks in Square 5-K	Cranial burial	Infant skull			Infant	

Burial **G36-59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 30Ma	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted burial urn lidded with a basket cover.

Burial **G36-61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-Md	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted pot
Level 12	In square 4-Ka	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded spouted pot

Burial **G36-65**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-Md	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted pot

Burial **G36-66**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 3-Ma	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted bowl

Burial **G36-69**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-Mc	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted pot

Burial **G36-70**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 5-Kc	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed in lidded painted bowl

Burial **G36-71**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 4-K	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted pot

Burial **G36-94**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 3-Md	Urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted beaker

Burial **G36-99**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	In square 6-Kd	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded incised jar

Main Phase **Ubaid 3a-b**

Date cal. BC **4800**

Burial **Burial 7/37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 16	In square 5-G, elevation 5.5m	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted			Infant	Animal figurine, 'rattle'

Burial **Burial 7/38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 16	In square 3-J, elevation 3.45m	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a painted bowl

Burial **Burial 7/43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 16	In Square 3-J, elevations 3.67m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands to the face, On right side, orientated SE-NW			Adult	Painted jar

Burial **Burial 7/47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 16	In Square 4-G, elevation 3.67m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, extended. Arms at sides, orientated NW-SE			Adult	Three miniature jars

Burial **Burial 7/53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 16	In square 3-J, elevation 3.43m	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete, contracted. Hands to the face, on right side, orientated SE-NW			Child	Painted bowl

Burial **Burial 7/69**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 16	In square 3-J, elevation 3.43m	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete, contracted. Hands at the knees, on right side, orientated SE-NW.			Child	Painted bowl, miniature jar

Date cal. BC **4900**

Burial **Burial 7/45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 3-J, elevation 2.43m	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a young adult, complete, sharply contracted. Hands to the face, on right side, orientated SE-NW			Adult	Painted bowl

Burial **Burial 7/52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-J, elevation 2.43m. To the east of Level 17 'Southern Tholos'.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete, sharply contracted. Hands to the face, on right side, orientated E-W			Child	String of beads

Burial **Burial 7/54**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In square 5-J, elevation 2.75m. To the east of Level 17 'Southern Tholos'.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a young adult, complete, sharply contracted. Hands to the face, on right side, oriented S-N			Adult	Painted bowl

Burial **Burial 7/57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 3-J, elevation 2.72m	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete, sharply contracted. Hands at the pelvis, on right side, orientated SE-NW			Child	String of beads

Burial **Burial 7/58**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 3-J, elevation 2.67m	Fragmentary burial	Fragmentary adult skeleton, extended. Right hand to face, left hand at right elbow. Orientated SW-NE			Adult	Painted jar, terra cotta 'gaming pieces' (tokens?)

Burial **Burial 7/59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-J, elevation 1.90m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, sharply contracted. Hands to face, on right side, orientated SE-NW.			Adult	Painted jar

Burial **Burial 7/61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-G, elevation 2.96m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, sharply contracted. Hands to face, on right side, orientated SE-NW.			Adult	String of beads

Burial **Burial 7/62**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 17	In Square 3-J, elevation 3.02m	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a young adult, complete, contracted. Hands to face, on right side, orientated SE-NW.			Adult	Painted bowl, painted jar, string of beads

Burial **Burial 7/66**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	See above	Multiple burial	Infant skeleton, complete. Lying on the right arm of the adult skeleton.			Infant	See above
Level 17	In Square 3-J, elevation 2.85m	Multiple burial	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Arms extended away from the body. On right side, orientated SE-NW.			Adult	One ceramic bowl, two marble bowls, two painted jars, stamp seal

Burial **Burial 7/67**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-K, elevation 2.33m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Left hand to face, on right side, orientated SE-NW			Adult	Painted miniature jar

Burial **Burial 7/68**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-J, elevation 2.24m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands to face, on right side, orientated SE-NW			Adult	Two painted jars

Burial **Burial 7/70**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-G, elevation 2.48m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands to the face, on right side, orientated SE-NW			Adult	Painted bowl, two painted jars

Burial **Burial 7/72**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 17	In Square 3-G, elevation 2.5m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands to face, on right side, orientated E-W			Adult	Painted jar, painted bowl

Burial **Burial 7/76**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 17	In Square 4-J, elevation 2.4m	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, complete, sharply contracted. Hands to face, on right side, orientated E-W.			Adult	One jar

Date cal. BC **5000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 18		Urn burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel.
Level 18		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	
Level 18		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	
Level 18		Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	
Level 18		Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Burial **Burial 7/73**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 18	In Square 4-J, elevation 0.66m	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic jar

Burial **Burial 7/80**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 18	In Square 4-G, elevation 1.88m	Simple inhumation wrapped in reed matting	Adult skeleton, complete, contracted. Hands to the face, on right side, orientated NE-SW			Adult	Painted jar, two marble bowls, palette, pendant

Main Phase **Ubaid 3b**

Date cal. BC **4600**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 14	Under the floor of either Room 11 or 13 of the Stratum XIV building.	Urn burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level 14	Under the floor of either Room 11 or 13 of the Stratum XIV building.	Urn burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a ceramic vessel
Level 14	Near the southern corner of Square 4-G	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton			Adult	
Level 14	Under the floor of either Room 11 or 13 of the Stratum XIV building.	Urn burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in ceramic vessel

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **Burial 7/6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 13	In square 3-M, elevation 5.06	Simple inhumation	Disturbed skeleton of a young adult(?), contracted			Adult	Three painted bowls

Burial **G36-148**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 13	In square 4-O, elevation 5.8m	Plastered inverted urn burial	Disturbed				Painted jar

Burial **G36-157**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 13	In square 4-Ja. Outside the southern wall of Room2, 'Eastern Shrine' Building.	Lidded urn burial	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Skeleton placed in lidded deep bowl

Burial **G36-165**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 13	In square 5-Ec	Lidded urn burial	Infant skeleton, complete			Infant	Skeleton placed in lidded painted bowl

12.2.67 Tepecik

Main Phase **LC 3-4**

Date cal. BC **3400**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Building Phase 3a	Skeleton of an infant found inside a mudbrick grave located within a narrow room	Brick lined pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	Necklace of small limestone beads around the neck

12.2.68 Tulintepe

Main Phase **Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Trench 50-L	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, flexed			Infant	

12.2.69 Umm Dabaghiya

Main Phase **Hassuna/Samarra**

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial **1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation	Crouched skeleton				

Burial **2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation	Crouched skeleton of a child		10	Child	

Burial **3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation: oval shaft 1.5-2m deep	Complete skeleton?				

Burial **4**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation: oval shaft 1.5-2m deep	Complete skeleton?				

Burial **5**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation: oval shaft 1.5-2m deep	Complete skeleton?				

Burial **6**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation: oval shaft 1.5-2m deep	Complete skeleton				

Burial **7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Dug into surface of phase 4. Perhaps from Hassuna/Samarra Period settlement 200m from site.	Simple inhumation: oval shaft 1.5-2m deep	Complete skeleton?				

12.2.70 Umm Qseir

Main Phase **Halaf IIa-IIb**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Grave 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Sq. G-4 Halaf phase	Lowest level of settlement characterized by a series of pits, one of which contained the skeletal remains of an adolescent	Oval pit: 123x80cm	Adolescent skeleton, complete, contracted.		11-16	Adolescent	Halaf bowl and flint flake placed near the skull.

12.2.71 Ur

Main Phase **Terminal Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4400**

Burial **PFG/A, B, C**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

C7 Level 5.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Three bodies wrapped in matting. Lay close together in a stratum associated with kiln wasters and immediately below a mass of broken mud brick.	Multiple burial	Badly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	Wrapped in matting. Long pointed base of a large clay vessel of light red ware by the skull of C.
C7 Level 5.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Three bodies wrapped in matting. Lay close together in a stratum associated with kiln wasters and immediately below a mass of broken mud brick.	Multiple burial	Badly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	Wrapped in matting. White limestone cup of type aU.13, U.14971 and a small broken clay cup by the skull of B.
C7 Level 5.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Three bodies wrapped in matting. Lay close together in a stratum associated with kiln wasters and immediately below a mass of broken mud brick.	Multiple burial	Badly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	Wrapped in matting

Burial **PFG/D**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D6 Level 6.10m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Skeleton buried in a rectangular enclosure that was at least partially lined with mud bricks.	Disturbed burial	Only the pelvis and leg bones are preserved				

Burial **PFG/E**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D5 Level 6.00m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Mud brick remains - partially lined with mudbrick?	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton, on left side, hands in front of face, legs slightly flexed, head to the west.			Adult	Limestone bowl under the head (type RC.28), steatite mace-head and a pierced clay disk by the hands, small shell beads by the neck and a cup (type aU.12) behind the back.

Burial **PFG/F**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
C4 Level 6.30m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F	Simple inhumation	Skeleton on its back, hands folded over pelvis, head NW with the face turned to its right. Legs missing.			Adult	Wrapped in matting. Polished stone axe by the right arm, a cup (type a.U.12) above the head, fragments of a similar cup.

Burial **PFG/G**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 5.50m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F	Simple inhumation	Postcranial skeleton, on left side, legs almost straight, arms bent with hands to face but skull missing. Bones in bad state of preservation			Adult	Copper spear head by the upper part of the body, vase of red clay (type aU.33) with a thin wash of haematite on the shoulder with rim missing, by the feet.

Burial **PFG/J**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D 5 Level 4.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Grave cut down 0.6m into the silt deposit, but could not be properly excavated.	Simple inhumation	Could not be properly excavated				By the body was a clay bowl Type a.U3a with a plain black border, a bowl of plain red clay Type a.U3b, a pedestal vase Type a.u9b, and fragments of another vase of clay.

Burial **PFG/K**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D6 Level 4.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Skeletal remains badly preserved			Adult	Plain red ware vessel (Type a.U3b), Three plain and one red plain vessel (Type aU.9b), Two plain clay vessels (Type aU.24), Vessel of greenish clay with bands of black paint (Type aU.25).

Burial **PFG/L**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E6 Level 4.60m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Skeletal remains occupied a rectangular grave 2.5m x 1.5m. Five skulls were at one end of this and three at the other.	Multiple burial	Eight skulls with other bones lying in confusion. None of the skeletons were intact.				On the arm bones of one skeleton were many small paste ring beads that were originally glazed. Four clay vessels of Type aU.3a two of which were inside a pedestal vase of Type aU.9a. There was also a second example of a pedestal vase Type aU.9a and a vessel of Type aU.24.

Burial **PFG/M**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D5 Level 5.00m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Multiple burial	Two skeletons lying face to face, the hands over the pelves, the legs slightly flexed, the leg bones of one above those of the other.			Adult	On the arms of the upper body were minute ring beads of white shell, and by the feet were three examples of vessel Type aU.3a, a vessel of Type aU.3b, a vessel with bands of black paint Type aU.25 and two examples of vessel Type aU.24. Behind the bodies were remains of the skull of an Ox(?) and by the feet but 0.4m higher up were animal teeth.

Burial **PFG/N**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D5 Level 4.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit 4. Grave consisting of objects only and no skeletal remains.	Simple inhumation?	No trace of skeletal remains were recovered				Grave consisted of a group of clay vessels lying in confusion. Five vessels of Type aU.3a, fragments of a flat dish with a border of black paint Type aU.4, vessel with a black border of Type aU.7, a vessel of Type aU.24 and fragments of vessel of light red clay with buff surface, two vessels of Type aU.25 and a fragmentary vessel of Type aU.34.

Main Phase **Ubaid 4**

Date cal. BC **4500**

Burial **PFG/AA**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 2.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Multiple burial	Complete skeleton, seemed to lay extended on its back although little was left of the bones. Head orientated SW.			Adult	The associated finds were placed by the feet and against the right side of the skeleton. Ceramic vessels: Two vessels of Type a.U.2, Type aU.3a, Type aU.4 with a border in black paint, Type aU.8 with border of black paint, Four vessels of Type aU.25, three with designs in black paint and one plain, Type aU.30, Type aU.47 with designs in black paint and fragments of two other vessels, one painted and one plain, spouted.
E7 Level 2.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Multiple burial	Fragments of skull, a leg bone and human teeth				Skeletal remains were amongst the ceramic vessels mentioned above.
E7 Level 2.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. These skeletal remains and associated finds were close to the south end of PFG/AA but may not have been associated with this burial.	Multiple burial	Close to the south end of this burial was a skull that may not be associated with this burial				A small roughly made bowl Type aU.17 and a terra-cotta figurine of a woman holding an infant.

Burial **PFG/BB**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
C4 Level 3.00m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Fragmentary burial	A few traces of bone				A scattered collection of clay pots with a few traces of bone amongst them: Type aU.4, Type aU.19 with bands of brown paint and Type aU.47.

Burial **PFG/CC**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E 6 Level 2.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave shaft was paved with pieces of broken pottery.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton was extended on its back, the hands over the pelvis and the head a little S of W.			Adult	The bottom of the grave shaft was paved with pieces of broken pottery. Ceramic vessels: Fragments of Type aU.2 that may not belong to this burial, Type aU.7 with a border of black paint, Type aU.8 with a border of black paint, Two vessels of Type aU.23 with designs in black paint, type aU.30, type aU.32, Type aU.34(?) that was completely crushed and Type 52.

Burial **PFG/DD**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

C4 Level 3.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	No burial remains were present - preservation or object burial?				Remains of a pavement of red potsherds. On this pavement lay a ceramic vessel of Type aU.47

Burial **PFG/EE**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
C 4 Level 2.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	No traces of human remains				Two ceramic vessels: Type aU.10a and Type aU.28. Two terra-cotta disks pierced each by two holes.

Burial **PFG/FF**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
C 4 Level 3.60m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains were present - object burial or preservation problems?				Pavement of broken pottery. On this pavement were three ceramic vessels: Type a.U.3a with a border of black paint, Type aU.20 and Type aU.34, the neck of which was painted black and red-brown circles painted on the shoulder.

Burial **PFG/GG**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E 6 Level 4.00m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton lay E-W with the head to the west. The body was fully extended with the hands over the pelvis.			Adult	Close to the head were various clay vessels: Four vessels of Type aU.3a, Type aU.10a, Type aU.25, Type aU.31, Type aU.38 with designs in black paint and Type aU.44 with designs in black paint.

Burial **PFG/HH**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 1.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains recorded				Clay cup Type aU.23 with designs in dark brown paint.

Burial **PFG/JJ**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

E7 Level 2.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Multiple burial	Skeleton fully extended on its back with the hands over the pelvis and the head to the SW.			Adult	On the body just above the hands was a terra-cotta figurine of a nude female. Close to the right ear of the body was a lump of red haematite. Ceramic vessels: Type aU.3a with a border of black paint, Type aU.7 with a border of black paint, Three vessels of Type aU.25 with designs in black paint, Type aU.31 with a band of brown paint around the rim, Type aU.38, Type aU.43 with a design in black paint and Type aU.47.
E7 Level 2.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Multiple burial	The second skeleton lay side by side with the first but was in a bad state of preservation. The bones were covered with a powdery red pigment (haematite?) 'as if they had been painted'			Adult	See above for details of associated ceramics.

Burial **PFG/KK**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E 7 Level 2.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton fully extended, on its back, the head orientated SW, the hands folded over the pelvis. On the arms and on the bones of the upper part of the body there was red haematitic powder			Adult	By the feet were a group of clay vessels: Type aU.3a with designs in black paint, Type aU.31 with designs in black paint and Type aU.42.

Burial **PFG/LL**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 1.90m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	A skull in bad state of preservation				Two clay vessels by the skull: Type aU.6 with a black paint border and Type aU.27 the surface of which was finished by vertical knife trimming.

Burial **PFG/MM**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 1.50m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave was dug down through the silt deposit into the underlying stratum of house refuse.	Simple inhumation	The badly preserved skeletal remains lay fully extended on its back, head orientated SE and the hands over the pelvis.			Adult	Against the left side of the skeleton were: Type aU.4 with border design in black paint, Type aU.10a, Type aU.21 with bands of black paint, Type aU.23 with designs in black paint, Two fragmentary remains of vessel Type aU. 32. Against the side of the grave (but perhaps not belonging to it) were also Type aU.4, Type aU.10a, Type a.U23 with designs in black paint and Type aU.34 with the neck painted black.

Burial **PFG/NN**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

E7 Level 1.50m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Disturbed burial	'Remains of bones'				Broken plate of Type aU.4 with designs in black paint and a plain clay cone.

Burial **PFG/O**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7-8 Level 3.30m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F	Simple inhumation?	Grave could not be properly excavated - a few bones were recovered				Fragmentary vessel of Type aU.1, fragmentary vessel of Type aU.2, Two vessels (one fragmentary) decorated with bands of black paint Type aU.23, vessel type aU.33, vessel decorated with black painted design Type aU.39 and a fragmentary vessel of Type aU.47. Also the body of a terra-cotta figurine of a nude female (the head was broken off in antiquity).

Burial **PFG/OO**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 1.30m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave lay in the side of the pit and just below Burial PFG/MM and could only be partially excavated.	Simple inhumation	Skull of what the excavators believed to be a young child - partially excavated grave			Child	A group of ceramic vessels by the skull: Type aU.4 with design in black paint, Type aU.30, Type aU.31 and Type aU.47.

Burial **PFG/P**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 3.10m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Cranial burial	Only the skull was present and in a bad state of preservation				Vessel decorated with bands of black paint Type aU.21, Vessel decorated with designs in black paint Type aU.23,two vessels decorated with designs in black paint of Type aU.25 and a plain vessel of Type aU.32

Burial **PFG/PP**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 1.00m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains recorded				Fragmentary bowl Type aU.3a with a border of brown paint, Type aU.33 with design in black paint and a polished bone pin.

Burial **PFG/Q**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

D5 Level 3.60m	Ubaid period Cemetery. Pit F. The floor of the grave was paved with fragments of pottery.	Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains were present - possibly decayed? Or object burial?				Part of the floor of the grave was paved with fragments of pottery, mostly from one large painted vessel. Against the edge of the pottery mosaic floor was a single bone of a small bird. On or close to the pavement were seven clay vessels - vessel Type aU.4 with a border of black plate, two vessels Type aU.10a, vessel type aU.23 with decorated designs in black paint, vessel Type aU.32, vessel Type aU.43 with design in dark reddish purple and fragments of a vessel Type aU.55 decorated with a border in black. Just south of the pottery pavement lay, broken in two parts, a terra-cotta figurine of a nude female.

Burial **PFG/QQ**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E6 Level 1.60m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Badly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	Ceramic vessels: Type aU.3a with design in brown paint, Type aU.4 with border in black paint, Type aU.50 with design in black paint and fragments of a terra-cotta statue of a nude female.

Burial **PFG/R**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D7 Level 2.60m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation?	Disturbed - 'virtually nothing left' as grave cleared by tunnelling				All the clay vessels were crushed and mixed with them were fragments which seemed not to belong to the grave. Apart from fragments of unknown shape the vessels were - Type aU.5, Type aU.16 with designs in black painted, two vessels of Type aU.23, one with designs in brown, one with bands of black paint, Type aU.48 with design in black paint and fragments of type aU.55 with designs of spirals in black paint. An example of vessel Type aU.9a lay by the grave but seemed not to belong to it.

Burial **PFG/RR**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E 7 Level 1.10m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Grave lay close to PFG/OO though at a slightly higher level and seemed to have been disturbed by the other burials which in this part lay deeper than elsewhere and were very close together	Disturbed burial	Scanty badly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	Ceramic vessels: Type aU.3a, Type aU.4 with border of black paint, Type aU.23 with design in red paint and Type aU.31

Burial **PFG/S**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

D5 Level 3.60m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave lay close to, and of the SE side of, PFG/Q.	Cranial burial	Skull only				On each side of the skull was a clay cup of Type aU.25, one with a design in brown paint, one with a design on black paint.

Burial **PFG/SS**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 1.10m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave lay immediately below PFG/OO and consisted of a group of clay vessels only.	Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains present - bad preservation or object burial?				Group of clay vessels only: Type aU.3a with design in black paint, Type aU.22 with design in red paint, Type aU.23 with design in black paint, Type aU.43.

Burial **PFG/T**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 3.00m	Ubaid period Cemetery. Pit F. The second skull was 0.2m away from the first skeleton and possibly intrusive, whilst close to the knees of the first skeleton was a third skull. All the offerings seem to be associated with the first skeleton as this burial was undisturbed and the other two fragmentary.	Multiple burial in a rectangular grave 3.0x.0.6m which for half its length was paved with a rough mosaic of broken pottery	Skeleton was laid with its head on the broken pottery floor, whilst most of the trunk and the legs rested on bare soil. The bones were in a bad state of preservation. Orientated SW-NE with head to SW.			Adult	On the right wrist of the skeleton were beads of shell and black steatite strung in a number of parallel rows. By the hands, resting on the pelvis was a terra-cotta figurine with remains of red paint on the cheeks and black eyes and hair. Close to the knees lay a bowl Type aU.8 with a border of black paint, against which was a cup Type a.23 with a design in black paint. Underneath the bowl was a fragmentary cup Type aU.25 with a design in black paint and with it a second terra-cotta figurine of a nude female with bitumen head dress.
E7 Level 3.00m	Ubaid period Cemetery. Pit F. The second skull was 0.2m away from the first skeleton and possibly intrusive, whilst close to the knees of the first skeleton was a third skull. All the offerings seem to be associated with the first skeleton as this burial was undisturbed and the other two fragmentary.	Multiple burial in a rectangular grave 3.0x.0.6m which for half its length was paved with a rough mosaic of broken pottery	Fragments of a skull - intrusive burial				
E7 Level 3.00m	Ubaid period Cemetery. Pit F. The second skull was 0.2m away from the first skeleton and possibly intrusive, whilst close to the knees of the first skeleton was a third skull. All the offerings seem to be associated with the first skeleton as this burial was undisturbed and the other two fragmentary.	Multiple burial in a rectangular grave 3.0x.0.6m which for half its length was paved with a rough mosaic of broken pottery	Skull only - intrusive burial?				

Burial **PFG/TT**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

E 6 Level 2.50m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton lay fully extended on its back, the head orientated a little south of west and the hands folded over the pelvis.			Adult	By the feet, on the right side, were a group of clay vessels: Type aU.8 with a border of black paint, Type aU.23 with a design in reddish brown paint, two vessels of Type aU.41, one with a finely polished surface and Type aU.47 with design in brown paint.

Burial **PFG/U**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E7 Level 3.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave lay close to and just above Burial PFG/T. A few centimetres below the infants skull were the fragmentary bones of another individual and three clay vessels, which was likely to be separate but originally recorded as one burial.	Fragmentary burial	Fragments of a skull belonging to an infant			Infant	On either side of the skull was a clay cup Type aU.25 decorated with bands of black paint and a vessel of Type aU.26 decorated with bands of black paint. Under the skull was a bowl Type aU.2, and below this was a cup of Type aU.23 that may however be associated with the remains of another skull -the third skull in grave PFG/T
E7 Level 3.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. Skeletal remains assigned to the same burial as the infant burial due to the difficulty in assigning the grave goods - it is likely that the skeletal remains were a separate burial	Fragmentary burial	Fragmentary bones found a few centimetres below the infant skull - most likely a separate burial?				Three clay vessels were associated with this burial although in reality it was difficult to assign the associated finds to one or the other burial. Type aU.2 Type aU.25 decorated with bands of black paint. Type aU.32.

Burial **PFG/UU**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E6 Level 1.10m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Cranial burial	Skull only				By the skull were a group of ceramic vessels: Type aU.3a with design in black paint, Type a.U45 with design in purplish paint, two vessels of Type aU.10b, on of which was inserted into the spout of Type aU.45, and Type aU.30 with design in black paint.

Burial **PFG/V**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D5 Level 3.20m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Badly preserved skeletal remains			Adult	Associated vessels seemed to be placed close to the head and against the knees. Type aU.3 - decorated with designs in black paint. Type aU.3b Type a.U23 with designs in brownish black. Type a.U25 with designs in black paint Type aU.26 with designs in black paint. Type aU.43 with designs in black paint.

Burial **PFG/VV**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

E6	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave was lying on the side of the pit an could only be partially excavated.	Cranial burial	Only the skull was present				Clay vessels heaped against the skull: Type aU.4 with a border of black paint, two vessels of Type aU.27 and vessel Type aU.29. Close to these but not forming part of the same grave group were fragments of a plate Type aU.4 with a design in black paint and Type aU.30 with a painted design.

Burial **PFG/W**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D4 Level 3.80m		Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains recovered - bad preservation or object burial?				Paving made of broken pottery associated with three clay vessels: Type aU.10 Two vessels of Type aU.25 with bands of black paint.

Burial **PFG/WW**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Pit X.	Simple inhumation?	No skeletal remains				Group of ceramic vessels: Two vessels of Type aU.21 with design in black paint, Type aU.31 with design in black paint and Type aU. 38.

Burial **PFG/X**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D4 Level 3.80m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Fragments of the skull and a few other bones				Ceramic vessel Type aU.25 decorated with bands of black paint. Below this, but possibly not related to the same grave was a cup of Type aU.23 decorated with bands of black paint

Burial **PFG/XX**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	Pit Z.	Simple inhumation	Skeleton extended with head to SE - badly preserved.			Adult	Ceramic vessels: Vessel Type aU.47 with painted with designs, Fragmentary vessel resembling Type aU.41 but with a loop handle, Type aU.2 and Fragmentary, painted vessel of Type aU.26.

Burial **PFG/Y**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
E 7	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F. The grave was inside the pit and could only be partially excavated by tunnelling.	Simple inhumation?	Skull only as grave partially excavated				The skull rested on two clay vessels: Fragments of a bowl Type aU.2 and a cup decorated with a design in dark brown paint Type aU.25.

Burial **PFG/Z**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
D5 Level 3.15m	Ubaid period cemetery. Pit F.	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton that lay extended on its back, the hands on the pelvis, the head a little E of N.			Adult	All of the ceramic vessels was grouped together by the feet: Type aU.3a, Type aU.4 with a design in black paint, Type aU.10a, Three vessels of Type aU.25 decorated with designs in black paint, Two vessels of Type a.U26 with bands of black paint, Type a.U29, Type aU.47, Type a.U49 and fragments of a large pot.

12.2.72 Yarim Tepe I

Main Phase **Hassuna I-III**

Date cal. BC

Burial **Misc.**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
?	In pits under walls or floors - from 1973 excavations	Infant burial	Infant skeletal remains			Infant	

Date cal. BC **6000**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 5	Skeleton lay on a vessel fragment placed into a niche cut into a house wall	Infant side-wall burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	
Level 8	Inside tholos in square 47	Multiple burial	Complete skeleton, crouched				
Level 4	In a small pit dug beneath a floor of a room	Multiple burial in pit	Infant skeleton - twins?			Infant	

Level 4	In a small pit dug beneath a floor of a room	Multiple burial in pit	Infant skeleton - twins?		Infant
Level 5	In a pit under a house floor	Infant pit burial	Infant skeleton		Infant
Level 5	Below house doorway	Infant pit burial	Infant skeleton		Infant
Level 5	Below house floor	Infant pit burial	Infant skeleton		Infant
Level 7	Below floor of a room	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton, contracted on right side		Infant
Level 7	Inside central room of complex 17. Complex 17 was an 8 room structure 11x6m. Jars were found buried beneath the floors and walls of the structure. Complex 17 was recovered from Squares 36-37 and 46-47.	Secondary burial?	Dismembered skeleton		Infant
Level 7	Inside central room of complex 17. Complex 17 was an 8 room structure 11x6m. Jars were found buried beneath the floors and walls of the structure. Squares 36-37 and 46-47.	Secondary burial?	Dismembered skeleton		
Level 8	Inside tholos in square 47	Multiple burial	Complete skeleton, crouched		
Level 8	Inside tholos in square 47	Multiple burial	Complete skeleton, crouched		

Burial **no. 105**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 11	Under gypsum floor of room 282, part of larger complex no. 30. Square 37	Secondary burial?	Dismembered skeleton: two feet, head of femur, fragments of other bones			Adult	

Burial no. 120

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 10	Sector 47 A-2	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, flexed position on right side			Infant	Skeleton covered by a vessel sherd

Burial no. 124

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8	Sector 57 D-4	Infant pot burial	Dismembered infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within ceramic vessel

Burial no. 126

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 11	Sector 57 D-3	Simple inhumation	Complete skeleton, flexed position, lying on back	Female	25	Adult	

Burial no. 127

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 11	Sector 47 C-2	Infant pot burial	Complete skeleton, on right side, flexed			Infant	Skeleton placed with ceramic vessel

Burial no. 128

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	Beneath complex 31 wall. Sector 37 B-4.	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, on left side, flexed position			Infant	

Burial **no. 130**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 10	Beneath wall in sector 47 A-2	Multiple burial	Infant skeleton, flexed on right side			Infant	Animal bone (Ram?)
Level 10	Beneath wall in sector 47 A-2	Multiple burial	Infant skeleton, flexed on right side			Infant	see above

Burial **no. 131**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	On the floor of tholos 333. Sector 27-B	Multiple burial	Dismembered adult skeleton			Adult	
Level 12	On the floor of tholos 333. Sector 27-B	Multiple burial	Dismembered adult skeleton			Adult	Large broken jar, fragments of three vessels, sheep bones.

Burial **no. 132**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 9	Sector 27-B	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, on left side, flexed			Infant	Skeleton covered by a vessel sherd

Burial **no. 133**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	Pit dug into tholos 319. Sector 27-D	Infant pit burial	Complete skeleton, on right side, flexed position			Infant	Skeleton covered by a vessel fragment

Burial **no. 134**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 11	On the floor of the main area of unit 346. Part of complex no.30. Sector 37-D-1	Secondary burial?	Dismembered skeleton arranged in anatomical order			Adult	

Burial no. 137

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 5	Sector 38-2	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, on left side in crouched position		1	Infant	Decorated jar near head, black stone pendant by pelvis

Burial no. 138

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	Below oven of complex 31. Sector 37-B3	Multiple burial	Child skeleton, crouched position, right side		6-8	Child	
Level 12	Below oven of complex 31. Sector 37-B3	Multiple burial	Child skeleton, crouched position, right side		6-8	Child	

Burial no. 141

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 9-10?	Inside annex 364 Sector 57 B 33/4	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, lying stretched facing down		10-12	Child	

Burial no. 142

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 10	Sector 57 C-4	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, crouched position		1	Infant	

Burial no. 144

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 9	Below hearth 777 Sector 57-1	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, crouched on right side			Infant	Skeleton covered by a vessel sherd. Flint and obsidian

Burial no. 145

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 12	Sector 27-C-3	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within ceramic vessel

Burial no.100

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8	Outside wall of building 234	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial no.102

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8	Beneath lower floor of building 234, complex 25	Infant burial	Infant skeleton		2-3	Infant	Large painted jar set into the ground and filled with fragments of a stone quern. Cattle horns.

Burial no.103

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8	Outside wall of building 234	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed within a large ceramic vessel

Burial no.121

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6	Sector 17 B-2	Simple inhumation	Adult skeleton, on back, legs flexed			Adult	Decorated bowl

Burial **no.140**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 5	At the base of the level 5 wall, sector 48 A-3	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton on right side in crouched position			Infant	

Burial **no.143**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6	Among debris of Level 6 wall, sector 38 C-3	Simple inhumation?	Adolescent skeleton		14-16	Adolescent	

Main Phase **Middle-Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5500**

Burial **Burial 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II	Burial pit - possibly lower part of a burial chamber	Adult skeleton			Adult	'Rich mortuary offerings' - but no detail

Burial **Burial 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II	Burial chamber - a portion of the oval chamber bottom and vault preserved	Adult skeleton			Adult	One ceramic vessel, one stone vessel

Burial **Burial 47**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II	Burial chamber - oval entryway, 1.5m long and 0.7m wide leads into a sloping shaft, at the bottom of which was a small lined chamber 40cm wide and 30cm high	Adult skeleton, lay with back to entrance			Adult	Grave goods likely - but not recorded

Burial **Burial 48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II	Burial chamber - entryway 1.5m long and 0.9m wide that ended in a step at the entrance of the chamber cut into the southern wall of the entryway. Chamber was 1m	Adult skeleton, lay with back to entrance			Adult	Grave goods likely - but not recorded

Burial **Burial 51**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II	Burial chamber - Similar dimensions to Burial 48	Adult skeleton?			Adult	Grave goods likely - but not recorded

Burial **Burial 52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II	Lined burial chamber 0.8x0.4m Height of the vault - 0.3m	Adult skeleton?			Adult	Ceramic vessel

Burial **Burial 60**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Halaf cemetery - perhaps from the Halaf settlement at Yarim Tepe II. Was some distance from the other burials	Burial chamber - Sloping corridor that terminates at a step that leads to a narrow pit 2m in depth. Pit dimensions 2x0.55m and 1.6x0.35m	Fragmented human remains				Large skull of a bull 70cm in length and placed on a platform that was reinforced with stones. On the step lay a pile of fragmented human remains, pieces of charcoal, fragments of one alabaster vessel and several ceramic vessels. Fragments of two more vessels - one ceramic and one alabaster, a haematite pin, a stone mace head and 200 gazelle astragali.

12.2.73 Yarim Tepe II

Main Phase **Early Halaf?**

Date cal. BC **5800**

Burial

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Levels 8-9	The cache was recovered from Square 28c in Level 8 contained several intentionally broken ceramic vessels, two of which were painted, and filled with a mixture of earth, ash and charcoal.	Object burial	No skeletal remains				Several intentionally broken ceramic vessels, two of which were painted.

Levels 8-9	The cache was recovered from the southern corner of Square 28a. The pit was 50-80 cm in diameter and 20cm deep, and contained burnt fragments of a painted ceramic bowl, a large painted zoomorphic vessel in the form of a pig, a crude ceramic cooking vessel and a whole alabaster bowl. Again, the pit fill consisted of earth, ash and charcoal.	Object burial	No skeletal remains	Burnt fragments of a painted ceramic bowl, a large painted zoomorphic vessel in the form of a pig, a crude ceramic cooking vessel and a whole alabaster bowl.
Levels 8-9	The deposit was recovered from the foundations of Tholos 67 from Level 9. With a diameter of 5.3m, Tholos 67 was the largest circular structure found in the earliest levels at the site, and was constructed of plastered pisé walls 40cm thick. The structure was built upon a packed clay platform where a deposit of objects placed in a pit was found cut into its southern extent (below the doors of the tholos). The pit itself was 30 x 40cm in diameter and around 6-7 cm deep.	Object burial	No skeletal remains	Animal bones, obsidian microblades in the form of a trapeze, a copper seal pendant, a fragment of a clay figurine, an oval stone pendant, two stone spindle whorls, five clay spindle whorls and fragments of a fine painted ceramic vessel. After their placement in a pit, the objects were covered with ash and charcoal.
Levels 8-9	The deposit was recovered from Square 19a, which consisted of a pit containing the fragmented remains of an anthropomorphic vessel in the form of a female figure. The figurine was deliberately smashed and deposited alongside fragmented clay bowls, an alabaster cup and a decorated stone stamp seal, all of which were then covered with a layer of earth, ash, and charcoal.	Object burial	No skeletal remains	Fragmented remains of an anthropomorphic vessel in the form of a female figure. The figurine was deliberately smashed and deposited alongside fragmented clay bowls, an alabaster cup and a decorated stone stamp seal.

Burial **Burial 48**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Levels 8-9 Depth of 5.3 - 5.5m	Square 23-B	Shallow grave 1.1x0.6m	Dismembered skeletal remains. Skull lay on top of bone pile.		7-8	Child	

Burial **Burial 49**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 9	Square 23-D	Cranial burial	Skull only, aligned east, on left side				

Burial **Burial 50**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds

Level 8-9	Cremation remains only - not the site of the cremation process. Square 23-B	Cremation remains in oval pit 0.7x0.3m	Strongly burnt skeletal remains			Adult	Parts of two decorated vessels were broken and thrown into the burial pit, alongside the burnt bones and charcoal

Burial **Burial 51**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9	Cremation remains only - not the site of the cremation process. Square 23-C	Cremation burial	Burnt upper remains of an adult. Leg bones intact.			Adult	Two deliberately broken decorated clay vessels with traces of burning in the western half of the burial area

Burial **Burial 52**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9	Close to Burial 51. Cremation remains only - not the site of the cremation process. Square 23-C	Cremation remains in small grave 35x25cm	Fragmented burnt skeletal remains of an infant			Infant	

Burial **Burial 53**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9	1m from Burial 52. Traces of burning on the edge of the grave. Square 23-C	Cremation remains in oval grave 1.16x0.53cm	Cremated infant skeleton			Infant	

Burial **Burial 54**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9	Burnt and crushed bones of an adult in the eastern half and centre of the hearth-pit. Square 23-B	Cremation remains in a hearth pit 1.25x0.5m	Burnt and crushed bones of an adult			Adult	Fragments of one decorated and three undecorated ceramic vessels in the northern edge of the pit. One bone awl, two spindle whorls and a red stone fragment were associated with the skeletal remains

Burial **Burial 55**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 9	Square 23-B	Cranial burial	Skull on left side facing west				

Burial **Burial 56**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 9	Square 23-A	Multiple cranial burial in a shallow grave, 0.6-0.65m	Cranial remains of an adult			Adult	

Level 9	Square 23-A	Multiple cranial burial in a shallow grave, 0.6-0.65m	Cranial remains of an adult			Adult	
Level 9	Square 23-A	Multiple cranial burial in a shallow grave, 0.6-0.65m	Cranial remains of a child			Child	

Burial **Burial 57**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9?	In bedrock layer. Square 23-A	Secondary burial?	Skull and some individual bones of an infant			Infant	

Burial **Burial 58**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9?	Not associated with any buildings	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete			Child	Miniature cup found upside down 10cm from the skull. Cup filled with pins, round and flat carnelian beads, 234 shell beads and 328 soft stone beads. Also near the cranium were several small charred sheep and goat bones

Burial **Burial 59**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9	Not associated with any buildings	Multiple burial	Skeleton of a child			Child	
Level 8-9	Not associated with any buildings	Multiple burial	Skeleton of a child			Child	In the northern part of the grave was a shattered white alabaster spouted cup. Probably broken at the time of burial

Burial **Burial 61**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 8-9?	Not associated with any buildings	Multiple burial	Skeleton of a child			Child	
Level 8-9?	Not associated with any buildings	Multiple burial	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Level 8-9?	Not associated with any buildings	Multiple burial	Adult skeleton			Adult	

Main Phase **Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 4	In close proximity to the circular structures of Level IV	Simple inhumation	Skeleton of a child, complete		7	Child	Miniature stone vessel with spout, uncompleted alabaster vessel, clay painted cup, flint knife, two bone awls

Burial **Burial 34**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Upper levels	?	Simple inhumation?	Child skeleton			Child	Pottery vessels

Burial **Burial 36**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 4 Depth of 2.4-2.8m	?	Small 'catacomb'	Child skeletal, flexed position, on right side, head to the west		3	Infant	Six painted vessels, necklace of alabaster beads, pendant depicting a bird and animal heads

Burial **Burial 37**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Upper levels	?	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton			Infant	Grave goods present

Burial **Burial 38**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Upper levels	?	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, flexed, head to the south			Infant	Ceramic vessel

Main Phase **Late Halaf?**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Burial 24**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
	?	Simple inhumation?	Child skeleton, flexed, head to the east			Child	Two bulls head amulets

Burial **Burial 3**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Depth of 6.8m	Square N3a	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, complete. Flexed on left side, head to the east.			Child	

Burial **Burial 39**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Upper levels	?	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, flexed			Infant	Three miniature ceramic vessels

Main Phase **Middle Halaf?**

Date cal. BC **5600**

Burial **Burial 18?**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Upper levels		Simple inhumation?	Infant skeleton, flexed, head to the south			Infant	

Burial **Burial 40**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 6	The cremated remains were placed within a decorated jar, which was found against the western wall of the oven structure 238: oval rectangular oven with the walls and floor plastered with a layer of clay mixed with adobe. Length 1.1m and width from 0.35 and 0.5m. The oven structure was likely to have been specially built as a cremation oven as it is unlike any other fire installation at the site. The oven was in close vicinity to Tholos 42. Square 28-c.	Cremation burial	Remains of a 12-13 year old female	Female	12-13	Adolescent	Remains placed in a decorated jar alongside twenty obsidian beads. In the eastern half of the oven structure were two miniature ceramic jars, a small stone vessel, half a biconicle spindle whorl of clay, two shell beads, twenty-six barrel shaped beads of white gypsum, thirteen biconicle beads of obsidian, fifteen small flat round beads - five of which were obsidian, eight of rock crystal and twenty seven of coarse clay. Six clay and three stone vessels were broken and thrown into the oven alongside a stone stamp-seal pendant, a plate of horn, and a fragment of a bone pendant.

Burial **Burial 41**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Square 23-B	Infant burial	Infant skeleton, complete. Flexed on left side, head to the south.			Infant	

Burial **Burial 42**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Square 19-C	Simple inhumation: Oval grave 1.6x1.4m	Complete skeleton, in awkward position suggesting that the skeleton was thrown into the grave				

Burial **Burial 43**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Burial vessel placed under the floor of Tholos 257. The remains of the cremation were found alongside this structure, which is represented by a thick layer of ash and charcoal, as well as the fragmented objects	Cremation burial	Burnt skeletal remains of a child		10	Child	Skeletal remains placed within a decorated jar. An alabaster vase on a saucer base, a large alabaster bowl on a ring shaped saucer base, and three clay vessels were broken and thrown into the cremation fireplace

Burial **Burial 44**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Square 28-A	Shallow oval grave	Infant skeleton, flexed on right side			Infant	Small painted cup

Burial **Burial 45**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	Square 24-D	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, flexed on right side			Infant	

Burial **Burial 46**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 7	1m north of burial 45. Square 24-D.	Oval grave 0.6x0.4m	Skeleton of a child, complete, flexed on left side		5	Child	

12.2.74 Yarim Tepe III

Main Phase **Late Halaf**

Date cal. BC **5400**

Burial **Burial 29**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Depth of 4.48m	Intrusive into northeast corner of Room 130	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted, on right side		2	Infant	

Burial **Burial 30**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Depth of 7.3m (Final Halaf-early Ubaid)	Intrusive into upper building phase. Final Halaf-early Ubaid	Simple inhumation	Child skeleton, complete, contracted, on left side. Orientated north-south and facing north		12	Child	Three decorated ceramic vessels and one undecorated ceramic vessel at the feet of the skeleton.

Burial **Burial 31**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Halaf	Directly underneath tholos 138. In close proximity to Burial 29	Simple inhumation	Infant skeleton, complete, contracted. On left side, orientated east-west and facing north		2	Infant	

Burial **Burial 32**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Depth of 5.4-5.45m	Square I-d	Simple inhumation	Poorly preserved infant skeleton. Flexed position, on left side. Head pointing west			Infant	

Main Phase **Ubaid 3-4**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Burial no. 21**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 4	In the corner of Room no. 40, Complex no. 4. Complex formed by nine rectangular rooms running in four parallel adjoining rows - possible storage structure.	Simple inhumation?	Adult skeleton, flexed on right side, head to the north-east.			Adult	The skull was covered by a large shred from a painted ceramic vessel. Other fragments from the same vessel lay under the skeleton.

Burial **Burial no. 22**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 4	see above	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton overlain with large fragments of ceramic vessels

Level 4	Infant skeleton lay in the breast of the adult skeleton. In fill of Room. No. 40, Complex no. 4 - possible storage structure	Simple inhumation in pit	Adult skeleton, flexed on right side, head to north.			Adult	

Burial **Burial no. 23**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 3	Oval pit inside a yard at the wall of Room No. 70	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed in right side, head to east.			Infant	

Burial **Burial no. 25**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Dug into an open yard	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed on back, heaps to the north			Infant	Three cylindrical beads near right hand, eight flat ring-shaped beads of black stone near its right foot

Burial **Burial no. 7**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Found inside Room Number 9 on the floor of Complex no. 2	Placed on the floor of a building	Adolescent skeleton, flexed, head to the north			Adolescent	

Burial **Burial no. 9**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Level 2	Under the floor of Room 1, Complex 1	Simple inhumation in pit	Infant skeleton, flexed on right side, head orientated south-east.			Infant	Three ceramic vessel

12.2.75 Yorgan Tepe

Main Phase **Ubaid**

Date cal. BC **4650**

Burial **Burial 1**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Pit 24, Floor XA	Base of the jar level with Floor XA, however it is suggested that the burial is from Floor X above	Infant pot burial	Infant skeleton			Infant	Skeleton placed in a round-bottomed vertical sided jar of 'undecorated coarse buff' or 'yellow grey ware'

Burial **Burial 2**

Sub Phase	Spatial Context	Burial Method	Skeletal Material	Sex	Age	Age Cat.	Finds
Floor X	The base of the burial was level with Floor X, within and underneath the eastern end of a wall. The wall was built over the burial and care was taken to bridge the body so that the weight of the superimposed structure did not crush it.	Infant remains placed in a large sherd/jar bottom	Infant skeleton, legs contracted, hands raised to the face, on right side and facing north		2 months	Infant	Skeletal remains were placed in a large sherd/jar bottom

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